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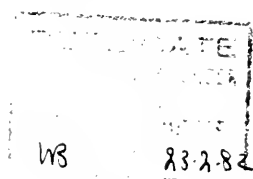
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The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1886.

EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION IN ASIA MINOR.¹

By R. P. PULLAN, F.S.A.

Although the excavations which form the subject of this paper are not of recent date, an account of them will probably be new to many of my hearers, as no connected narrative of them has ever been published, though they are partly described in "Newton's Halicarnassus,"¹ in the fourth vol. of the "Antiquities of Ionia"² and in "The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor,"³ by M. Texier and myself. They extended, though not continuously over a period of twelve years, and resulted in the disinterment of some of the finest monuments of Greek architecture.

The west coast of Asia Minor surpasses all other parts of the world, in the number of its remains of ancient edifices, and in the vastness of their dimensions.

You can hardly go a day's journey without meeting with inscriptions, and fragments of architecture, which attest the former prosperity of the country and the beauty of its buildings, for it is covered with the ruins of ancient cities, which are full of the remains of temples, baths, agoras and gymnasia. Three of the Seven wonders of the ancient world were to be found here—The Tomb of Mausolus, The Colossus of Rhodes and The Temple of Diana at Ephesus. The Asiatic Temples surpassed all others in the grandeur of their dimensions, and the richness of their decorations. The Temple of Ephesus

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, December 3, 1885.

² "A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae," by G. T. Newton, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, assisted by R. P. Pullan, F.R.I.B.A.

1863. 1 vol. folio Plates, and 2 vols. 8vo. Text. Day and Son, London.

³ "Ionian Antiquities," Vol. iv. Published by the Society of Dilettanti, folio. 1881. Macmillan.

⁴ "The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor," by Charles Texier and R. P. Pullan, folio. 1865. Day and Son.

was 425 feet in length, that is to say about three-fourths the length of Winchester cathedral. The Heræum of Samos was 346 feet, The Didymæum near Miletus was 295 feet and The Temple of Cybele at Sardis 261 feet in length.

Notwithstanding the exceeding interest belonging to this country, it has been visited by comparatively few travellers. The chief of these were, in the last century, Lucas, Wheler, Spon and Chandler, and in this century, Sir Wm. Gell, Hamilton, Leake, Newton and Ramsay. These travellers visited many of the ancient sites and published descriptions of their remains, but in the way of careful investigation of the architecture of the great Temples, the most has been effected by the Society of Dilettanti which was established in 1734 and which at long intervals sent out expeditions for the purpose of obtaining data for the elucidation of the principles of Greek architecture. Dr. Chandler and later on Sir W. Gell were commissioned to explore certain ancient sites and to examine the architectural fragments above ground; but they were not furnished with funds for extensive excavation.

Mr. Newton was the first excavator in Asia Minor on a large scale. He, after considerable research, discovered the site of the Mausoleum and with the aid of funds furnished by the Government, transported the sculptures of that celebrated edifice to the British Museum.

I was sent out by the Foreign Office to co-operate with him in the summer of 1857, especially with the view of obtaining data for the restoration of the Mausoleum. Mr. Newton gave a full account of his discovery at the first Carlisle meeting, so that it will be unnecessary to give a description of the mode by which the remains of the edifice were brought to light, or to repeat the evidence I obtained for the restoration. It is sufficient to say that my restoration coincides with Pliny's description of the monument and that its accuracy can be tested by measurement of the stones from the building, which are now in the Mausoleum Room of the Museum.

In the beginning of 1858 the Expedition was transported to the city of Chidus, on the Triopian Promontory,—

a most desolate spot, at the extremity of a peninsula 90 miles long.

This city which was one of the Dorian Pentapolis, possessed the celebrated statue of Venus by Praxiteles. We did not expect to find the statue of the divinity, as it was removed to Constantinople by Theodosius, and was destroyed by fire A.D. 475, but we hoped to find some trace of the amphiprostyle temple in which Lucian says it stood. However we found that the temple had been rebuilt in late Roman times. We discovered two vast theatres and also excavated an odeum. At Cnidus was found the beautiful seated figure of Demeter, one of the best specimens of Greek art in existence. It was dug up in a temenos dedicated to the Goddess a short distance from the city. The ruins when excavated yielded many terra-cotta figures and other *ex votos*.

The Necropolis of Cnidus extended for at least two miles from the city, but all the tombs had been rifled before our visit. In the course of exploration outside the city I came upon a remarkable sculptured lion lying at the base of a tomb on a neighbouring promontory. The tomb on which it stood was a square in plan, surmounted by a pyramid supported by a tholus; this gave me the idea of how the vast pyramid of the Mausoleum was sustained at a period when the vault with *voussoirs* was not known.

The lion was with great difficulty conveyed to the sea shore and transported to England. It now stands at the end of the Elgin Room in the British Museum.

After a year's sojourn with the expedition, I returned to England by way of the Troad and Salonica.

In 1861 the Society of Dilettanti, being anxious to obtain information about certain sites of temples on the west coast of Asia Minor, commissioned me to visit them. I took this opportunity of exploring the entire west coast, from the point we had visited with the Boudroom Expedition to the Dardanelles, a distance of from 300 to 400 miles, proceeding sometimes by native boat (*caïque*), at other times on horseback. The accompanying map shows the various routes followed.

These journies resulted in the identification of the sites of Myrina and of the Grynæum and other places.

They enabled me to visit the sites of the temples of Teos, Priene, Apollo Branchidæ, and Cybele at Sardis, and also the cities of Alexandria Troas, Assos, Pergamus, Sardis, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, Iassos, Euromus, Heraclæia, and Magnesia ad Meandrum.

My first journey was to the Gulf of Sanderlik, north of the Gulf of Smyrna. I chartered a caique, and took with me Spiro, an old Greek sailor, recommended by the consul. We rowed or sailed by day, and landed at night. Our first stopping place was at a fishing station on a sand bank, just within sight of the hill, upon which stood the ancient town of Leuke, but there were no traces of ruins to be seen even with a good glass. The next day we moored not far from the site of the city of Cyme, and were hospitably received by the steward of a Smyrna merchant who has property there. I rode to the site of the city, which occupied two low hills and extended for about three quarters of a mile. The ground was strewn with pottery and fragments of marble. The following day we touched at an ancient site which, from the numerous coin found here, all of one type, proved to be that of Myrina.

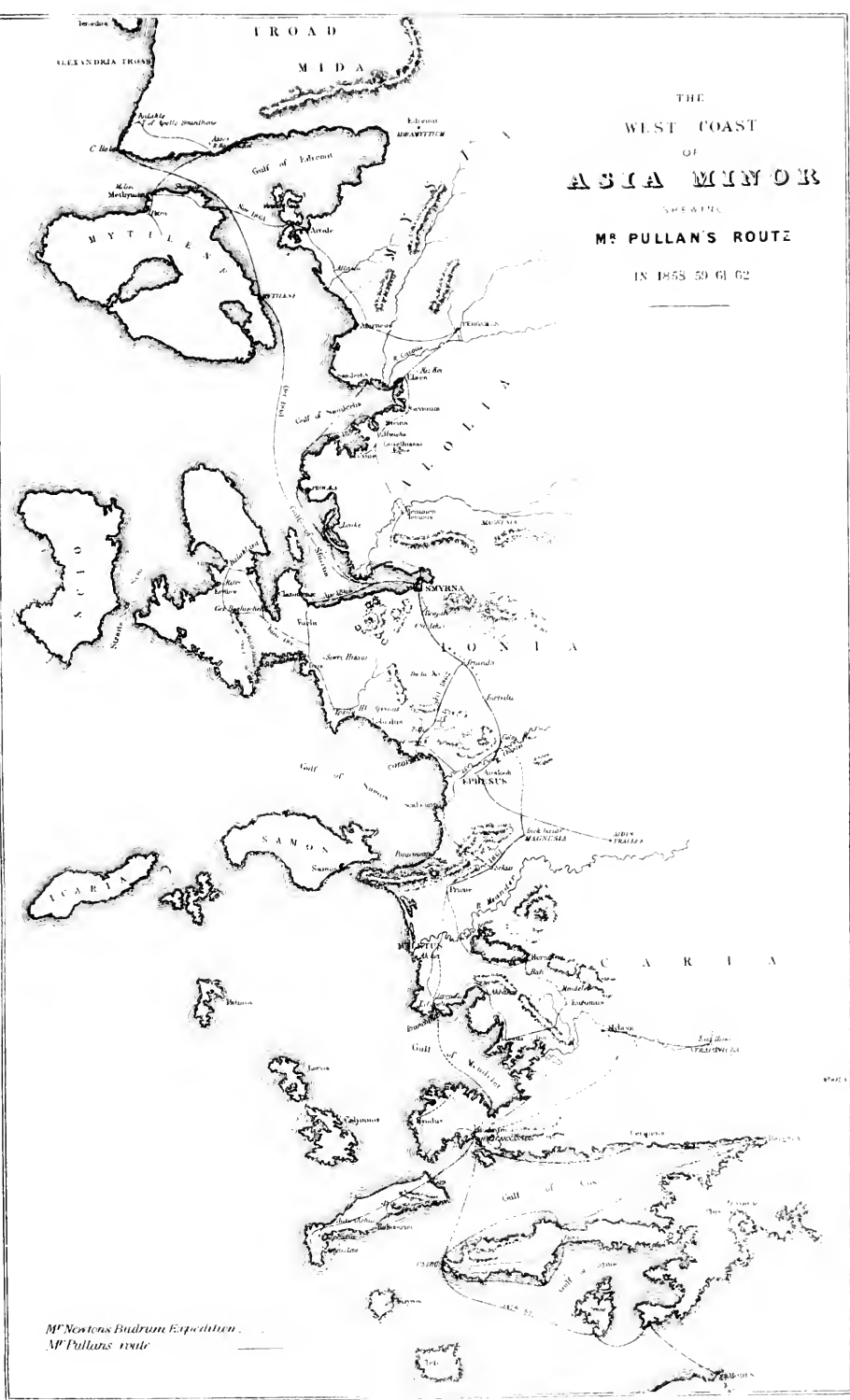
Strabo¹ says that the temple of Apollo Grynius, "is a costly fane of white marble." It stood upon a peninsula in this neighbourhood. We found the peninsula, and on it fragments of fine Greek sculpture, which showed conclusively that this was the site of the temple. Hence we sailed to Elæa, where I bargained for a colossal torso of Hercules, which had been seen by Admiral Spratt when he was engaged in the survey of the coast. I obtained a written agreement from the proprietor of the ground on which it lay to allow it to be removed and subsequently Admiral Spratt took it to England. It now stands opposite the door of the Mausoleum room in the British Museum. We sailed thence to Sanderlik, the ancient Pitane from which the Gulf derived its name, and thence to Smyrna.

The second journey was made to Teos, going by Caique to Vourlah Scala, whence we could see the island on which stood Clazomene. We rode across the peninsula to Sighajik, near to the site of Teos. This city stood upon a small

¹ Strabo. B x. iii C iii S. v.

THE
WEST COAST
OF
ASIA MINOR

SHEWING
MR PULLAN'S ROUTE
IN 1855-56-61-62



peninsula. Its walls could be traced for almost the whole circuit. There were several masses of ruins within the walls, amongst which I noticed those of a mausoleum, a theatre, and two temples, the larger of these was that dedicated to Dionysus, which I excavated six months afterwards. We returned to Smyrna by land.

The third journey was to the Troad. In those days an Austrian Lloyd's steamer touched at the extreme southern point—Cape Baba. From that point we went due north about six miles to the village of Kulakli, near which we found the drums of columns), which Admiral Spratt supposed to belong to the Temple of Apollo.

We spent three or four days here examining the architectural fragments, which I found to be of fine style. We then rode to Assos, a city most picturesquely situated on a cliff overlooking the gulf of Edremit. On the summit of the acropolis adjoining stood a Temple to Neptune, the earliest Doric building known. My late esteemed friend and *collaborateur*, M. Texier, had removed the frieze to the Louvre. Nothing now remained on the spot but some drums and capitals. The walls of the city were intact, and splendid specimens of the earliest Greek masonry. Within the walls there were ruins which appeared to me to belong to the Græco-Roman period. This site has lately been excavated by an American Society with important results. Embarking in a caique for Cape Baba we were driven to sea by a gale from the north, but fortunately were enabled to make the extreme point of the island of Mitylene, where was situated the town of Molivo. Here we were detained several days by the gale, but eventually rode across the northern part of the island and crossed to Aivali on the mainland. Proceeding afterwards along the coast southwards we reached Pergamus, a most interesting city. Here are the ruins of a fine amphitheatre and of a large basilica.

On the acropolis I remarked several pieces of sculptured marble mouldings, which led me to the conclusion that excavations here would yield important results,¹ and these conjectures proved correct, for subsequently the German expedition here unearthed the splendid altar of Giants, of

¹ See "The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor by Texier and Pullan," Day & Son, London, p. 21.

which casts are to be seen in the Perryan collection in the South Kensington Museum.

From Pergamus we rode to Elæa on the gulf of Sanderlik, thus completing the exploration of the coast north of Smyrna with the exception of the end of the Gulf of Edremit, in which I believe there are few if any ancient remains.

My fourth journey was to the south of Smyrna. The railway to Aidin was open almost all the way to Ephesus, therefore I sent horses from Smyrna to join us there.

While wandering about the ruins which have been thoroughly described by Falkener and Wood, I remarked in the piers of an aqueduct which conveyed water to the castle,—an edifice about two miles from the ancient city,—several mouldings which from their size and style evidently must have belonged to the celebrated Temple of Diana,¹ and the temple was actually discovered by Mr. Wood on this side of the city, not very far from this aqueduct after eleven years of exploration. I must confess that at that time I shared the common opinion, that the Temple stood at the head of the port on the other side of the city. From Ephesus I rode to Scala Nova and then crossed the mountain to Sokia where I was hospitably received by a resident merchant Mr. Clarke.

The next day we proceeded to the ruins of Priene, situated at the foot of Mount Mycale. This was the scene of my labours eight years subsequently. Hence we proceeded across the marshy plain of the Meander, crossing that river by a ferry-boat immediately opposite the ruins of Miletus where there is a magnificent theatre towering above the other ruins, and visible for miles round. Twelve miles beyond Miletus stand the ruins of the vast Temple of Apollo Branchidæ—the Didymæum.

Two columns are erect and the walls of the cella can be traced throughout, although cottages of the natives have been built all round the peristyle. This grand Temple of the Ionic order was approached by a *via sacra* from the port lined with sitting figures and lions. Several of these were removed by Mr. Newton and now stand in the Lycian Room of the Museum. The ruins of the Temple have of late years been partially explored by M. M. Rayet and Thomas who were sent out by Baron Rothschild.

¹ The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor, p. 23.

From Branchidæ I went further south to the site of Iassos a small Greek city on a peninsula, once an island. The walls and position of the chief buildings, such as theatres and baths can be clearly traced throughout. Excavations would not yield important results here, as the ground is rocky and the city being so easily accessible by sea, many of the finest architectural stones have been carried away for building purposes.

We again rode south along the shore, until we came in sight of the mountains near the towns of Mynus and Bargylia, which were visited by members of Boudroom expedition. Here as I had completed with but few gaps, the survey of the entire coast—I turned inland to Euromus where there is a Corinthian Temple of Græco-Roman period with fifteen columns and a portion of the architrave standing. I then went by a rocky pass to Heracleia, a remote site in the mountains, where there are ruins of Roman houses and of a small Temple. Heracleia stands at the head of a small lake forming the gulf of Myus, which at one time joined the sea. Passing along the side of the lake I again crossed the Meander to Priene and on my way back to Smyrna, visited the ruins of the Temple of Diana at Magnesia ad Meandrum, where the walls of the peribolus are still standing to a height of twenty or thirty feet. From this point I passed through Ephesus to Smyrna.

The temple of Dionysus at Teos was reputed to have been designed by the great architect Hermogenes of Alabanda on a plan which he had invented—the pseudo-dipteral—which consisted in the omission of the inner range of the columns so as to allow of more space in the peristyle.

He adopted this plan at Magnesia in the temple I have just mentioned. The temple at Teos was believed to have been pseudo-dipteral. Hence the Diletant Society considered that excavations would tend to illustrate this peculiarity of plan, and they accordingly requested me to excavate the site of this temple, which I did in 1862.

It would take too long a time to give a detailed account of the progress of excavation, but I may mention that when the site was fully excavated, it was found that

the temple had been re-built in Roman times ; that it was hexastyle of the Ionic order ; that it was not pseudo-dipteral in plan, and that it was of comparatively small dimensions.

I recovered several slabs of the frieze representing a Dionysiac procession, but the sculpture was so inferior in character, that I judged it worth while to send only one slab to England as a specimen of the rest.

After the excavations were concluded we returned to Smyrna, and subsequently to England, by Syria and Egypt, visiting Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo. While at Smyrna we—my wife accompanied me on these journeys—were the guests of Mr. J. T. Wood, who was architect to the Smyrna and Aidin Railway. When I left for England, Mr. Wood expressed a desire to discover the site of the temple of Diana of Ephesus. I accordingly introduced him to Mr. Newton, who obtained for him the support of the trustees of the British Museum, and to Mr. Wood's remarkable perseverance under great difficulties and discouragements we owe the recovery of the architectural remains of that temple which are in the British Museum.

In 1866 I again proceeded to the East to excavate the Temple of Apollo Smintheus for the Dilettanti Society. Here there was no heap of ruins, nor any indication of the site, except the drums of columns seen by Admiral Spratt. But after some weeks search I ascertained that the site was covered by gardens. These had to be purchased one by one. The foundations only were *in situ*. Upon working out the restoration I found that the Temple was of remarkable character, differing from all known examples. It was of the Ionic order, pseudo-dipteral and octastyle, with fourteen columns on the flanks, and surrounded by a grand flight of ten steps. The capitals were more than usually ornamented. The Temple stood in a valley remote from any city, and was evidently a place of pilgrimage. Alexandria Troas was the nearest city of importance, but there stood nearer still the small town of Hamaxitus. This appeared to me to have been situated upon a plateau near the sea, but unfortunately I had neither funds nor time to excavate it. The Troad is full of unidentified sites ; one of these I was enabled to identify during a short tour into

the interior, viz.,—Scepsis, from its position, which afforded a fine view of the range of Mount Ida, and from the fact that all the coins found there were of that city.

After the excavations were completed we embarked in a caique at Cape Baba for Castro, the chief town in Mitylene and finally we reached Smyrna, and in the summer of 1867 returned to England by way of Malta, Sicily and Rome.

The Expedition which yielded the most important results was that for the excavation of the Temple of Athene Polias at Priene. I was commissioned by the Dilettanti Society to undertake the charge of the Expedition for its excavation in 1869. I started in August, going to Constantinople—in order to get an error in my firman rectified—by way of the Danube.

On reaching Smyrna in September, the heat and prevalence of intermittent fever in the valley of the Meander, induced me to defer the undertaking till October. In the meantime I explored a portion of the coast which was previously unvisited; that between Teos and Ephesus. There I found the site of Claros, where there were the remains of a fine temple. The site of Colophon was subsequently discovered in the same neighbourhood by Mr. Dennis, now Consul at Smyrna.

The Temple of Athene, at Priene, was designed by the architect of the Mausoleum, and for this reason, the recovery of its architectural features was thought to be most important. Priene was situated on a spur of Mount Mycale, two or three hundred feet above the level of the plain of the Meander, just opposite Miletus. After six months work—interrupted by fever which attacked the whole party, and which compelled me to abandon operations for a month—the heap which covered the Temple was removed, and beneath it we found the pavement entire, the walls of the Temple standing 5 or 6 feet all round, two of the columns remaining in to a height of 15 feet, several fragments of the colossal statue of the goddess, and several other fragments of sculpture; amongst these there was an archaic head of a female, and a bust of Roman times.

The Temple was hexastyle of the Ionic order, of fine style. An inscription on one of the antæ showed that

it was dedicated by Alexander the Great when on his way through Asia Minor.

Mr. Newton paid us a visit when the excavations were approaching completion, and made arrangements for the removal of the sculptures and inscriptions to England. These were presented to the British Museum by the Dilettanti Society, and are now arranged in the Mausoleum room, so that the architectural features of the Temple of Athene may be compared with those of the Mausoleum with the aid of my drawings of these edifices, which are hung upon the walls in the same room.

ROMAN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

Comparatively little has been written or known about the Roman remains in the county of Nottingham. I therefore propose in the present paper to reproduce the accounts of former writers (so far as they are of value) with comments upon them and to add a synopsis of such discoveries as have been made of late years. Owing to the obliteration of everything above ground on the sites of the stations it is a necessity that remains existing in the last century should be fully described.

The first station to be noticed is at Littleborough on the western bank of the Trent. In the 5th Iter of Antoninus it occurs under the name of *Segelocum* between *Lindum* (Lincoln) and *Danum* (Doncaster) at fourteen miles from the former, and twenty-one from the latter. It is also similarly placed in the 8th Iter of Antoninus but under the name of *Agelocum*. This Roman road from Lincoln to Doncaster is still, especially on the Lincolnshire side of the river, very perfect, being called in the last named county, (where it branches from the Ermin Street) "Till Bridge Lane."

It was carried across the Trent by a ford, and its descent to the river was very entire on each side in the last century, when it was described by Dr. Gale, Dr. Stukeley, and others. The bank was purposely cut away and sloped, and a causeway 18 feet wide, held up by strong piles and paved with large stones, was raised in the bed of the river. This was probably made in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, a coin of whom was found in the cleft of one of the piles. The causeway remained entire until A.D. 1820, when it was removed, on the ground that when the river was low it impeded naviga-

tion. On the Nottinghamshire side a portion of the descending road still remains, with its paving. A number of large loose stones, the remains of the causeway, may be seen in the river at low water, and at that time also numerous coins have been picked up at the river's edge. There is no doubt that on each side of the causeway, in the bed of the river, many thousands of coins, besides *fibulae* (brooches), rings, &c., lie buried, being votive offerings to the presiding goddess of the stream, thrown in by travellers as they crossed the river. This was an invariable custom, many examples of which have been discovered in England.

In 1877 I obtained (through the medium of Mr. G. Freeth, Clifton Hall, near Newark) the evidence of Frank Lambert, an old and trusted servant of the Trent Navigation Company, who had assisted at the removal of this ford, which, he says, was paved with rough square stones, and on each side of the road piles 10 or 12 feet long were driven into the bed of the river, and pieces of timber ran from one to the other, giving support to the whole. The timber was all black oak, and used for gate posts, but soon rotted when exposed to the air. The greater part of the stones were used to fill up a hole in the river at "Dunham Dubbs."

There still exist some traces of the wall and fosse surrounding the station, but its exact extent has not been ascertained. It has been prolific of coins. In 1736, when the fields between the station and river were first ploughed, an immense quantity were found. Archdeacon Trollope enumerates coins of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina, Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Carausius, Allectus, Constantinus, (Magnus), Constantius, Constantinus II., and Crispus, besides a number of the *VRBS ROMA* and *CONSTANTINOPOLIS* type, as having been found here. From being frequently turned up by swine they obtained the name of "Swine Pennies."

The Trent has occasionally washed away a small portion of the station, or of its suburban buildings. In the last century Dr. Stukeley saw foundations of buildings and portions of pavements in and projecting from the river's bank. Dr. Gale, in crossing the river, observed

an urn of Samian ware in the bank ; he pulled it out, and found it broken, but containing burnt bones and a coin of Domitian. This was apparently an interment, of course outside the walls. These accounts show that if the area of the station were thoroughly excavated, much would be found—foundations, tessellated pavements, coins, inscribed stones, &c. No doubt, even now, after high floods, much is laid bare, but no one in the neighbourhood seems to record it. Many valuable inscriptions on altars and tombstones, &c., must have perished for want of proper looking after. The first one recorded as found here, is named by Dr. Stukeley (*Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 29), and was on an altar discovered in a sandpit in 1718. The altar was in good condition, the *focus* for the offering and all its carvings being quite fresh, the inscription on the front, however, had been all cut away (as if to prepare a face for a new one), with the exception of the last line, which read—

LIS. ARAM. D.D.

Possibly, as in the case of an altar found at Dorchester (Oxfordshire) LIS. is part of the word CANCELLIS. Another wrought stone, uninscribed, was found with it, and is described as being of a sepulchral character. These two stones, according to Stukeley, were “set as peers (*sic*) in a wall on the side of the steps that lead from the water side to the inn,” but they have been removed.

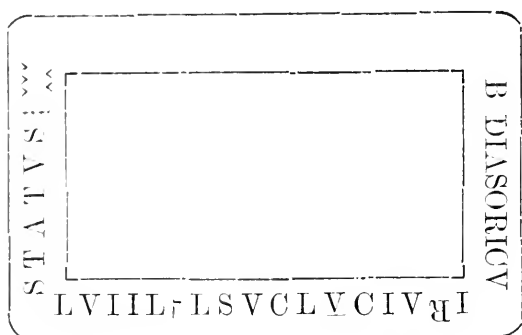
Another altar found at the station many years since, has been removed to the seat of Mr. F. J. S. Foljambe, at Osberton Hall, near Worksop. It is 3 feet 2 inches high, 22 inches broad at the head, and 16½ in the centre. It has borne an inscription, now all but obliterated, within a sunken panel, on the face of its shaft, and of which all that is legible is—

· · · · ·
· · · · ·
I I R A T · · · · ·
· · · · ·

I also thought I could detect I.O.M. (for *Iori Optimo Maximo*) on the capital. It occurred to me that IIRAT might possibly (R being a misreading of B) refer to the COHORIS II. BATAVORVM, which we know was in Britain, but the R seemed plain when I inspected the altar in 1877.

The only other inspection recorded as found at Little-

borough was on a Roman oculist's stamp. A correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who signed C.D., and who wrote from Southwell on the 20th August. 1772, to that periodical, with a description of the stamp, stated that it had been found "lately by casting up the ground," in the vicinity of Littleborough. He sent the following sketch of it, the centre representing the actual size, and the inscription being on the edges.



ACTUAL SIZE.

It is evident that C. D. has made errors in copying the inscription. Professor Grotefend is no doubt right when he reads the inversed (longest) line as STACT. A. CLARI. standing for STAC(TVM) A(D) CLARI(TATEM), i.e. *Stactum* for clearness of the eye, and that it has been preceded by the name of the oculist in an abbreviated form, possibly as suggested by Dr. Hübner IVL. TIT. for *Jul(ius) Tit(ianus)*. On the left hand edge we seem to have STACTVM again, incorrectly copied, and on the right, in spite of miscopying DIASORICVM another medicine for the eye, seems to be clearly indicated. Some fourteen or fifteen of these stamps have been found in Britain.

The pottery found seems to have been mostly the bright red "Samian" ware, very little of the black or grey having been observed, yet no potter's stamps have been recorded. The walls of the ancient church contain great numbers of Roman tiles, and some of the masonry in the building is of the herring bone style frequently adopted by the Romans. There is an interesting letter on this station from the Rev. Wm. Ella, vicar of Rampton, Notts, dated April 3rd, 1723, at p. 126, vol. iii. of the

Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica (i.e. in No. 2, Part II. of the *Reliquiæ Galeaniæ*.)

The sixth Iter of Antonine is from *Londinium* (London) to *Lindum* (Lincoln), *viâ Ratae* (Leicester). These three cities have each yielded inscriptions confirming their Roman names. The part of the Iter which we have now to deal with is, therefore, that between Leicester and Lincoln, on the line of the Roman Fosseway. Between these two cities the following stations are named, with their distances from each other in Roman miles:—From *Ratae* to *Verometum* 12 miles, to *Margidunum* 12 miles, to *Ad Pontem* 7 miles, to *Crococolana* 7 miles, to *Lindum* 12 miles. Omitting for the present the consideration of the site of *Ad Pontem*, we find that if we trace the Fosseway from Leicester to Lincoln that there are a succession of stations, the sites of which agree in distance from each other with those named by Antonine. The first is near Willoughby, just inside the border of the county of Notts, and has always been considered as *Verometum*. The next is at East Bridgeford (*Margidunum*), and the next at Brough, near Collingham (*Crococolana*). In the eighth Iter of Antonine (from York to London, *viâ* Lincoln and Leicester), the distance of *Crococolana* from *Lindum* is given as 14 miles, instead of 12 as in the sixth Iter. *Ad Pontem* is also omitted, but the distance from *Crococolana* to *Margidunum* is made the same (14 miles), and *Verometum* is spelt *Vernemetum*. These are, however, but trifling differences. I propose first to deal with the station nearest to Littleborough, *Crococolana* (Brough), and then to proceed southwards along the Fosseway.

As Littleborough has yielded the most remains, so probably Brough has yielded the least, amongst the identified stations. The first to notice the site publicly appears to have been the Rev. J. Pointer, who in his *Britannia Romana*, published at Oxford, 1724, says at pp. 41 and 53, that “in a large field near Long Collingham” there was a Roman camp, and that “there have been several of Constantine’s coins found.” Dr. Stukeley, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, published in the same year, gives a more particular account. He says at p. 98:—“At Brough no Roman token visible, but the remarkable straitness of all the roads and by-lanes thereabouts. The

city has been most perfectly levelled by the plough, so that the mark of ridge and furrow remains in the very road: the hedgerows were planted since. . . . There have been many Roman coins dug up here, and all the way between it and Newark. I bought a large brass Faustina junior, lately found in the cornfield over against the alehouse. In digging, too, they find great foundations for half a mile together, on each side of the road, with much rusty iron, iron ore, and iron cinders, so that it's probable here was an eminent Roman forge. Across the road was a vast foundation of a wall, and part still remains. Out of one hole they showed me, has been dug up 10 or 15 load of stone, so that it should seem to have been a gate. The stones at the foundations are observed to be placed edgewise, and very large ones, but not of a good sort. This was the method the Romans thought was most convenient in this springy soil, for the springs rise here all about within two foot of the surface. They told me some very large copper coins have been found here, and silver too, and many pots, urns, bricks, &c. They call the money 'Brough Pennies.'"

Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*, published in 1732, says:—"Since the whole distance between Bridgeford and Brough, which must be ten computed miles in all, answers with so much exactness to the distance of fourteen miles in the Itinerary between *Margidunum* and *Crococolana*, as it is both in this and the eighth Iter; I think it a strong confirmation of the scheme I have advanced, though there may be some difficulty with respect to the intermediate station of *Ad Pontem*. Affinity of sound made some settle *Crococolana* (or, as some have it, *Crocolana*) at *Colingham*, but it is fixed at a surer foundation when placed at Brugh, a short mile south-east of it. The ramparts at Brugh are levelled by the plow, but many Roman coins have been found here. I purchased one which I take to be Philip, of an old man who had lived here many years, and gave me an account of several things relating to this station. He told me they often struck upon ruins in plowing or digging, and had a tradition of an old town's standing formerly there. This is very consistent with the account Dr. Stukeley gives of this station."

Dr. E. G. Wake in his *History of Collingham*, (1867)

says in a note at p. 3, referring to Stukeley's remark that the stones at the station were not of a good sort; "A description which proves them to have been portions of the limestone still quarried in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless I have seen some large blocks of excellent freestone, which have evidently formed part of the buildings once standing at Brough." At p. 4, Dr. Wake says, "Roman coins occasionally come to the surface in our day and most of them are of the Constantine period. . . . Fragments of Roman pottery are still met with, in abundance, but the writer cannot learn that a perfect specimen has ever been seen. Several years ago an old man while working on the glebe farm is said to have found a figure in gold, a discovery which afterwards enabled him to obtain his livelihood by means less arduous than field labour. . . . In the field mentioned by Stukeley, the husbandman oftens finds his operations interfered with by large stones."

There is no doubt that excavations would reveal much at this station. Owing to obliteration, its site cannot be ascertained, neither inscription nor potter's mark is *recorded* as having been found, but that many of these *must* have been brought to light in the past three centuries is certain. Perhaps some of them lie hidden in the neighbourhood. Roman remains have also been found at Potter's Hill, about two miles to the N.E.

As was the case with regard to Brough, the Rev. J. Pointer, in his *Britannia Romana*, p. 53, gives us the earliest information we possess about East Bridgeford. He says "in East Bridge Ford Field, called Burrow Field, is a camp near a spring called the Old Wark Spring."

Dr. Stukeley, who visited the site on the 7th of September, 1722, gives in his *Itinerarium Curiosum* a view of it. At p. 99 he says, speaking of proceeding southward along the Fosse road, "East Bridgeford lies a mile to the right upon the river Trent. Doubtless there was a bridge over the river which created the denomination in the Roman times, as being the passage from the eastern parts to those beyond the Trent. And as to this particular station upon the road perhaps a bridge was the sign of the inn, that travellers might know where to turn out for that purpose, for I can't suppose here was a bridge at the

road. At Bridgeford they told us there were formerly great buildings and cellars on the right as you descend to the Trent, and a key (quay) upon the river for vessels to unlade at. The Roman station upon the Foss I found to be called *Borough field*, west of the road. Here a spring arises under the hedge called *Oldwork* spring, very quick running over a fine gravel, the only one hereabouts that falls eastward, not directly into the neighbouring Trent, towards Newton. Hereabouts I saw the Roman foundations of walls and floors of houses, composed after the manner before spoken of; stones set edgewise in clay and liquid mortar run upon them. There are likewise short oaken posts or piles at proper intervals, some whereof I pulled up with my own hands.

"The earth all around looks very black. They told us that frequently the stones were laid upon a bed of pease straw and rush rope or twisted hay, which remained very perfect. Houses stood all along upon the *Foss*, whose foundations have been dug up and carried to the neighbouring villages. They told us too of a most famous pavement near the Foss way. Close by in a pasture 'Castle Hill Close' has been a great building which they say was carried all to Newark. John Green of Bridgeford, aged 80, told me that he has taken up large foundations there, much antient coin and small earthen pipes for water. His father aged near 100 took up many pipes four score yards off the castle, and much fine free stone, some well cut and carved. There had been found many urns, pots, and Roman bricks, but the people preserved none of them, and some that had coins would by no means let us see them, for fear we were come from the lord of the manor."

From the etymology of the place Stukeley considered this station *Ad Pontem*, and Dr. Gale does the same, but Horsley correctly says, "the numbers and distances ought to preponderate." He adds that "the proofs of the station are strong and convincing" (*Brit. Rom.* p. 438). Both he and Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, give almost exactly the same account as to Oldwark Spring, Borough Field, &c., but the latter adds that a silver coin of Vespasian had been found. Horsley places *Margidunum* here without the least hesitation.

Matters remained in much the same state for the next

130 years, but in 1857-8 a lady whose archaeological tastes led her to investigation on this site, made some further discoveries of remains, though of a comparatively unimportant nature. I allude to Mrs. Miles, the wife of the Rector of East Bridgeford, who had long noticed fragments of pottery, &c., on the surface of the ground in several of the fields. A small hole was dug in the "Castle Field," when fragments of pottery in great abundance were found. This field, being pasture land, has not within memory been disturbed, but in the recollection of an old person who only died in 1872, a considerable portion of wall was to be seen. The Fosse way appears to run through the centre of the station. Mrs. Miles informs me that the circumvallation may still be most clearly traced. The N.E. angle of the station is most distinctly marked. Three or four fields on each side of the Fosse are full of remains. On the Ordnance map there is a road (Roman) from the camp to the river marked as "Bridgeford-street." In the neighbourhood it is known as "Newton-street," and is used as a bridle path. Mrs. Miles says that it "passes through a ploughed field, in which we gather every year numbers of specimens of pottery lying on the surface, besides deer horns, bones, arrow heads, coins, Samian ware, plaster off walls, still coloured; and in the adjacent field near the spring, and apparently used to hold the refuse of the camp, old iron, leather, oyster shells, bones, horns, balls of lead, flue tiles, stone tiles, tesserae, and thousands of pieces of pottery of different colours, qualities, and materials. Many of these are worked in patterns, and the pieces of Samian have hunting subjects, leaves, &c., on the ground, and we have a considerable number of potters' marks." Several of the fragments of Samian ware show that they have been rivetted by their former owners with lead, for the purpose of mending fractures; one bore the representation of a Pegasus, another an eagle with thunderbolts.

It is a common thing for the residents to dig for stones for building purposes—quantities of which are found—the remains of Roman dwellings. After heavy rain, fragments of various remains are found on the surface of the ploughed land. On one occasion Mrs. Miles found two perforated six-sided cylinders, of red Cornelian, with

the polish quite unhurt; one was two inches long, and the other smaller. Many "runnings" of lead have also been found. Mrs. Miles possesses most of the above named articles, and also coins of Vespasian, Carausius, and Julian, found on the site. That lady further says of the soil, that "it is I imagine quite full of the remains of a gradually disused dwelling-place, that is to say nothing whole or hidden with care, but just the *débris* that would be left, by long years of occupation."

Amongst the other objects found are broken flanged tiles, Roman mortar, and a knife handle. The cemetery, from various signs, appears to be at the S.E. angle, outside the circumvallation. The potters' marks are unfortunately much worn, but by Mrs. Miles's courtesy I have sketches of three fragments, which appear to be:—I. Part of the rim of a *mortarium*; the extant letters are . . GVDV, evidently a portion of F.LVGVDV, of which several examples occur in London, and probably an abbreviation of *Luguduni factu* or *factu Luguduni*. No. 2 is only visible at the commencement, and is FLO, probably *Florentinus*: it occurs on a fragment of Samian ware. III. is still more obscure. All that is visible seems to be NDE. Many other of these marks are in Mrs. Miles's possession, but too obscure by wear to be made out.

It will thus be seen that much remains to be discovered by excavation at East Bridgeford. It is to be hoped that the digging for stones will be supervised, and that no interesting inscriptions or foundations of buildings will be surreptitiously removed. From *tesserae* having been found, it is evident that some tessellated pavements lie buried on this site.

Willoughby, the most southerly station on the Fosseway, is just inside the boundary of the county, and although in past times many interesting remains have been found there, a complete silence as to discoveries seems to have prevailed for the last century. That the station is the *Verometum* of the Itinerary there can be no doubt. Its distance from Leicester on the way to Lincoln is conclusive evidence on the point.

At p. 41 of his *Britannia Romana*, the Rev. J. Pointer says, "At Willoughby on the Would, on the south edge of this county, near the Fosseway, in the field where are the

ruins of a town called Long Billington, the ploughmen and shepherds commonly gather up great numbers of Roman coins."

On the 8th September, 1722, Dr. Stukeley visited the site, of which he gives a drawing in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 100. He says at p. 101, "After some time I perceived I was upon the spot, being a field called *Henings*, by which I suppose is meant the ancient meadows. This is upon the brow of the hill overlooking *Willoughby Brook* Here they said had been an old city called *Long Billington*. 'Tis often called the *Black Field* in common discourse, from the colour and excessive richness of the soil, so that they never lay any manure upon it. Here is a place called *Thieres* and on the other side of the valley a place called *Wells*, near where a barn now stands, and all this length they say the city reached. but the city mostly was on *Willughby* side, for the land on the other side in Broughton is poor, whilst this is luxuriant to the last degree. . . . The soil is perfectly black, though all the circumjacent land be red, especially north of the valley upon the edge of the hill, and where most antiquities are found, which certainly was the true place. Richard Cooper, aged 72, has found many brass and silver coins here. There have been some of gold. They have a notion of great riches being under ground. but people have been frightened from digging it by spirits. . . . They have likewise a tradition that the city was destroyed by thieves, perhaps from the place so called. Many mosaic pavements have been dug up. My landlord, Gee of Willoughby, says he has on plowing met with such for five yards together, as likewise coins, pot hooks, fire shovels, and the like utensils, and many large brass coins which they took for weights, ounces and half ounces, but upon trial found them somewhat less. Broad stones and foundations are frequent upon the side of the Fosse. Several (were) found at Wells. The ground naturally is so stiff a marl that at Willoughby town they pave their yards with stones fetched from the Foss way, even to the slope of their pits for the cattle to drink at. At Over and Nether Broughton, and at *Willughby*, too, the coins are so frequent that you hear of them all the country round."

Dr. Stukeley thought the station to be *Margidunum*, and is therefore at a loss where to place *Verometum*. But Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, p. 437, at once corrects this error, by clearly showing that *Verometum* is the name of the station. In this he is followed by the Bishop of Cloyne and the Rev. T. Leman, of Bath, who visited the site in 1788, in tracing the Fosse road from Lincolnshire into Devonshire, *vide* Nicholl's Leicestershire, vol. 1., p. cxlix. From the fact of tessellated pavements having been discovered this station seems to have been a richer one than some of the others in the county, having probably some large buildings within it, but whatever remains is completely buried. The site is a bleak moorland.

We have now arrived at a very interesting stage in considering the Roman Stations in the county. The question to be considered is, where was *Ad Pontem*? That it was between *Crocolana* and *Margidunum* seems certain from the sixth Iter of Antonine; that it was between Brough and East Bridgeford has been often asserted and as often denied.

Now, there are one or two points in the Itinerary which to my mind have not been attended to sufficiently. In the first place, from the omission of this station in the eighth Iter, it seems clear that it was not an important place, probably merely a mere *mansio* or *mutatio*, if indeed that, for the words indicate "to the bridge,"¹ as if it were the point where to branch off to cross the river. This must, in any case, have been actually the fact, for it is impossible that the bridge itself was on the Fosse way. It seems to have been this which induced Stukeley to place *Ad Pontem* at East Bridgeford, as the Roman road thence to the river side is very distinct, but the distances on each side from Lincoln to Leicester prove that he is in error.

Salmon, in his "New Survey of England," p. 294, speaking of this place, says:—"As to the name of the place, *Ad Pontem*, it is observable that it is not in the ablative case, as the rest are; if it had been at a bridge it would have been *Ponte*, as we see near Dorking, in

¹ It is also possible it may mean, "At the bridge."

Surrey where two bridges are, it is *Pontibus*. The name that is most like it is *Ad Ansam*. It is evident there could be no bridge here upon the Fosse, for there is no water except at the Trent, that can have any pretence to one. Fords there are several upon the river, as appears by the names of the neighbouring villages Wilford and Shelford. Nor can a reason be guessed at for naming this village upon the hill *Bridgeford*, but as it hath relation to the other Bridgeford upon Trent. A bridge, I presume, was over the Trent to Nottingham. The road leading to it was called *via ad Pontem* or *Agger ad Pontem* by way of eminence."

Horsley, commenting on this passage in his *Britannia Romana*, pp. 438-9, says, "If this be admitted, why may not we as well suppose that the bridge referred to in the name was at Southwell or Newark, and remove the station called *Ad Pontem* nearer to that town, which I shall presently show to be very reasonable on other accounts." Further on, Horsley says, "The station *Ad Pontem* is only seven Itinerary miles from *Margidunum*, which distance is not sufficient to bring us from Bridgeford quite up to Newark. . . . This, therefore, obliges us to look for *Ad Pontem* two or three miles from the middle of Newark. I make, no doubt, but that this large town has risen out of the ruins of *Ad Pontem* on the one side and *Crocolana* on the other. The name *Newark*, which implies some prior building of greater antiquity, may, perhaps, refer to these Roman stations on each side of it. I have heard of some Roman coins found in the town, and Dr. Stukeley, not without reason, conjectures that one of the gates of Newark is somewhat like Roman, or, however, has Roman stones in it. . . . I find that when the distance of *Ad Pontem* from *Margidunum* is set off from the station near East Bridgeford, it brings us as near as I can judge to Farndon over against Southwell. Some think Newark, but more generally Southwell is thought to be the place which Bede calls *Tiovtl-Finquester*. This termination seems to imply a Roman settlement somewhere in the neighbourhood, and Southwell is an ancient place, but on the wrong side of the river. Possibly there may have been a station on the south side of the Trent, or on the *lingula* formed by this river, and a smaller one

which in Camden is called the Snite, and perhaps there has been a bridge here over the Trent, which has occasioned the name *Ad Pontem*. I went to view the ground when last at Newark, and did not think the situation or appearance very unpromising."

In the summers of 1788 and 1789 two great antiquaries, Dr. Bennett, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross (generally known as the Bishop of Cloyne), and his friend, the Rev. T. Leman, of Bath, walked along the Fosse way, and traced it from Sudford, at the head of the Bain, in Lincolnshire, through Lincoln, and thence into Devonshire. Their remarks are embodied in papers by themselves in Nicholl's History of Leicestershire, vol. i., p. 147, &c. The latter gentleman says: "At twelve miles from Lincoln is Brugh (*Crococolana*), seven miles thence at the great passage of the Trent where the western branch of the Ermine street (which quitted the Eastern in its way to Ancaster between the present 95th and 96th milestones, in the great North road between Stamford and Newark) passed the river not far distant from the present turnpike gate at Thorpe, was *Ad Pontem*; seven miles further was *Margidunum*, at East Bridgeford."

(A note after the word "*Ad Pontem*" says, "Tumuli appearances of the corners of a camp and the remarkable circumstance of the bending of the road on leaving it.")

The Bishop of Cloyne says at p. 149: "The next station is *Ad Pontem*, 7 miles, and passing through Newark to Thorpe Bar is a situation very like one. The Trent comes close to the road, which makes a bend (one of the marks of a station) to that point; the distance answers exactly, and directly opposite to the other side of the river four miles off is Southwell, where Roman antiquities have been found, and which was called by the Saxons *Tiorulpingacester*, a termination given almost exclusively to Roman cities. At Southwell then might be the Roman town, a bridge near the Trent connected it with the Fosse, and Newark not then existing it was a great pass into Nottinghamshire. At the southern end of the bridge on the high bank of the river was, perhaps, a small station or fort to protect it, which would be called the *statio Ad Pontem*. . . . When the castle at Newark was built in King Stephen's time, both *Crococolana* and *Ad Pontem*

would be robbed of their materials, both lying so near and convenient for water carriage, which will account for there being no remains distinguishable at either of them."

"Our next station is at *Margidunum*, 12 miles. East Bridgeford, where abundant remains have been found, answers exactly, another proof that *Ad Pontem* is where we place it."

Horsley's idea of Farndon or its neighbourhood is, it will be seen by reference to a map, much the same as the more accurate observations of the Bishop of Cloyne and Mr. Leman. There seem to have been some discoveries made at Thorpe since the Bishop's time. Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary of England*, says of this place that a fine tessellated pavement has been found, besides Roman coins and other relics. But where was the bridge? Is there any trace of it visible on the Trent bank or in its bed? From being called so plainly in the *Itinerary*, "The Bridge," it is evident that it must have been of some size and well-known, even though there was no large station adjoining it.

Thus much for Thorpe being the neighbourhood of *Ad Pontem*, but, on the other hand, whilst there is no known bridge at Thorpe, there is evidence of two some distance lower down the stream.

Mr. Dickinson, in his "*History of Southwell*" (pub. 1801), at p. 92, says, "The summer months of 1792 and 1793 being extremely dry, the foundations of an immense bridge appeared in the Trent (rendered shallow by the drought) near to the little village of Winthorpe by Newark. On examination, there was every reason to think them as old as the time of the Romans, and a sort of negative confirmation of that opinion arises from there not being even the vestige of a tradition that any such bridge has been situated on this part of the river Trent, since the time of the Norman conquest." In a note on the same page Mr. Dickinson further remarks that it was "a bridge of stone, executed with the most perfect masonry," not one of wood, and he says that he traced the remains of a Roman road to Southwell, leading from the direction of this bridge and from Brough. He notices the discovery at Southwell of a coin of Constantius, another of Maxentius, and two illegible. Major Rooke,

in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix., p. 199, records the discovery also in November, 1787, (at which he was present) of "some stones, which appeared to have been part of a wall: near these were found some bits of painted stucco, two or three tesserae of a pavement, and pieces of Roman tiles, the sides raised, exactly resembling those found in the Roman villa near Woodhouse. The Rev. Mr. Bristow, one of the worthy vicars of Southwell, who has a taste for antiquities, first made this discovery in digging to make a foundation for a building in his garden. The stones lay five feet below the surface." To this Mr. Dickinson adds:—"In breaking up a piece of ground under the eastern side of the Archbishop's palace in the year 1793, to make a garden" (for the same Mr. Bristow) "a tessellated Roman floor was discovered of considerable extent, accompanied by several fragments of urns. In laying down a part of the flat pavement on the north side of the church, a little anterior to the time above mentioned, the workmen accidentally broke into a small vault, which on the most scrupulous examination was found to have been constructed almost entirely of Roman bricks. In the year 1794 one of the oldest prebendal houses in this town, situated on the north side of the church, was pulled down. In the wall, especially near the foundations, were many Roman bricks, mixed with other materials, and I am informed that scarce any of the more ancient buildings of the place have shared a similar fate, but in the foundations at least many Roman remains have been discovered."

In 1877 the same old man (Frank Lambert) who helped to remove the ford at Littleborough, informed me (through Mr. Freeth) that he had worked many years previously, at the removal of what had been the piers of a bridge across the Trent, between two and three hundred yards below "The Oven," a bank or island in the river marked in the Ordnance Survey, about a mile south of Cromwell, which is opposite South Collingham. He described the piers as being of lozenge shape, formed by "trees" laid on the bed of the river, and the enclosed space filled in with Coddington stone laid edgeways in. Boats used to ground upon these stones, so the whole was cleared out for improving the navigation.

These particulars I published (February 20th, 1877) in

the *Nottingham Daily Guardian*, in one of a series of articles on the Roman remains of the county, adding that the lozenge shape of the piers (*i.e.* a cutwater up and down stream) was the same as at the Roman bridges at *Cilurnum* and *Corstopitum*, in Northumberland.

I was therefore somewhat surprised, seven and a half years afterwards (October and November, 1884), to see in an account of further researches on the site of this bridge, the idea propagated that an entirely new discovery had been made. This idea seems also further developed in a paper by Mr. C. H. Compton in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for March, 1885, in spite of my letter in the *Standard* (the paper which originally reported the later "discovery") for Nov. 5th, 1884. Mr. Compton gives a plan of the piers of the bridge, which seems to have crossed the river diagonally. Only two of the piers were come upon by the late dredging operations, and they were removed by blasting with dynamite. It is said "From observations made previous to the blasting, it appears that the foundations were formed of wood set in Ancaster, or a somewhat similar stone; the oak walings and barks were black and hard, but mostly in good condition, the mortar was still quite hard and adhesive; the walings were tied across through a large centre balk by tie pieces of wood having octagonal heads through which wedges had evidently been driven to keep the structure together." Numerous human skulls and bones were dredged up at the same place.

This account seems clearly to show that a bridge made in the usual Roman fashion in Britain (*i.e.* stone piers with a roadway of wood), crossed the river at this point. In fact from one account, which says "we found upon one side of a central longitudinal sleeper, a balk of blackened oak twenty to thirty feet long, the numerals CLII" I should be inclined to think that part of the roadway still lies embedded in the mud of the river. The writer of this passage sagely remarks that CLII stood for the year A.D. 152 when he considered the bridge to have been constructed! The letters no doubt marked the number of the beam.

But with the existence of these two bridges being a certainty, unless we alter the whole of the numerals and

positions of the stations in the *Iter*, we are no nearer the truth as to the site of *Ad Pontem*.

That there was a small Roman post at Southwell there can be no doubt; but the distance from Brough to Southwell, and thence to East Bridgeford would far exceed the distance between *Croccolana* and *Margidunum*, in the *Itinerary*, besides the divergence from the straight route and the fact of crossing and then re-crossing the river. On these grounds, therefore, Southwell must be rejected as the site of *Ad Pontem*. But again, the views of Mr. Leman and the Bishop of Cloyne, fixing the station at Thorpe, agree exactly with the distances on each side, and at least as much Roman masonry has been discovered there as at Southwell. The only link wanting to complete the chain of evidence in its favour is the foundation of a bridge in the bed of the stream, or the remains of its abutments buried in the soil of the bank, as in the case of the Roman bridges at *Cilurnum* and *Corstopitum*, on the Tyne. It would also be desirable to know whether any appearances of the angles of a square camp now exist at Thorpe, as stated by Mr. Leman. I can find none.

Having considered the sites of the large *castra* or stations in Notts., I now proceed to the villas erected by the Romans during their occupation of this part of England. There have been but few discoveries of this nature *recorded*, but no doubt many of these fine residences have been found in the Middle Ages, and at once destroyed. The first notice of any discovery of this nature published was by Major Rooke, in the 8th volume of the *Archæologia*, pp. 363-376. It was made at Mansfield Woodhouse, in May, 1786. Major Rooke having seen some of the small *tesserae* of a tessellated pavement which had been found in the "North Fields," and which the country people called "fairy pavements," and hearing that many stones and bricks had been taken up there, finding the latter to be Roman, set three men to work excavating. They soon came to the foundations of walls about a foot beneath the surface, and tracing them, laid bare the ground plan of a large villa, containing eight rooms, a long entrance passage, and a hypocaust. In the centre of the central room was the greater part of a beautiful tessellated pavement, of red, yellow, white and

grey *tesserae*, and of an elaborate geometrical design. The stucco was remaining on the lower portions of the walls of this room, and was painted in stripes of purple, red, yellow, green, &c. Much of the same stucco was lying in fragments on the pavement, having fallen from the upper portion of the walls. This room was 20 feet 5 inches by 19 feet. The entrance passage, or *crypto porticus*, was 54 feet long and 8 wide, and had a tessellated pavement of an inferior nature. Its walls were also painted. None of the other rooms had pavements, but stucco floors. Some of the outer walls were five feet thick. The total length of this villa was about 130 feet, its breadth 40 feet. At nearly right angles with the front of the villa, and only ten yards from its north-east end, was another villa, facing the south (the first-named faced the east) 142 feet in length by 42 feet in width. Several of the rooms were painted, and they had stucco floors. A hypocaust was also in this villa, and a large central courtyard, round which were 17 rooms. Baths were found in both of the villas, also many roofing tiles and slates. Twenty-five small copper coins were discovered, of which one was of the Empress Salonina, one of Claudius Gothicus, three of the Constantine family, and the remainder Major Rooke says were illegible, but from the form of diadem on the heads, I take some of them to be of Postumus, Victorinus, and Carausius. The bases of two pillars were also found. About 100 yards S.E. of the first villa the foundations of two well-built sepulchres were found, which had probably been roofed with tiles, from the number of the latter which covered the foundations and which were lying loosely. In one of the sepulchres an urn containing ashes remained; between them was a pavement 7 feet square, having a pedestal in its centre on which had probably been placed a stone with a sepulchral inscription, of which fragments were discovered, but owing to its dilapidated state, and being also apparently much worn, all that could be made out of it was:—

IMI	IM
IDPATE	
VIXITAN	
IAELCARM	RINI

Of this all that can with certainty be said is that the word

"*Pater*" seems to be in the second line, whilst in the third we have plainly "*Vixit an (nos)*."

The usual *debris* of a Roman villa were found here—portions of hand-mills, a lamp, an ivory pin, stags' horns, and many fragments of pottery, both Samian and other wares; one of the former bore the potter's name, ALBVS. In 1774 an urn filled with Roman silver coins (*denarii*) had been found about half a mile to the east of the site, on the other side of Pleasley Brook. Major Rooke had seen two of them very perfect of Antoninus and Faustina.

Mr. John Knight, of Langold, the owner of the site, erected over the remains, a building for their protection, which lasted some years; but Mr. F. C. Laird, in "*The Beauties of England and Wales*," vol. xii., p. 400, says that in 1811 the building was dilapidated, the pavement ruined, and its tesserae strewn about, whilst a mare and a foal were the only occupants. I should much like to know if any Nottinghamshire antiquary can inform me where (if it is still in existence) the inscribed portion of the tombstone is preserved. At the time of its discovery I presume it would go into the possession of Major Rooke or Mr. Knight. Mr. Knight left no direct descendant, and his property was divided. The Langold estate went to the family of the present Sir Thomas White, of Walling Wells, near Worksop, and the furniture and curiosities in the house formed a portion of the property left to the ancestor of Sir W. Fitzherbert, of Tissington. To both of these gentlemen I have applied, but no trace can be found of the stone.

From the account in "*Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of England*," previously referred to it would appear that a handsome villa stood at one time at Thorpe, having a tessellated pavement. I should much like to have some further information about this.

The next noticeable discovery took place at Barton-upon-Trent. It had long been known—I believe as far back as the close of the last century—that underneath the farm-yard attached to the vicarage, handsome tessellated pavements existed, which had frequently been come upon in digging. In the field immediately adjoining this yard on the east, it had for a long time been noticed that at intervals on its surface there were square patches which

either failed to produce crops or else the crops were stunted—in contrast to the rest of the field, which forms part of the glebe lands. Large stones and traces of walls had also been occasionally discovered in the field, but on the 14th April, 1856, the parish clerk, when ploughing, struck against the edge of a tessellated pavement. The Rev. Mr. Wintour, at that time rector, immediately set several men to work excavating the site, and at a depth of a foot they soon laid bare one-fourth diagonally of a splendid pavement in red, white, and blue *tessera*, as fresh and brilliant as the day it was laid down. The space opened was an oblong rectangle, 15 feet by 10 feet, due E. and W. The outer border of this rectangle was occupied by small red half-inch tiles, and was three feet broad on the W. and one and a half feet on the S. It was succeeded by an inner border of blue tiles of the same dimensions, nine inches broad. To these succeeded delicate double lines of small white tiles, inclosing a magnificent scroll border, six inches broad, of interlacing red, white, and blue tiles, succeeded by another double delicate white line. The centre part within this brilliant bordering (and separated from it by a double line of blue tiles), is occupied with a great variety of geometrical figures, such as squares inserted diagonally within squares, others of the chequered pattern, others trapezial, and all centred in a large ellipse. The whole had a most brilliant effect. This floor of *tesserae* was laid down on a bed of cement, which had a great depth of black artificial soil beneath it, distinguishing it from the red clay of the locality. The villa appeared from this partial excavation to have fronted the south. Much charred wood was found around the site. The whole of this pavement appears never to have been excavated, nor do I know (though I should be glad of the information) whether the excavation made has been left open or again filled up. Certainly the other pavements of the villa still lie buried, as evidenced by the square patches before named, and a rich treat awaits the archaeologist who will undertake their excavation. Reynolds, in his *Iter Britanniarum* (1799), p. 422, says “Barton, Notts. On the top of a hill near this town is a Roman camp where many coins have been found.” Gough, in his edition (1789) of Camden,

says that at Barton, on the summit of a hill called Brent's hill, there were formerly traces of a camp, which had, however, been levelled. Coins had been found in it. I consider this must have been Roman, especially as Gough says that on the *side* of the hill there appeared to be terraces, "like waves or ploughed lands, one above another, in number 14 or 15, about half a mile long. These works cross from the bottom of the hill." This was, no doubt, a series of terraces of land which the Romans placed under cultivation. We find similar terraces in the neighbourhood of Roman camps in various parts of England, especially on the line of the Wall of Hadrian, in Northumberland. This "Brent's hill" is marked with the words "Ancient fortifications" on the Ordnance map.

In May, 1870, an interesting discovery was made at Oldcotes, about two miles N.W. of Blyth, and close on the Yorkshire border. For three years previously a new Roman Catholic Church had been in course of erection in a field called the "Manor Field," and numerous Roman roofing tiles, with bones of animals, &c., had been occasionally turned up. This led to the digging of several trial pits, and resulted in the discovery of a villa. I will give the particulars in the words of the architect, Mr. S. J. Nicholls, as reported in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. 28, p. 66):—"The principal room excavated was 20 feet in length from N. to S. by 17 feet in width. Close to the south end on the west side was the entrance, marked by a step down and a threshold; at this end appears to have been the gangway across the room, the pattern of the floor being a chequer of 12 in. squares, red and grey alternately . . . 7 feet in width; to this succeeds a band, 14 inches wide, of smaller tesserae, arranged in a very graceful design of scrolls and squares. The centre portion of this band is imperfect, and was not a mere repetition of the design; perhaps a column may have stood here, forming part of the construction of the roof. The remainder of the design consists of a labyrinth almost identical with that discovered at Caerleon The labyrinth, 9 feet 6 inches square, had on two sides a margin, seven inches wide, of very white limestone tesserae . . . and the whole is surrounded by a border

of triangles, alternately red and grey, leaving a broad margin of coarser grey to fill out to the side of the room. The centre of the labyrinth, 2ft. 7in. square, was unfortunately much injured, but the lower portion of a human figure remained, in an attitude of attack; one arm had been extended, with a short broad sword pointed downwards, the lower part of the blade remaining; and over the shoulder the outline of an oval shield was evident. The tesserae were very small, of the same materials as the rest of the work, with the addition of some of a greenish tint. The watershed was towards this centre, which may account for its being so much more damaged than the rest of the work. At the south end, towards the west, there is a projection with rounded corners, perhaps an altar. This and the sides of the room had been finished by a plaster moulding a quarter round, to form a plinth, coloured red. The whole of this pavement rested on a solid bed of concrete. Parallel with this room we discovered another paved room, the tesserae being all grey . . . and 2ft. 6in. lower than the floor of the labyrinth . . .; the soil here showed abundant traces of charred wood and fragments of coloured plaster, roofing tiles, &c. Other walls were discovered, and partly traced, but probably much more remains yet to be excavated. One singular discovery was that of a rough trough formed of slabs of stone filled with a hardened mass of lime. . . . A large quantity of fragments of decorative paintings on plaster were discovered in various places, including portions of a human figure. The plastered ground of a large part of these paintings was laid on concrete of irregular thickness attached to tiles; these tiles resembled the roofing tiles in being turned up at the sides, but the projecting part or flange had been cut away whilst the clay was wet, so that the tile rested on four points only—an evident arrangement to prevent the absorption of moisture, and suggesting the probability of a painted floor—an idea which has also the negative evidence of a third room being discovered without any existing pavement. We found also a plaster plinth moulding, which has apparently had two painted plaster continuations. The roof tiles were flanged and had a very ingenious

section, with water grooves and a covering tile. The pavement soon began to suffer from exposure and the depredations of visitors, and the whole area of the excavations has been covered up, and it is hoped preserved for future explorations." The general opinion is that the design of the pavement represents Theseus in the Cretan labyrinth. In the "trial" pits which were dug, large quantities of broken pottery and tiles were discovered at a considerable distance from the site of the excavated rooms, showing that the buildings covered a large extent of ground. With regard also to the supposed painted floor, a *floor tile* was found covered with plaster and painted. This is the first example found in England, and confirms Mr. Nicholl's supposition.

Like most of the other Roman villas found in England, these at Barton and Oldcotes seem to have been destroyed by fire, from the quantity of charred wood found.

These, as far as I am aware, are the only Roman villas discovered in Notts., which is, however, more fortunate in this respect than the neighbouring county of Derby, where not a trace of a Roman villa has been found.

In addition to villas we have in various parts of the county evidences of the presence of the Roman settlers in the shape of sepulchral remains, deposits of coin hidden away in hoards, pottery, and smaller articles besides temporary camps &c.; of these, it will probably be best to first take the coins.

In the Harleian MSS. 6824 fo. 51, there is "An account of a Roman urn transcribed from a letter wrote by y^e Reverend M^r Lamb of Southwell Ap. 15 1709" as follows:

"At Upton nigh Southwell in Nottinghamshire in y^e furrow of a land lying on y^e side of a hill much washed away by sudden rains and some^w steep was found a true urn by y^e grating of y^e plough. In it were several round balls w^{ch} fell to dust upon y^e touch, and a great many round things w^{ch} seem to be Romish beads, of blew and speckled colours and of a sort of glass, a bridle curiously enamelled, y^e ground brass, no reins but only bit chain and bosses but all so small y^t they seem to have been made for some less creature yⁿ a horse, lower still was found an

entire egg covered with a hard mummy as also was y^e top of y^e urn, blackish, some^w pitchy, and partly like Spanish juice, w^{ch} being broke open there were found 20 silver coins perhaps scarce to be equalled in England. I have seen but 9 of them (3 of Domitian's) on w^{ch} are these inscriptions :

“Caesar. Aug. F. Domitianus; only reverse a man on horseback Coss (*sic*) V, another Cos II, another August Ceres.

“Caesar Vespasian Aug. Reverse August. Ceres. Nero Caesar Cl. Reverse a man with a branch subscribed Salus Roma, reverse” (apparently of another coin of Nero. W. T. W.) “a man fighting with a Lyon circumscribed Publici P.R.F.

“Vitellius German, Reverse, Pontifex Maximus.

“Ti. Caes. Div. Aug. F. Augustus, Reverse, Pontifex Max.

“*Fluc.* with a head upon it. Reverse—a charioteer like one of y^e Olympicks. (This is a family coin W.T.W.)

“In the rest which I have not seen are Augustus Cæsar and ‘tis said Julius, Claudius, and Caligula, 2 scarce discernible, but by all taken for Galba and Otho, and a piece or two before y^e Emperours in y^e Consul's time, they are scarce so broad as a sixpence but three times as thick. I have part of y^e pot and mummy by me and part of y^e jaw of a man buried under it. There were so many bones y^t many men must have been buried there. The coins are pretty legible, and the faces very fine.”

In this extract, which I believe has never before been published, there are as will be seen by any numismatist, several errors in Mr. Lamb's description of the coins.

Lewis, in his Topographical Dictionary of England, says that at Harworth, $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles W.S.W. from Bawtry, in a part of the parish adjoining the latter town “is the site of a Roman station, where, in 1828, were found silver coins, a portion of a vase, and some fragments of pottery.” From Bailey's “Annals of Notts.,” vol. iv, p. 362, we learn that the coins were three in number, and were of Antoninus, Hadrian, and Faustina. The exact place of their discovery is called Martin or Merton, and it is added, “The form of the fort or station may still be distinctly traced, and even when the field is covered with full-grown corn an octagon figure is perceptible, from the

stems being shorter on the site of the buildings than in other places." Dickinson, "Hist. of Southwell." p. 2 of Introduction says under the head of Bawtry. "The remains of an ancient camp after the Roman fashion point out this station." This octagon is probably similar to the Roman building of that figure excavated by the late Lord Braybrooke at Weycock in Berkshire.

From Lewis also, we gather the information that at Scaftworth, 1½ mile S.E. from Bawtry, "during the enclosure of the common several Roman antiquities were found;" also, that at Everton, three miles S.E. from Bawtry, "at the time of the enclosure of the parish in 1760 some antiquities were found, and more recently some Roman coins; it has been thought that the vestiges of some fortifications in the parish are the remains of a Roman fort or station, by which passed a Roman road."

In the "Beauties of England and Wales," vol. xii, part I., (Nottingham Division,) p. 302, Mr. F. C. Laird says that in cutting a tunnel for the Chesterfield Canal at Drakelow near Mattersey, many coins of Constantine and human bones were found. He adds, "There is no doubt but that this has been a Roman station, for here ran a Roman road, which, though nearly obliterated, has yet some faint traces, and was evidently connected with the neighbouring station at *Agelocum* or Littleborough." Mr. Laird also says, at p. 309, of Tilne (near Clarlborough), "Many Roman antiquities, particularly a *stylus* and several agates and cornelians, with inscriptions and engravings, have been dug up here some years ago." I should be glad if any one in the locality can tell me where these are preserved, or favour me with a copy of the above-named inscriptions. The discovery is no doubt identical with that mentioned by Gough in his (1789) edition of Camden, vol. ii., p. 293, as follows:—"At Tylney, in Hayton Parish, near the market town of E. Retford, was found a Druid amulet of an aqueous transparent colour with yellow streaks, and many Roman seals or cornelians." The above-named "Druid" amulet is undoubtedly of Roman make, and used by Roman hands. At p. 294 Gough also says of Blyth, "Roman coins were found here in 1692."

Coming to the neighbourhood of Worksop, Lewis (*Top. Dict of England*, 7th edit. *sub voce* Worksop,) says that

several coins of Nero and Domitian were found in 1826, near the ruins of the old manor house of Gateford.

From Mr. Bailey's work, vol. iv, p. 196, and from Mr. White's "History of Worksop," p. 98, we gather that at Morton, about five miles E.N.E. of Worksop, there were found in December, 1802, 62 copper and 29 silver Roman coins. A square stone was afterwards set up to mark the spot. Mr. White also says that "a similar find was also made at Shireoaks some years back of small brass coins of the Lower Empire." The same gentleman says that while the grounds were being trenched at Osberton, by the late Mr. J. S. Foljambe, for the purpose of planting a belt of trees in order to screen the house from view from the Retford-road, close to the "third milestone from Worksop, a pot of Roman coins was found. These were small brass ones of the Constantine family." These are now preserved with the Roman altar, found at Littleborough, and numerous other curiosities in Mr. Foljambe's museum at Osberton.

In cutting a portion of the Great Northern Railway near Askham a number of silver and brass coins were found in an urn. Human bones were found with them. Fourteen of the silver coins shewn to the Society of Antiquaries ranged from Julius Cæsar to Domitian. Those of the latter emperor were in very good preservation. (*Pro. Soc. of Antiq.* vol. ii. 1st series, p. 100.)

On the line of the Fosse way, or in its vicinity, in addition to the stations, urns and coins have been found at Flintham (Gough, *Camden*, vol. ii. edit. 1789, p. 288). At Cotgrave, in 1836, some labourers repairing the Fosse way, came upon three skeletons and some Roman coins. Each skeleton had a spear or dagger lying near it. The weapons, &c., passed into the hands of the Rev. J. H. Brown, Archdeacon of Ely, and rector of Cotgrave (Bailey vol. iv, p. 397).

In 1771, a farmer ploughing one of his fields at Hickling, struck upon an urn containing about 200 silver *denarii*. Some of them were of Vespasian. (Bailey, vol. iv, p. 30.) Lewis says this discovery took place on Standard Hill. Somewhere in this neighbourhood occurred the following discovery: "Several Roman coins have lately been discovered in a field near Belvoir, in Nottinghamshire, some

with the head of Adrian, and others with that of Vespasian." (*Gent. Mag.*, January, 1787, p. 83.)

At Widmerpool several Roman coins have also been discovered, including a silver one of Hadrian, and a copper one of Claudius. (Lewis, *Top. Dict. Eng.*) Dr. Stukeley in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 101, says, "Richard Cooper" (of Willoughby) "told me likewise of a pot of Roman money found at Wilford, near Nottingham." This was in 1722, whilst Mr. Laird, writing in 1813, says at p. 182, speaking of Wilford, "Many Roman coins were dug up here a few years ago, most of which which were of the later emperors."

A number of Roman coins and urns were found in 1825 at Kirk Hill, near Zouch-bridge, in the parish of Sutton Bonnington. The whole were in a high state of preservation, and some of the urns were sold for as much as five guineas each. (Bailey, vol. iv, p. 339.)

Reynolds *Iter Brit.*, p. 463, says "*Stanford*, Notts, at the extreme southern point of this county, on the river Soar, has been noted for many Roman coins and other antiquities." This place is only about a mile from Loughborough.

Major Rooke also states (*Archæologia*, vol. ix., p. 203), that several Roman coins had been found at Mansfield, four of which, of Vespasian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Constantine, were in his possession.¹ He thinks Mansfield a Roman site, and that a Roman road connected it with Southwell. Traces of such a road are still to be seen, but another discovery of coins at the town took place in 1849. When slightly altering the course of the railway from Mansfield to Pinxton, near the "King's Mill," there was found in a field belonging to the Duke of Portland, at a depth of about two feet, an urn containing between 300 and 400 Roman silver coins, in excellent preservation. They were of Augustus, Vespasian, Lucius Ælius, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Aurelius, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Geta, Julia Augusta, and others. Those of Severus seemed quite new. Sir O. Mosley (*Journal British Archæological Asso-*

¹ Mr. Laird, p. 375, says "many coins" had been found there, some of the Lower Empire.

ciation, vol vii, p. 184), adds Pertinax to this list of emperors.

In vol. iii., p. 1,277, of his "Annals of Nottinghamshire," Mr. Bailey says, under the date of 1765, "A vessel filled with Roman coins was, during the summer of this year, dug up at a place called 'Robin Hood's Pot,' on the road to Rufford. Many of these coins, some of which were of a scarce class, were purchased by John Newton, Esq., of Bulwell Hall." This spot is very near the encampment called "Oldox," named by Major Rooke.

Mr. Lewis tells us that at Selston, nine miles S.W. from Mansfield, about the year 1830, an earthen vase containing silver coins was found in a field in the parish, 18 inches below the surface. It was found whilst ploughing. The coins were in good preservation, and were of Nero, Galba, Vitellius, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, besides family coins. Amongst them was a counterfeit of Vespasian.

Mr. Dickinson, in his History of Southwell (1801), p. 97, says that at Thurgarton Priory "more Roman coins than would fill a peck basket were found a few years since on removing a very ancient part of that fabric."

In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxviii, p. 427, Mr. W. Gain, in describing some irregular earthworks at Laxton and Egmonton, says that several Roman coins had been found at the former place. A *denarius* of Trajan and a second brass were in his possession. At Egmonton a few third brass, principally of Constantine the Great, had been found.

The temporary camps in the county, earthworks, are much obliterated, both those purely Roman, and such British works as the Romans subsequently occupied. Those at Barton and Everton, now quite obliterated, have already been named, also the tower at Harworth. A few others have yet to be named, in some of which it will also be seen that coins and other antiquities have been found.

At Hexgrave Park, four miles N.W. of Southwell, there are the imperfect remains of a large camp. It is noticed by Mr. Dickinson in his History of Southwell, by Major Rooke, in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix, p. 200, and by other writers. It includes an area of 40 acres, and commands extensive prospects. Military weapons have occasionally

been found, and Mr. Laird says, at p. 271, that Roman coins also have occurred. The ditch and vallum were perfect in places some years ago, and probably still remain so. In 1848 there was discovered, either in or near this encampment, a Roman pig of lead of the usual shape, weighing 184lbs. The length of the inscribed surface is $19\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the width $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The letters are an inch in length. It is now preserved at Thurgarton Priory. The inscription is—

C.IVL.PROTLBRIT.LVT.EX.ARG.

The expansion of which is no doubt *C(aii) Julii Proti Brit (annicum) Lut(udense) ex arg(entaria)*, and signify that it belonged to Caius Julius Protus, that it was British lead from which the silver had been extracted, and that it was from the mines of *Lutudae*. The latter station we know from the number of pigs found bearing its name, and from the Chorography of Ravennas was near Wirksworth in Derbyshire (See my paper on the "Identification of *Nario*, &c.," *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 50). At a place called the "Combes," four miles W.N.W. of Southwell, Major Rooke says, in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix, p. 200, that there are the remains of a Roman camp, where he found several portions of Roman bricks and tiles, "which the farmer told me they frequently turn up in ploughing." At p. 380 of vol. x of the *Archæologia* the same gentleman says that Dr. Pegge had a "first brass" Roman coin from this camp, but it was much defaced. On the same page he says that he had three "middle brass" coins in his possession, found near a camp about one mile south of the "Coombes," and about a mile from the village of Oxon or Oxtun, which he had discovered. It went by the name of "Oldox," which he thinks a contraction for "Old Works." Major Rooke thought it Roman, but as it seems of a very irregular shape in his plan of it (*Archæologia*, vol. 9), I think it is more probably a British camp, though perhaps afterwards occupied by the Romans.

Mr. Dickinson, at p. 7 of his "Explanatory Observations," says that at Epperstone Park are the remains of a Roman camp, very little obliterated, which is called "Holy Hill," whilst Mr. Laird says, p. 273, that a number of Roman coins were found at Epperstone in 1776. This is the camp on "Solly Hill," near Arnold, mentioned by

Dr. Gale, and which he very erroneously considered to be the *Causennæ* of the Itinerary. And Major Rooke, *Archæologia*, vol. x. p. 378, says that at the S.E. end of Sherwood Forest, two miles N.W. of the village of Arnold, there are the remains of a very extensive camp. Part of one end of it had been obliterated. It was 240 yards in breadth, and what remained of its length was 417 yards. The *prætorium* was very visible, and was 17 yards square. He gives a plan of this camp with his account of it, and says that several Roman coins have been found. Mr. Laird, p. 4, also gives an account of this camp, considering it to have been the central depôt of the Roman forces in the district. Its remains are still visible.

Near Mansfield Woodhouse there was a small post thus described by Mr. Laird, p. 399. "At one end of the town (or village properly speaking) there is a small eminence called *Winnyhill*; on this there are some remains of a Roman exploratory camp, of which the double ditch and vallum are still plainly to be seen on the right hand side of the road going to Warsop." And Mr. Dickinson's, p. 3 of Introduction, adds a few further particulars. "Part of a Roman exploratory camp near Mansfield Woodhouse, which, from its great elevation, commands a view of all the neighbouring camps, stations, and roads, especially the great camp in Pleasley Park (co. Derby)."

There appears to have been a Roman settlement of some nature between Dunham and Darlton, where a stone coffin containing a skeleton, and another skeleton beside it, was found in 1834, under a large cedar tree, uprooted by a storm of Jan. 7 in that year. Considerable traces of foundations of buildings still exist in the neighbourhood, which is called Wympton Moor. A village called Wymington or Wymeston formerly existed on this site.

There seem to have been many discoveries of funeral urns in the neighbourhood of Newark. Gough in his 1789 edition of Camden, Vol. ii, p. 291 says "Urns have been found near the Foss at Newark. In 1826 six urns were found in that town in digging the foundation of a house, and Mr. Andrew in his "Manners and Customs of the Romans" p. 94 says "on the Fosse road side, four

¹ London: Simpkin & Marshall, 1848.

urns, in a straight line at equal distances" were found "in one of which was a brass lar or household god, an inch and a half long."

The other minor remains found in the county may be summed up in Mr. Laird's remarks (p. 4). "In various parts of the county also have been found spears, fibulae, and keys of brass and evidently of Roman workmanship. These have more particularly been dug up about Newstead, and between Mansfield and Harlow Wood."

It now only remains for me to endeavour to point out the roads by which the stations, villas, &c., were connected, and this though not perhaps lengthy, is probably the most difficult part of my task.

The principal Roman road is the Fosse way, which enters the county from Lincolnshire at Potter's Hill, about two miles to the N.E. of *Croccolana* (Brough) and bearing in a S.W. direction connects that station with those at East Bridgeford, and Willoughby, close to the latter place entering Leicestershire after a course of about twenty seven and a half English miles. It is still much in the same state as when described by Mr. Laird (p. 5) "easily traced for many miles along the wolds, and is literally a fosse dug so deep that an army might march along it even now, without being seen except by those on the edge of the bank. Several of the roads through the wolds cross it in different places, particularly about Owthorpe and in many parts the remains of the old pitching with stones set on edge, may be found by clearing away the grass and weeds." The road though at present in places used as a means of conveyance especially where it passes through Newark, is grass grown, and its pavement full of deep ruts.

Dr. Gale, thought that a branch of the Ermin street left that road near Greetham Mill in Rutlandshire, bearing for Nottinghamshire, through part of the county of Lincoln. The Bishop of Cloyne and Rev. T. Leman, as we have seen, make this road lead to the bridge at Thorpe. The present Bishop of Nottingham (Dr. Trollope) in the *Proceeding of the Associated Archaeological Societies* for 1868 p. 160 says that "there are no traces of such a road now."

It appears certain however that this road led through

Thistleton, and thence N.W. Whether it joined the Fosse way at Thorpe however, is difficult to say, but that a road went from that place or East Stoke to the S.E., on or near the site of the present road through Cotham is more than probable. It would fall into the straight portion of Borobridge Lane, which, from various *indicia*, the name of "Staunton," &c., seems also to have originally had a Roman origin; near their junction there is a "Cold Harbour."

The road from Littleborough to Doncaster forming part of the 5th and 8th Itinera of Antonine, may also be very plainly traced. It passes through Sturton le Steeple, North and South Wheatley, Clayworth, by Drakeholes, the southern part of Everton, and by Plumtree Cottage, near which it enters Yorkshire, proceeding to Tickhill, where it is known as "Sunderland street." At many of these places Roman remains have been found. To the south of Bawtry it is crossed by another Roman road in parts still used, which bears the name in one part of "Long Bank Lane," and further south of "Blyth Road."

From the camp at Arnold a road seems to have gone to the north-north-east, at first called "Hollinwood Lane," (or that lane is on its site). It was continued northwards through Ollerton, and fell into the before-named "Blyth road."

Major Rooke says that a road "goes from Newark to the Forest of Shirewood, through part of Southwell, leaving Norwood Park on the left hand and Kirklington on the right. It then enters the forest, where great part of it has been destroyed, but it seems to appear again near Rainworth Water; this was the old Mansfield Road, and it has formerly been called *the Street*, which appellation proves it to have been a Roman road." Mr. Laird, quoting this (p. 6), adds that near Rainworth Water "it shews itself in an elevated ridge." The extant portions of this road have now a modern one superimposed upon them." It passes the encampment at Hexgrave, and seems to have been continued through Mansfield to the camp at Pleasley in Derbyshire. Dickinson (p. 3), says that it was paved. On his map he makes its eastern end point to the bridge at Windhorpe instead of Southwell.

Another Roman road proceeding to the S.E. from the

Roman station Derventio at Little Chester near Derby, crossed the Trent near the present "Trent Junction" railway station, but though visible and used, on the Derbyshire side, at Sawley, is totally obliterated on the Notts side. It seems however where last visible, to be undoubtedly pointing to the station at Willoughby (*Verometum*).

There are numerous other roads in the county which I am convinced are of Roman origin. Many are now modernised, and so altered that their origin is not at first suspected, and others have been much destroyed for agricultural purposes. Mr. Laird says, p. 6. "The forest tracts also contain many vestiges of those military ways which are invariably in a north west direction, that seeming to have been their line of march through this district, and these are in many places accompanied by exploratory camps." Would that modern improvements had spared more of them. At present little can be detected, but accurate survey might elicit much information. Let us hope this may be accomplished.

THE FINDING OF NAUKRATIS.¹

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

To give an account of a fruitful six months of work, within the space of an ordinary meeting paper, is scarcely to be expected; and as moreover a full description of the results will, I hope, appear shortly and so be accessible to all concerned, it seems hardly to be required. I will therefore rather attempt to render to this Institute a brief outline of the produce of my excavations and studies at Naukratis,—such an outline as will suffice for the general information of antiquaries who are not specialists, and will at the same time be a notification to specialists of anything which they should enquire into in more detail. I will not attempt therefore to encumber this outline with any arguments or authorities, since all those will be found fully stated in the volume now being prepared.

That the site in which I have been working with Mr. Griffith for the Egypt Exploration Fund is the city of Naukratis, no one has yet attempted to dispute. The position agrees, within two or three miles, with that given by Ptolemy, and is in accordance with the indication of the Pentingerian map of Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny, all the literary authorities who say anything relating to its position. The history of the town agrees with that of Naukratis, an archaic Greek city dating from the seventh century B.C. and extinct about the third century A.D. The great potteries here tally with the importance of the potteries of Naukratis. The archaic temple of the Milesian Apollo is named by Herodotus, and the temple of Aphrodite by Athenaeus. Finally in this town have come to light the only decree of the city of Naukratis, and the only autonomous coin of Naukratis, yet known.

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Nov. 5th, 1885.

The place was wholly unknown to any Europeans, archaeologists, or travellers. Yet it is only five miles from Teh el Barnd station, and anyone can visit it in a day from either Alexandria or Cairo. I hope that we may in future have the pleasure of seeing any true antiquary who may have the good fortune to visit that fascinating country, where though we cannot agree with Canning that each man that you meet is a mummy, yet each hillock you see is a city; and Roman remains are so unpleasantly abundant that the explorer may pull to pieces a Roman wall to build his own house, with as little remorse as a Saxon embedded Roman tiles in his church.

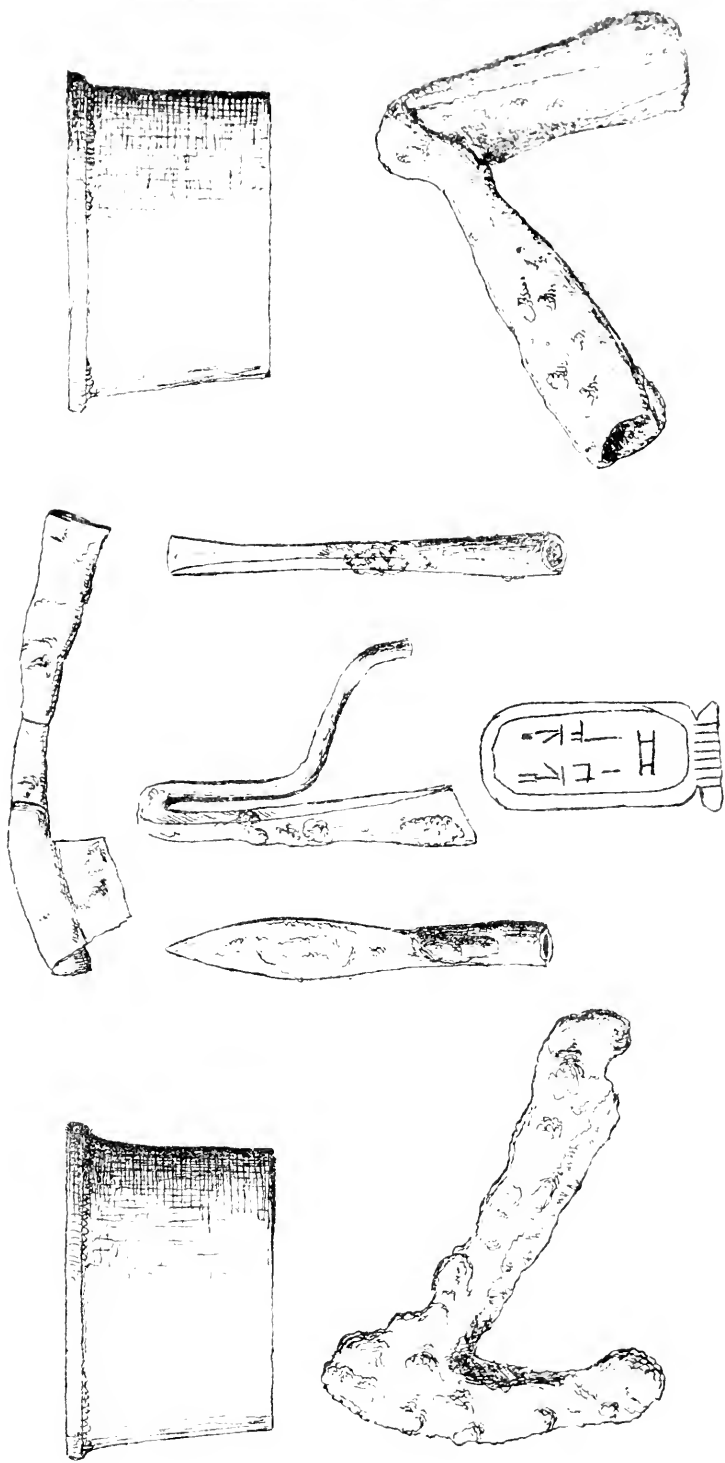
Of the buildings of Naukratis we have cleared the whole site of the temple of Apollo; the first temple about 600 B.C., and the second built on its ruins about 400 B.C. Only a few pieces of stone were left, but enough to recover the details of a peculiar form of archaic Ionic architecture, with a particular lotus pattern, like a prototype of the later Greek honeysuckle, around the top of column.

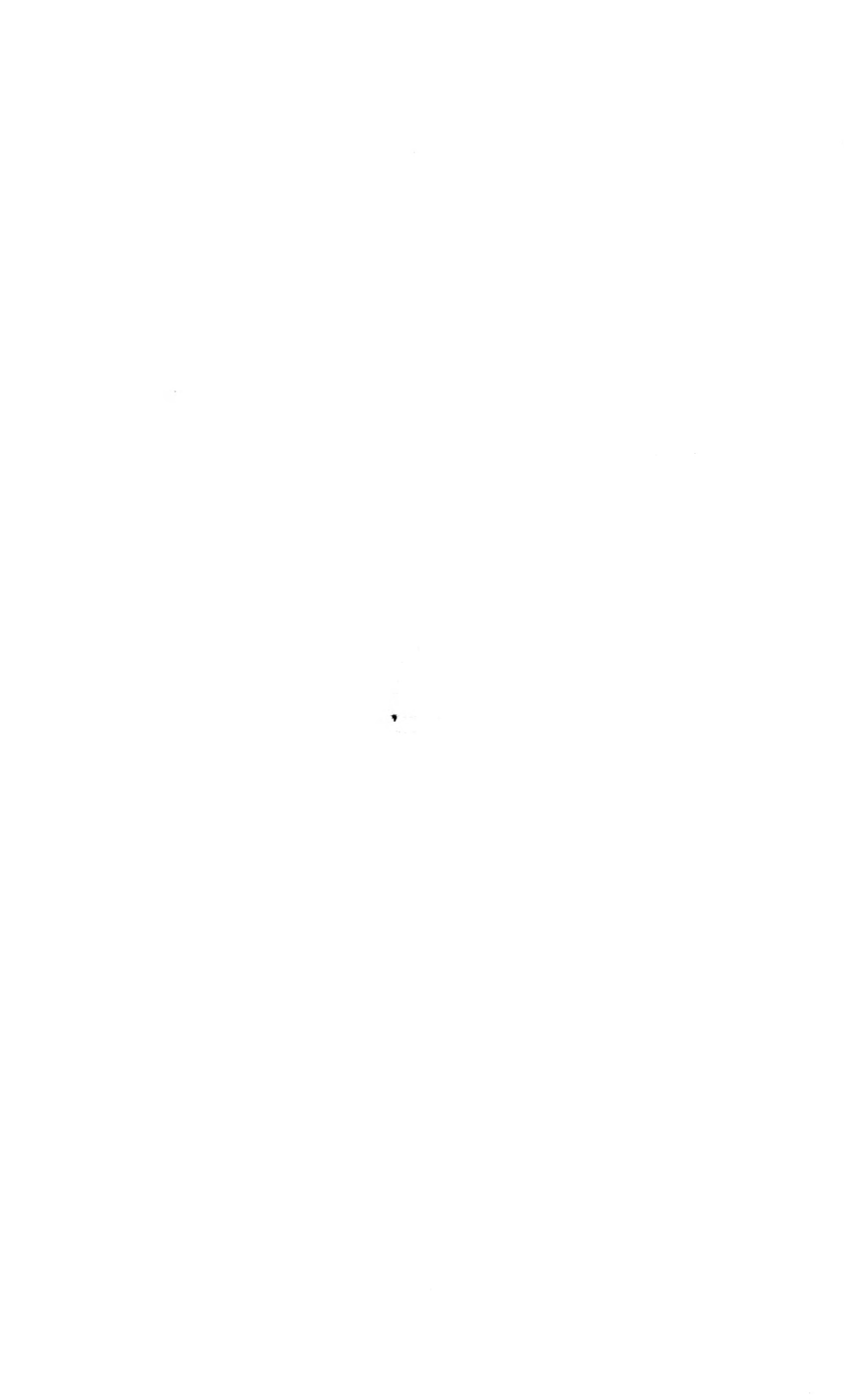
The temple of the Dioscouri is entirely destroyed, but the site of it, and its temenos or sacred enclosure have been ascertained. The temple of Aphrodite we have indications of, and I hope to open it up within two or three months. The temples of Zeus, of Hera, and of Athena remain to be found. The Pan-Hellenion—the greatest of the temenei of Naukratis, as it is called by Herodotus—we can almost certainly identify with an enormous enclosure on the south of the town; an enclosure larger than Lincoln's Inn Fields, with a wall, which would fill up a London street in breadth and in height to the top of the houses, and as long as the whole of the Strand: all built of large unbaked bricks.

Of later buildings the most important to us is one which is totally destroyed, not a single stone is left of even the foundations, yet what was left—the deposits beneath the foundations—make this one of the most valuable finds of the season. Beneath each corner of the building a square hole was cut in the ground and in it was placed a complete series of Models made for the purpose and buried in sand; models of all the ceremonial vessels used at the founding, models of the tools used in

NAUKRATIS, FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF PTOLEMY II.
MODELS: CEREMONIAL VESSELS AND TOOLS.

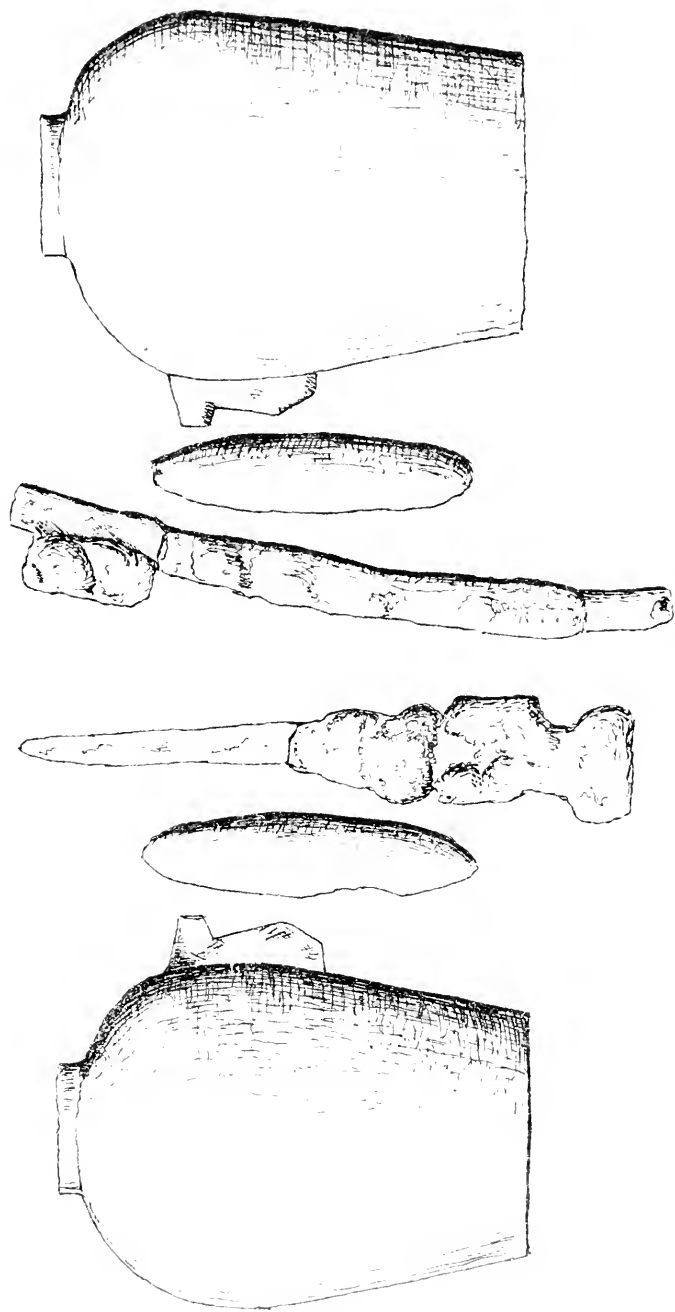
PLATE I





NAUKRATIS, FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF PTOLEMY II.
MODELS, CEREMONIAL VESSELS AND TOOLS.

PLATE II



NAUKRATIS, FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF PTOLEMY II. SAMPLES OF MATERIALS, ETC.

PLATE III.



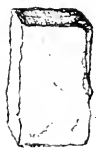
Iron



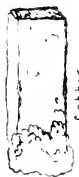
Gold



Silver



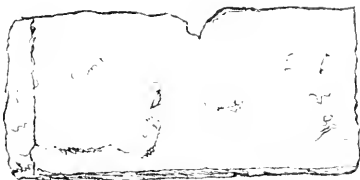
Lead



Copper



Green glazed pottery



Mud-brick



Turquoise



Jasper



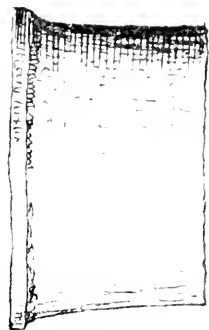
Lapis Lazuli



Agate



Turquoise, Obsidian
Jasper Lapis Lazuli



constructing the building, and samples of the materials employed in the building, together with the founder's name, Ptolemy Philadelphos, inscribed in hieroglyphics on a slip of lapis-lazuli. No such series is known before; a few scattered objects have been dug up by Arabs in different places, and sold without a history or a name; and we can only recognise what they have been now that we have a series of foundation deposits found entire. Each of the four sets had been more or less damaged in the destruction of the building, although buried in fine white sand, but from all the sets I have been able to restore a series entire for the British Museum. The others will appear in Egypt, America, and Germany. Such a find may I think be called an epoch in our knowledge of ancient customs, and small antiquities; we shall know what to look for in future, and where to wish for it under a building, and even after the building is destroyed.

Naukratis was the Greek Hong Kong and Birmingham in one: the treaty-port where they had their factories and imitated the work and arts of their early masters the Egyptians. The place to which they brought the iron ore from Elba, and smelted it, and made chisels and axes and hoes, arrow heads, spears and swords. This took place as early as the sixth century B.C.; and in Ptolemaic times they made fish hooks of iron largely. Copper ore was also brought there and smelted, and a silver worker's house was found while I was there.

Pottery was one of the principal trades of the place, and we have found quantities of broken bowls of certain types which were scarcely known elsewhere, and which were therefore undoubtedly made on the spot. The value of the digging of Naukratis to our knowledge of ancient pottery promises to be great, as here we have what no Greek city can shew us, a regular stratification growing at the rate of four feet in a century, and embedding in it the pottery of each decade in regular order. A most interesting branch of this trade is that of the glazed statuettes and scarabæi. Anyone who knows our National collection at all will remember the multitude of small glazed figures found in Greek tombs in Rhodes, and elsewhere about the south-west of Asia Minor. These figures are evident imitations of Egyptian work, but yet

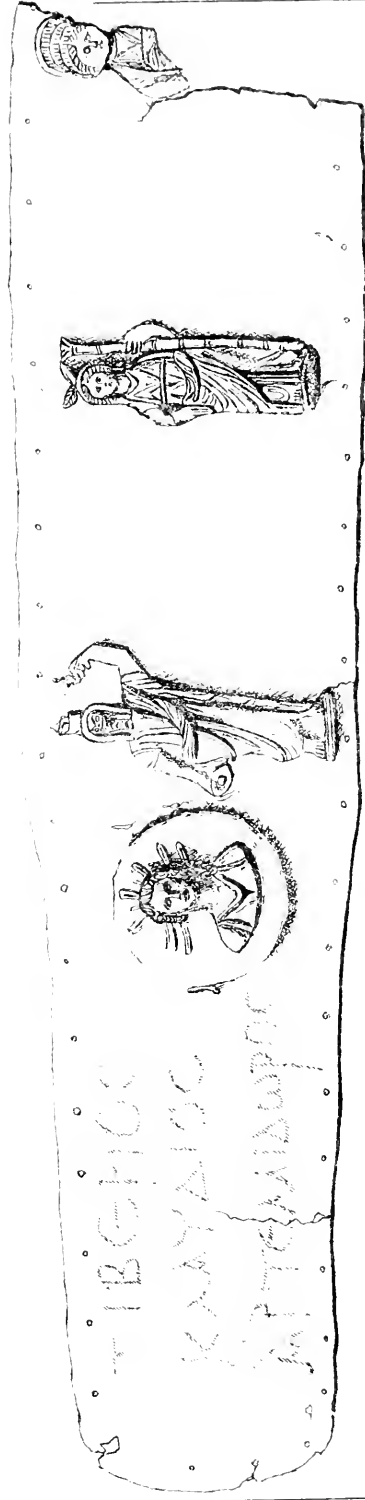
with different motives, different treatment, and somewhat different material. Where they came from has not yet been settled, and they have sometimes been credited to that general resource of uncertainties, the Phœnicians. Now, here at Naukratis I have found not only exactly the same figures, the same subjects, the same scarabæi, as have been found at Kameiros, but also the factory in which they were made, and hundreds of the moulds used for making them. Such a complete clearing up of a whole class of objects perhaps rarely falls to the lot of any exploration. This factory was destroyed in 570 B.C., as shown by the Egyptian kings' names found on its scarabæi. I hope that you will shortly see the parallel objects from Rhodes and from Naukratis placed side by side in one case in the British Museum.

For Greek inscriptions our work has answered well. Eight inscriptions on stone have been brought over or copied, and many fragments besides. But the more important class of inscriptions are those incised on bowls and pottery which were dedicated in the temple of Apollo. These inscriptions range over a space of nearly a century, from about 600 B.C. down to 520 B.C., a time but scantily represented hitherto. Fragments of hundreds of bowls have been dug out from the ancient rubbish hole, or rather trench, which was behind the archaic temple of Apollo. One of the most valuable is exhibited here, the dedication of a great *lebes* by Phanes, the Halikarnassian traitor who deserted his countrymen, and his adopted nation, and went over to the Persians. There can scarcely be a doubt, that this vase was his gift to the temple.

Besides the inscription from the temple of Apollo some were obtained from the temenos of the Dioscuri serving to identify that temenos, and others, with the names of Hera and of Aphrodite.

Of later times I would call your attention to a fine piece of gold repoussée work of the first century A.D. and some other ornaments which were found with it. The figures on it represent Helios, Hygeia, Ceres, and probably Juno; but unhappily half of it is lost.

One of the best results for scientific archæology is the large collection of weights which have been obtained.



The weights of the Egyptian and Assyrian standards far outnumber all the examples hitherto known, while the Greek weights will add largely to the published lists. Over 500 weights in all have been collected this season, and the examination and treatment of them have occupied a large part of my time in England. They will be completely published in weight, form, and material, in the account of Naukratis.

The thousands of small objects brought over prevent my noticing them in detail. The general classes are, beside those already mentioned, archaic alabaster statuettes, archaic terra-cotta figures, terra-cotta of the finest Greek period, and terra-cotta of the decadence and Roman times. Miscellaneous painted Greek pottery of all ages from the seventh century B.C. down to the latest decadence of patterns and appliqué figures in the Roman age. Bronzes of Egyptian types, though probably made by Greek workmen to a great extent. Calu stamps of Roman age. A large quantity of Greek coins, both early silver and Ptolemaic copper coins. Many rude stone figures of various types have been found; they are generally of about the third century B.C., so far as I could observe. The forms are horsemen; cocks; seated figures, holding a drum with both hands on the knees; squatting figures like a cat seated, but with fingers and a human head; and female figures lying on the side, with a head-rest beneath the head; these last are the commonest, and in good specimens, they are reclining on a striped stuff couch, with lotus flowers painted on the slab behind them, and with a child standing by the feet, probably votive offerings after childbirth. Fragments of sculpture are often to be found in the ruins, indeed the whole ground in the Temenos of Apollo is thick with chips of fine white marble. Only within the last four years the natives have found two large inscribed stelae in that enclosure, with long inscriptions, and smashed them up for stone. Chips of statues, of carving, of inscriptions, are continually turning up, and one of the most curious pieces is part of a limestone model of a large building of mud bricks; the position of the windows which are in the upper floor only, and blank walls with narrow ventilators in the lower floor, agrees exactly with the form of a

great block of chambers in the Greek Temenos, and perhaps it may be part of a model of that building which seems to have been storehouse and fort in one.

The prospects for future work at Naukratis are excellent, that is if the British public will back it. About half of the site has been cleared already by the Arabs; but half, and that containing four temples, is still unopened ground. To clear it all entirely would be a matter of ten or twenty thousand pounds; but by trenching through it we may hope to come to some valuable sites. We have the great advantage in one respect that the Arabs dig largely here every year, perhaps 200 working for a couple of months; and so a quantity of objects is found without the cost of working. As I pay the same for things whoever finds them, this is a great saving to the Fund and we can step in at any time if a valuable site is reached and work it ourselves. The principal management of the work will be in the hands of an excellent Greek scholar Mr. Ernest Gardner, fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, who has prepared himself by the examination and allotment of all the antiquities which I brought over this year, and by treating all the inscriptions found. Thus a short acquaintance with the place will enable him to carry on the work as well or better than anyone else could do it. It is perhaps the most valuable site for Greek archæology of the early historic period that will ever be found; in Greece the rocky slopes do not preserve things in their original positions, whereas in Egypt the perfect flat of the Delta mud allows every thing to lie where it falls; and the quick washing away of the mud brick houses, and accumulation of dust, soon buries everything out of sight in a close fitting soft bed of mud, which has formed on an average a foot of deposit every twenty-five years. If this city be not thoroughly and scientifically worked out, and that soon, (for in another generation it will all have disappeared by Arab diggings) the loss to our knowledge of archaic Greek life, trade, manufactures, and history will be irreparable.

A few words respecting an object here exhibited which is not from Naukratis but from an Egyptian capital about

six miles from there. This bronze head of Horus, under the form of a hawk, crowned with the disc of the sun, has been the figure-head of one of the sacred barks belonging to a temple; such a shrine as was carried in processions on the shoulders of the priests. As a piece of bronze work it is among the best known; but as an example of rich inlaying with gold it is unequalled; no figure in the British Museum, Louvre, Turin, or Bulak, approaches the magnificence of this example. It will grace the British Museum in future, as I have presented it to the Egyptian Department.

I need hardly say that all important objects, and complete sets of all classes of things, from Naukratis, have been presented to the British Museum by the Egypt Exploration Fund; other museums at home and abroad have benefited by the large number of duplicates which were not necessary for our great collection. A great part of the objects selected may be now seen in the first vase room in a table case. The stone tablets and sphinxes which I discovered last year at Tanis have now been placed in the great Egyptian Saloon near the entrance.

ON THE DIFFERENCE OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST
BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND THOSE
OF MONKS; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH
SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

Having now examined at length the grounds of the assumption which, as I have said, quite unconsciously, perhaps, underlies the assertion that the canons *built* their churches, and shewn that in a very large proportion of examples, at least, such was certainly not the case, it next devolves on me to test the accuracy of the further assertion that those churches—by whomsoever built—were built “on the parish church lines, though much larger than the parish church, adopting the cruciform, which was the finest form of parish church . . . but still keeping its characteristic want of aisles.” Now at the outset, it is evident that this statement, whatever proportion of truth it may contain, must yet be accepted with very considerable reservations. For, in the first place, many of these churches of canons, so far from being much larger than the ordinary parish church, were probably very small and inconsiderable buildings indeed—mere aisleless parallelograms in fact, like those of the smaller Benedictine, and other conventual churches of monks and nuns of which I have already produced so many examples; and in the second, others of them, though on a larger scale, were yet not cruciform at all. To the former class may doubtless be relegated a very large proportion of those of the smaller houses, of which, out of a total of two hundred and eighteen, there were no fewer than fifty three with a clear income of less than fifty pounds a year, while of these again there were twenty three with one of less than twenty, several of them being actually under ten. To the latter, also a large number, probably, of which, owing to their more or less complete destruction, obscure position, or lack of accessible information it is impossible for me to speak particularly, but which are nevertheless illustrated by such examples as those of Flanesford, Keynsham, Staverdale, Ulverscroft, Walsingham, Waybourne, Blackmore, Sheringham—Bruton, Carham, Caversham, Gresley, Kirkby Beler, South Kyme, Letheringham and Westacre—all transeptless churches. It seems desirable, I think, to point to the existence of such examples in this place, as tending to shew how entirely free from uniformity of design or system, the plans of the canons’ churches were; and how, everywhere, like those of the monks, they were adapted to meet the exigencies of each particular case. Speaking generally, however, it is no doubt true enough that the majority of the more important class of canons’ churches

were—like those of the Benedictines—cruciform, and for precisely similar reasons. But that, even when aisleless, as occasionally happened, they were built, as asserted, on the parish church lines, is an entirely different thing. For it must be remembered that something far beyond the lines of mere ground plans—even when such approximate—goes to make up the “lines” of buildings. The collegiate church of S. Stephen, Westminster, for example—the richest and most perfect piece of mediæval English architecture that ever existed, perhaps, was a simple parallelogram, the ground plan of which differed little or nothing from that of the flimsiest and most trumpery “Little Bethel” of to-day. And so with respect to cruciform churches. The most casual and uninformed observer, I suppose, could hardly fail to distinguish between the monastic character even of such churches as those of Lanercost, Haughmond, Bolton, Brinkburn, or Leicester, as it is described to us, and that of a mere parish church, even when of so grand a type and on so large a scale as that of S. Mary’s, Nottingham, for example. Skyline and outline as well as ground line, proportion, style, spirit, construction, all combine to give character in such cases, and usually leave no room for doubt whatever as to which class any particular example must belong. The differential qualities, varying doubtless more or less in every instance, are still, I think, not only invariably present, but in such degree as to make themselves plainly and instantly apparent; and though speaking generally, difficult to define, yet perfectly easy to perceive. The parochial and monastic types, indeed, notwithstanding some possibly occasional points of approach whether of plan or character, will be seen for the most part to be just as indelibly impressed upon the two classes of buildings, as physical and other peculiarities of race upon the different families of men. The ordinary monastic church—whether aisled or aisleless—however small and void of ornament it may be, is still unmistakeably the monastic church;—the parish church, however vast or splendid, the mere parish church and nothing more, throughout. And naturally enough, for it is a primary note and characteristic of all true architecture, and one eminently distinguishing that of the middle ages, that its works should in every case declare their purpose in the clearest and distinctest way possible, and, alike in construction and expression, be wholly devoted to that end. It must, I think, have been the momentary forgetfulness of this great underlying principle of truthfulness that caused Mr. Freeman—I forget on the instant where—when speaking of the churches of Boston, and, if I remember rightly, of S. Michael’s, Coventry, to note, and at the same time regret the fact that, notwithstanding their magnificence of scale and splendour of detail, they were mere exaggerated and colossal parish churches after all, when so much grander and statelier an effect might have been achieved by their being built on the collegiate, or conventual “lines.” But surely, this outspoken declaration of purpose, so far from being a defect, constitutes one of their very chiefest claims to our admiration. Being in effect simple parish churches, notwithstanding their size and richness, they pretend to be nothing more; their builders, as it should seem, being rightly more anxious to make them what they are—the very grandest parish churches in the world, than fraudulent imitations of a class altogether alien, and with which they had no concern. This rule of truthfulness, or, as it might with equal propriety be termed, of

common sense, however, was of universal prevalence, and not restricted in application to buildings of this or that particular class. What wonder then if parish and conventual churches, so different in their origin, nature, and requirements, should, whether large or small, aisled or aisleless, follow throughout their structure, lines as essentially diverse as the aims and characters of their builders? Their difference of type was precisely that which distinguished the secular and monastic spirit; and however the several classes of monastic churches might vary subordinately among themselves,—the Benedictine from the Cistercian,—both from the Cluniac,—all three from the Dominican and Franciscan,—and the whole collectively perhaps, to some extent from that of the Austin Canons—in every case the “religious” as opposed to the lay element is readily discernible, and cannot possibly be confounded with it. Let any one disposed to doubt the fact, compare, for illustration’s sake, the conspicuously largest and most splendid parish churches in the land—those of Boston, Newark, S. Michael’s, Coventry, S. Mary’s Nottingham, and S. Mary Redcliffe, for example—the two later cruciform—with even such small, simple, and comparatively insignificant monastic churches as those of Brinkburn, Buildwas, Netley, or Egliston, and the diverse and contrariant elements will be understood at once. The one class, as plainly as could be expressed in words, proclaims the citizen:—the other, the recluse. In any case, the mere lines of the ground plans, though now and then perhaps, slightly approximating, will be seen to have little or no more to do with producing similarity of character in the two classes of churches than the possession of like physical features has in respect of the typical burgher and the monk. Generally speaking, the social elements of breadth, cheerfulness, lightness, homeliness, will be found prevailing in the one; the ascetic, of height, narrowness, austerity, monumental solidity in the other; the common life of the citizen, and that of those dead to the world and its affairs being accurately typified and expressed in each. But the lines of expression, like those which pourtray human life and character, are infinitely varied, and to be traced throughout—not in such a mere single and secondary particular as the presence or absence of aisles. For these were features, or adjuncts, common to churches of every class, whether of monks, canons, or laymen, equally and alike, and their presence or absence in every case was determined, not by mystical, or caste considerations, but solely by those of fitness and utility. How little, indeed, the possession of aisles was considered as in itself conducing to dignity or distinction, may be seen from the specifications contained in the will of king Henry VII. for the building of King’s College Chapel, Cambridge—one of the grandest and stateliest of sixteenth century churches—in which it is expressly ordained “that the same church” which was to “containe 288 feete of assize in length,” and “all of the wideness of 40 feet” should be—“*without any gyles.*” What the canons had to consider, and what, doubtless, following the universal rule, they did consider was, the particular arrangements which, in each several case, met their own individual convenience most exactly, and then to lay out their plans accordingly. Whether parish churches, or those of monks, were, in such and such instances, cruciform or simple, aisled or aisleless, could not possibly effect the question in the least. Suitability—the fundamental principle of all good architecture—would necessarily be their first and chief consideration, and that secured, they would then seek to

give such dignity and expression to their work as befitted their position and their means. As to copying—could we for a moment suppose them capable of such a weakness—the “lines” of parish churches would seem on every ground to be the very last that they would follow, for not only had they less in common with their own than any others, but, if there be, perhaps, a law of human nature more universally acted on than another it is this:—that the less should imitate the better, not the better, the less. But, theory apart, it is now time to betake ourselves to the examination of actual examples, and see how far they bear out the allegation that the Austin Canons in building their churches, as asserted, on the lines of the cruciform parish church, “*still kept to its characteristic want of aisles.*” For, as may perhaps be remembered, I have undertaken to shew in answer to this statement,—“That it is not only inherently improbable to suppose that the Austin Canons in building their churches, should take the aisleless, cruciform parochial type, as it is called for their model, which considering the number of their aisled churches could not possibly have been the case; but that the parish church, *quâ* parish church, was probably never, under any circumstances, parochial.” First then, as to the examples of aisled Austin Canons’ churches of which we have direct evidence. They are as under:—

WALTHAM HOLY CROSS ABBEY CHURCH, ESSEX.—The rebuilt eastern parts of this church are now destroyed: but, it was cruciform, with a central, and—provision for—two western towers; and had, and has still, *a nave with north and south aisles.*

WALSINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—This noble church, of which, like that of Guisborough, only the eastern gable remains standing—consisted of *a choir with north and south aisles*; a central, and a western tower; and *nave with north and south aisles.*

BREEDON PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—Originally, a cruciform church, of which all that now remains is a fine *choir with north and south aisles.*

BAMBURGH PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—A cruciform church with deep monastic choir and west tower, *the nave of which has north and south aisles.*

S. JULIAN AND S. BOTOLPH PRIORY CHURCH, COLCHESTER.—This noble church, reputed to be the first Austin Canons’ church in England, would seem to have been built on the most complete monastic plan. The eastern parts are now destroyed, but it had a central, and two western towers—the latter extending beyond the aisles, as at Wells—and a grand *nave with north and south aisles.*

WORKSOP PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—One of the largest and finest of its class. It consisted of a long apsidal *choir with north and south aisles*, to the latter of which was added in the thirteenth century, a very fine and large lady chapel; transepts; central, and two western towers; and *nave with north and south aisles.*

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL PRIORY CHURCH, CUMBERLAND.—From the first, this church was constructed with a *choir having north and south aisles*; transepts; a central tower; and *nave with north and south aisles*.

DUNMOW PARVA PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—Of this fine church only a fragment—but a very beautiful and instructive one—remains. Its arcade, which is of fine transitional character, shews that the choir had aisles of five bays in length; and that the church, of which it formed part, was probably cruciform. The western parts are destroyed.

CHRIST CHURCH PRIORY CHURCH, LONDON.—This was entirely pulled down by the first grantee, Sir Thomas Audley, at the dissolution, and we have therefore few particulars respecting it; but as Stowe says that it was “a very fair and large church . . . and *passed all the priories in London and Middlesex*,” and as we have very full particulars of some, at least, of these, there can be no doubt that it too, like them, was aisled throughout.

S. MARY OVEREY PRIORY CHURCH, SOUTHWARK.—A fine cruciform building consisting of a *choir of five bays, with north and south aisles*, to the east of which was attached the famous Lady Chapel; transepts; central tower; and *nave with north and south aisles*.

CIRENCESTER ABBEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—This church, which was founded by King Henry I in 1117, and completely finished by him in fourteen years, retained the original construction of its eastern parts, apparently to the last. It was cruciform, consisting of a *choir with north and south aisles*; transepts; a central tower doubtless,—whether there were others does not appear—and *nave with north and south aisles*. From William of Worcester's measurements it seems to have been 233 feet in length over all; the choir being 123 feet long by 63 feet wide, while the width of the nave and its two aisles, which were of late work, was about 72 feet.

HEXHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—All that now remains of this fine church is the great *choir with its north and south aisles*; the transept with its *eastern aisle or chapels*; and the central tower. The nave which, if ever built, could only have had a single aisle, is wholly wanting.

THURGARTON PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—But a very small fragment of this once magnificent structure now remains standing, consisting of the north western tower, and an attached portion of the nave. Originally, however, it would seem to have consisted of an *aisled choir*; transepts; a central, and two western towers; and a grand *nave with both north and south aisles*.

LANERCOST PRIORY CHURCH, CUMBERLAND.—A simple, but thoroughly monastic and dignified church. It is cruciform; with an *aisled choir and transepts*; a low central tower; and a nave with a north aisle only.

DUNSTABLE PRIORY CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE.—Only the western parts of this grand building remain ; but, it was originally cruciform, with, I think, an aisled choir ; transepts ; a central, and—perhaps—two western towers, of which one only is standing ; and a noble *nave with north and south aisles*.

GUISBOROUGH PRIORY CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.—This magnificent building—upwards of 380 feet in length—was composed throughout in the utmost style of monastic splendour. It was cruciform, and its matchless *choir with north and south aisles, comprised nearly one half of it*. It had a central, and two western towers ; and *the nave hath both north and south aisles*.

BRIDLINGTON PRIORY CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.—In its original state this grand church, which, as the existing nave roof shews, seems never to have been quite finished, must almost have rivalled that of Guisborough in dimensions, though somewhat inferior to it in splendour. Cruciform in plan, it appears to have had an interior length of about 355 feet, of which *the choir with its two aisles and range of eastern chapels occupied about 150*. There was also, as we learn, a very lofty central, as well as two western towers. The transept, and everything east of it is now destroyed ; *only the nave and its aisles, 186 feet in length, and the lower parts of the west towers remain standing*.

S. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT PRIORY CHURCH, LONDON.—This well known church consisted of an *apsidal choir with a surrounding aisle*, east of which was a large rectangular Lady-chapel of later date ; transepts ; a central tower ; and *nave with north and south aisles*—the latter, together with the transepts now destroyed.

CHRIST CHURCH TWYNEM PRIORY CHURCH, HANTS.—Like the two preceding examples, this church is one of great size and noble character. It is upwards of 310 feet in length, and cruciform ; consisting of a Lady-chapel, *choir with north and south aisles ; transept with apsidal eastern chapels* ; a central tower originally, but now only a western one ; *nave with north and south aisles* ; and an unusually large and deep north porch.

THORNTON ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—A very fine church, of which a brief notice with illustrations of various details, may be seen in vol. ii. p. 357, of this Journal. It was cruciform, consisting of a *choir with north and south aisles of six bays* ; transepts ; a central tower ; and *nave with north and south aisles*—all of a very high order.

BRUTON ABBEY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—This church consists of an aisleless chancel—rebuilt ; *nave with north and south aisles* ; porch, and lower part of a tower to the north ; and another, and very noble one—among the finest in Somersetshire—to the west.

S. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, BRISTOL.—This fine and interesting building was aisled throughout from its foundation. It consists of a *choir with north and south aisles*, rebuilt in the 14th century, with an attached 13th century Lady-chapel to the north ;

transepts; a central, and originally, two western towers; and *a nave with north and south aisles*—the latter recently rebuilt for the second time.

BOURNE ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—This church, of which—being parochial—there are still interesting remains, consists of an aisleless choir; *nave with north and south aisles of Norman date*; aisle transepts; and two western towers; of these, the northern one is now in ruins.

NEWARK PRIORY CHURCH, SURREY.—According to the late Mr. M. Walcott, this was a cruciform structure *with eastern chapels to the transept, which, like the north and south aisles of both choir and nave were shut off by solid walling.*

ROYSTON PRIORY CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.—All that now remains of this once fine church, which was cruciform, is *the choir with its north and south aisles*, and the central tower. The whole of the western parts were destroyed as early as the time of Leland.

REPTON PRIORY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.—Although originally constructed by the foundress, Maud, widow of Ranulph, second Earl of Chester, on an aisleless, cruciform plan, this church was afterwards greatly extended by the Canons who threw out *north and south aisles to both nave and choir*, to the south of which again, they erected a fine and large Lady chapel.

BRINKBURN PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—A small, but exceedingly fine and interesting church of the original construction, and perfectly preserved. It is cruciform, with a short aisleless chancel; *transepts with eastern aisles*; a central tower; and *nave with a north aisle only*. Anything less like, or less suggestive of a parish church, whether in plan or general appearance, could hardly be conceived.

OVINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—The church of Ovingham which served both as that of the parish and also of a small cell of two or three Canons from Hexham, is not only perfectly preserved, but of a plan, as far as I know, unique. In form nearly an exact Greek cross, it consists of an aisleless chancel; *a nave with north and south aisles*; *transepts with western aisles*; and a western tower; the latter, apparently, of Saxon character, though probably post-conquest date. The rest of the church is all of one period—early thirteenth century, and built at a single effort.

BODMIN PRIORY CHURCH, CORNWALL.—This church has long been utterly destroyed, and our sole knowledge respecting its dimensions, therefore, is derived from the measurements of William of Worcester. From these it appears to have been a somewhat small building, about 135 feet in length, and a little over 50 feet in breadth. Being, as disinterred fragments shew, of Norman construction, it had therefore, clearly, *both north and south aisles*.

CHIRBURY PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.—The whole of the eastern parts of this church are now entirely destroyed; all that remains of it

being the western tower, *and the nave, which has north and south aisles of very fine Early English work.*

S. GERMAN'S PRIORY CHURCH, CORNWALL.—This interesting church—once of cathedral dignity—is now reduced to a mere fragment of its former self. What is left of it consists of the two western towers, and *the nave, which has both north and south aisles.*

S. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY, NOW CHRISTCHURCH CATHEDRAL CHURCH, OXFORD.—An Austin Canons' church of the most complete type, and built from end to end continuously, without a break. It consisted originally of *a spacious choir with north and south aisles; transepts with east and west aisles; a central tower; and nave with north and south aisles*, all of a fine, and gradually progressive Transitional character throughout.

S. MARTIN'S PRIORY CHURCH, DOVER.—This once noble, but now utterly destroyed church, which eventually became one of Benedictine monks, was built in the first instance by William de Corbeuil, Abp. of Canterbury—himself an Austin Canon—for brethren of his own order. How far the works had proceeded at the time of his death—some three or four years after their foundations were put in—is uncertain; but they had advanced sufficiently for the canons to take possession: when doubtless the plan of the whole building would have been decided on, and laid out by the founder. Being all of pure Norman work—built by an Austin Canon—for the use of Austin Canons—it is therefore of singular interest. Cruciform, with a central tower, it was of great size, being about 300 feet in length, by 160 feet across the transept, and 71 feet in breadth. Eastwards, *was a choir having north and south aisles of three bays each, and terminating further east in deep apsidal chapels*, while the central choir itself was continued for a nearly equal length further east still in an aisleless form, and finished squarely. North and south of the external line of the choir aisle walls, *the transept opened eastwards into two apsidal chapels on either side the crossing*, as at Lincoln. West of the crossing and central tower was *the nave with north and south aisles, and no less than nine bays in length.* No stronger refutation I think, of the aisleless, parish church type theory, than that offered by this peculiarly professional, or class example, could be desired.

HARTLAND ABBEY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.—This is a triply cruciform church, having transeptal chapels to chancel; *nave with north and south aisles*, to which aisle transepts are attached; and two “extended porches,” north and south, to the west of those transepts.

TRENTHAM ABBEY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.—This once fine church has now been for some forty years or more wholly destroyed; and accurate information respecting its plan is, as I find on enquiry, difficult to obtain. I believe, however, there is no doubt but that, whatever may have been the case with the eastern parts, the nave at least, had both north and south aisles.

CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.—A fine cruciform church,

consisting of a *choir with north and south aisles*; transept; central tower; and *nave with north and south aisles*—the whole, more or less of the original construction.

KIRKBY BELER PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—This church, which still exists as that of the parish, and is in perfect preservation, consists of an aisleless chancel; *nave with north and south aisles*; and a remarkably fine western tower and spire.

BLACKMORE PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—Like the preceding examples, the church of Blackmore—which was also parochial—is still standing in its entirety. It consists of a *chancel and nave which have continuous north and south aisles*; and a western tower of wood. An account of it, with a ground plan, may be seen in Buckler's *Churches of Essex*, p.p. 136-48.

LANTHONY PRIORY CHURCH, MONMOUTHSHIRE.—A fine cruciform church, consisting of a *partially aisled choir*; transepts; central, and two western towers; and *nave with north and south aisles*.

KIRKHAM PRIORY CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.—As originally built by the founders, Walter L'Espee and his wife Adeline, in the 12th century, this church would seem to have been a cruciform one, consisting of a central tower; an aisleless nave and choir; and *transepts, with eastern aisles or chapels*,—the latter features however, quite sufficient in themselves to distinguish the building from the “aisleless, cruciform parish church.” Afterwards, when fully under the rule of the canons, the choir was rebuilt on a larger scale, and with the addition of north and south aisles.

DORCHESTER ABBEY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.—As first built—whether by the reputed founder, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln or not—for the earliest portions appear to belong to circa 1180, or forty years after the date assigned—the design of this church would appear to have been a very exceptional one indeed, being not cruciform, but consisting of a long aisleless nave and western tower which were parochial; and a choir with north and south aisles separated from it, not by arcades, but by solid walls as at Bradsole, and—if Mr. Walcott may be trusted—at Newark and Lilleshuil. At a very slightly later date, but still during the period of the transition, it is perhaps possible that this walled in choir with its aisles was extended further eastwards to about the exact length of the nave—fragments of that date still existing at the entrance of the later, present fourteenth century sanctuary. That the choir of the canons had aisles in the first instance, is shewn by a portion of the external wall of that which still remains on the north side towards the west; but the later, and far wider thirteenth or fourteenth century aisle to the south has, of course, effectually destroyed all traces of the corresponding one in that direction. As it stands—in the form to which the canons brought it in the fourteenth century—the church consists of an aisleless sanctuary, of the richest and most original, if not indeed, unique design; *a choir with north and south aisles of three bays*; a nave with a south aisle only; and a western tower. For a full, most interesting, and appreciative

account of Dorchester church, by Mr. Freeman, see vol. ix. of this Journal.

LITTESHULL PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.—This was a cruciform structure with a central tower; aisleless nave; and—if Mr. Walcotts' account be correct—with its eastern parts arranged as at Bradsole; that is to say—a *transept having an eastern chapel in each limb*; and a *choir with north and south aisles* shut off, as would seem to have been the case at Dorchester, and as was certainly so at Bayham, Rochester, and S. Albans, by solid walls, instead of, as usual, by arcades.

SOUTH KYME PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—Of this church—which was parochial when the Canons were placed in it—there are but very scanty remains now to be seen above ground. To the kindness of Precentor Venables—and through him, to that of Mr. Kirk, Architect, Sleaford, who has taken great pains through personal exploration to recover the plan of the original structure—I am able to state that it was cruciform, and consisted of a deep choir, and transepts, which were aisleless; a central tower; and a *nave with north and south aisles*.

SHERINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Here, we have an aisleless chancel; *nave with north and south aisles*; and a western tower. Besides the screen, this church still retains the rare feature of its rood-loft.

HOLYROOD ABBEY CHURCH, EDINBURGH.—Of this magnificent church, founded in 1128, by King David the first, all that now remains is the nave and lower parts of the two western towers. It was originally cruciform, with probably a central tower in addition: but the whole of the eastern parts, including the transept, are now destroyed. Enough remains, however, to shew that the transept and central tower—of which the western arch remains perfect—were in the pointed style, thus proving that they were either rebuilt, or, what is, perhaps, more likely, that the progress of the building—as indeed the details of the nave itself declare—was gradual. That the choir—whether rebuilt or not—was, even in the first instance, aisled, may I think, naturally be inferred from the remains of that at Jedburgh—founded ten years earlier by the same monarch—where the arcades of the aisles—somewhat resembling those of Christ Church, Oxford, but earlier—are of rich, and very remarkable Norman character. As to the nave, which was richly vaulted throughout, there can be no doubt, however, for it is still standing with its *north and south aisles of eight bays*—one of the richest and noblest examples of late Transition, and early pointed architecture extant. Altogether, this famous structure must have offered, when complete, as perfect an example of a monastic, as contrasted with a parish church, as could be found in either of the two Kingdoms.

JEDBURGH ABBEY CHURCH, ROXBURGHSHIRE.—This noble church—which still happily, remains in almost perfect preservation—is of singular interest, not only from its architectural excellence, but as illustrating in its progressive character that of Holyrood, and possibly of Scone as well—due, like them, to the munificence of a royal founder. It is cruciform, consisting of an *aisled choir*; transepts; central tower—still perfect; and

a long *nave with north and south aisles*;—the latter, both originally vaulted. The earliest portion is found in the arcades of the choir—of two bays on each side—which include within their upper arches those of the triforium; the lower arches—which open to the aisles—springing out of the tall cylindrical columns far below the level of their capitals proper, from brackets, as in the contemporary example at Romsey, and the somewhat later one at Oxford—an arrangement which, in the latter case, led in days gone by to some rather absurdly ingenious speculation. How the choir terminated originally, does not now appear: most probably however, it was in an apse. But whatever the arrangement, it was removed on the completion of the nave, when the choir was continued somewhat further east in a square ended aisleless form in the Transitional style. The transepts are aisleless: but the magnificent nave—within which a Presbyterian place of worship has been contrived—extends with its aisles, triforium, and clerestory to a vast length, and equals, in the vigour and delicacy of its architecture, the finest examples of the period anywhere.

Besides the above examples of aisled Austin Canon's Churches proper, may be adduced the following taken from those of the seculars which were of minster-like size and character: and wholly exclusive of such as were of the ordinary parochial type.

S. JOHN'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, CHESTER.—This fine building designed primarily, in the last quarter of the eleventh century, as the seat of the bishopric, consisted of a *choir of four bays with north and south aisles*; transepts; a *nave of five bays with north and south aisles*; and a central, and probably two western towers, of which the northern one now alone remains. For plan &c. see Parker's "Medieval Architecture of Chester."

SOUTHWELL COLLEGIATE, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH—consists of an aisleless Lady-chapel of two bays—which is a prolongation of the choir itself, and of the same height and breadth; a *spacious choir of six bays with north and south aisles*, and aisle-transepts; transepts proper, with—as would seem, originally—apsidal eastern chapels; a *nave of eight bays with north and south aisles*; and a central, and two western towers—the whole, with the exception of the choir and its appendages, which are a thirteenth century rebuilding, of pure Norman work throughout. That the original Norman choir too, had aisles as well as the nave, is shewn by Norman arches of entrance to them, which still exist to the north and south of the eastern pillars of the great tower. An excellent account of this fine church by the late Rev. J. L. Petit, accompanied by plan, views, and numerous plates of details, may be seen in the Lincoln vol. of the Institute.

WIMBORNE MINSTER, DORSETSHIRE.—This interesting and picturesque structure which was made collegiate before the Conquest—probably by King Edward the Confessor—consists of a *choir with north and south aisles, of late Norman date with Early English extensions*; transepts; a *nave with north and south aisles of Transitional character*; a fine central tower of the same period; and another massive, western one, which is wholly Perpendicular. An excellent notice of this church by the late

Rev. J. L. Petit, accompanied by numerous illustrations, may be seen in Salisbury vol. of the Institute.

RIPON MINSTER, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, YORKS.—As first built by Roger de Pont l'Evêque, abp. of York, 1154-1181, this church consisted of *a choir of four bays with north and south aisles; transepts with eastern aisles, or chapels; a central tower; and a long and broad aisleless nave.* To the building so constructed a new west front supported by two lateral towers was added, probably by abp. Walter Grey, in the thirteenth century; two extra bays to the choir and its aisles, inter 1288-1300; while early in the sixteenth century *the old aisleless nave was wholly removed, and a new one having north and south aisles substituted in its place.*

BEVERLY MINSTER, OR COLLEGIATE CHURCH, YORKS.—This church of secular Canons—with the single exception of that of Westminster unrivalled, perhaps, by any of the Benedictine order, not of Cathedral rank, within the kingdom—consists of an aisleless Lady-chapel of a single bay, in continuation of the central choir; *an eastern, or choir transept of the same height, with an eastern aisle, or chapels of two bays on each side; a choir of four bays with north and south aisles; a transept proper with eastern and western aisles of four bays on either side the crossing; a nave of eleven bays with north and south aisles;* and a pair of western towers. A short, but interesting account of Beverley Minster, enriched with plates and illustrations of details by the late Rev. J. L. Petit, may be seen in the York vol. of the Institute.

HOWDEN COLLEGIATE CHURCH, YORKS.—Howden collegiate church which owes its position to the munificence of the Bishops, and Priors and Convent of Durham, affords perhaps the finest example of a divided, or compound parochial and collegiate structure of the second, or single towered class, to be met with. It is cruciform, and of great size and dignity—244 feet in length, by 58 feet 4 inches in breadth from east to west throughout—consisting of a lofty central lantern tower, 135 feet high; *a nave with north and south aisles of six bays, 107 feet 9 inches in length; transepts with eastern chapels of two bays on each side the crossing; a splendid choir with north and south aisles six bays in length, and a 109 feet 5 inches in length vaulted throughout with stone;* and an attached, and most beautiful octangular chapter-house which projects from the third bay counting from the east, southwards. The eastern elevation is noteworthy as forming, perhaps, the most sumptuously elaborate and perfect flowing-pointed composition of the kind to be found in any English church whatever. The choir of this fine church is delineated by the late Mr. E. Sharpe in his well known "Architectural Parallels," and a notice of the whole building, by the late Rev. J. L. Petit, may be seen in the xxvth vol. of this Journal.

OTTERY S. MARY COLLEGIATE CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.—This very remarkable building which was made collegiate by the famous John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, in 1335, for a Warden, eight Prebendaries, ten vicars, a master of music, a master of grammar, two parish priests, eight secondaries, eight choristers, and two clerks, owes its inception to

bishop Bronescombe, his predecessor in the see, who commenced it, as is said—and apparently with reason—in direct imitation of his own cathedral church of Exeter. Bishop Grandisson, who purchased both the church and township of the Dean and Chapter of Rouen, to whom the latter had been granted by the Confessor, would seem to have effected various alterations in, and perhaps additions to, the fabric as originally designed, raising the walls and vaulting the whole throughout with stone. Like that of its prototype, its plan is very peculiar, and without a parallel—at least in England. It consists of an eastern lady chapel; *a choir with north and south aisles, flanked by very rich and beautiful chapels*; *a nave with originally north and south aisles only, to which an additional aisle with exceedingly rich fan-traceried vaulting was added northwards, early in the sixteenth century*; and a pair of towers opening with arches at the height of the vaulting to the body of the church between the nave and chancel, and thus forming a transept.

CREDITON COLLEGIATE CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.—The church of Crediton—for sometime one of cathedral rank and dignity—was, notwithstanding the removal of the see to Exeter in 1050, still continued as the seat of a chapter under the peculiar jurisdiction of the bishops of that place. This body, which was a very considerable one, consisted of eighteen canons and eighteen vicars, at the head of whom were the Precentor, the Treasurer, and the Dean—the latter being also perpetual vicar. To these, bishop Grandisson added four choristers, and four lay vicars. The church, which still remains in perfect preservation, consists of an eastern Lady-chapel; *a clerestoried choir of five bays with north and south aisles—the latter prolonged eastwards so as to give access to the lady chapel*; transepts; central tower; and *a fine clerestoried nave with north and south aisles six bays in length.*

FOTHERINGHAY COLLEGIATE CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—Although somewhat more approaching the parochial type than those other churches of the seculars above-mentioned, perhaps, that of Fotheringhay as originally constructed by its founders, Edward, and Richard, Dukes of York, in A.D. 1415 and 1435 respectively, was one of extreme stateliness, indicative enough of its more than parochial rank. Only the later, or parochial half of it now remains, however, the collegiate choir having been ruthlessly destroyed at the suppression, temp. Ed. VI. As first built, it consisted of *a choir of probably five bays with north and south aisles connected by flying buttresses*; *a nave of the same size and height, ordained by contract to correspond with the choir and its aisles in all leading features—the flying buttresses included*; and a massive engaged western tower, square below, but terminating in the second storey above the roof in a richly pierced octagonal lantern. The destroyed cloisters lay toward the south. No more interesting document of the kind, probably, has come down to us than the contract relating to the nave and tower, given at length in the last vol. of the Monasticon.

MANCHESTER COLLEGIATE, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH.—This church, though of somewhat parochial character, owing to its tower being placed at the west end instead of centrally, is yet one of much stateliness and dignity—as a collegiate church. *For the greater part of its extent it is*

five aisled, and is the largest and finest five aisled church, of which there are but few, in the kingdom. *The choir is of six bays with north and south aisles*, to the later of which are attached the large Jesus chapel and chapter-house; S. John's, or the Derby chapel—as broad and long as the choir itself—being attached to its north aisle. *The nave and its aisles which are of the same dimensions as those of the choir*, has to the north a broad aisle of chapels extending its whole length, and to the south another, nearly similar.

Such are the examples of canons' churches—Augustinian and secular—aisled in various ways, which I am able at the present moment to produce; and which, though abundantly sufficient to refute the allegation that those churches were systematically, and as a rule, built on an aisleless, cruciform, parochial plan, represent nevertheless but a portion of the number which might doubtless be adduced, were only the sites of the remainder explored and their plans put on record. So complete, however, has been their destruction that, except in the case, perhaps of isolated individuals, or members of local societies possessing special information, next to nothing seems to be known either of their dimensions or arrangement. But, besides the instances above enumerated of whose plans it is possible to speak certainly, there are many others which, from the wealth and importance of the foundations to which they belonged, were doubtless buildings of great size, and laid out, as we may well suppose, on a grand and complete scale from the first. Such, for example, among others, were those of Barnwell, founded by that rich and powerful noble Robert D'Oilly, earl of Cambridge, and described as being—“*miræ pulchritudinis, et ponderosi operis*”;—Nostell;—Leeds, which is said to have rivalled those of cathedral rank in size;—Kenilworth;—Merton;—Oseney, designed at one time, as is well known, as the seat of the new diocese of Oxford;—Chich. S. Osyth, now utterly destroyed, but to the dignity of which, the splendid entrance gateway perfectly preserved, may offer some sort of clue;—Wigmore, the curiously circumstantial history of which has been already noticed, and whose plan is expressly stated to have been prepared by a Benedictine monk of Worcester;—Newenham;—Butley;—Bicester;—Stafford;—Haltwhistle, and Syon;—the latter, the largest and richest of all the Augustinian Houses in the Kingdom.

More than this, however. Besides those churches of Austin Canons which were certainly aisled, either throughout or in part, and those others which may reasonably be supposed to have been so, there remain for our further consideration, a very considerable number of whose plans it is now indeed, for the most part impossible to say anything, but which, from the standpoint of date alone sufficiently refute the allegation that they were built in imitation of aisleless, cruciform, *parish churches*. I refer to that large and important section comprising at least sixty examples—or upwards of a fourth-part of the whole number—the very earliest of which were *founded* only—not to say built—as late as the last quarter of the twelfth century, while by far the largest proportion belong wholly to the thirteenth and fourteenth. By that time, as is well-known, aisles, though adopted long before in numberless parish churches, had become universal all over the country, even in those of the meanest and poorest village class. The case then, of these Canons' churches, of which I speak, stands thus:—either they were aisled or

aisleless. If they were aisled, there is, of course, nothing more to say, because they would, in that case, differ in no respect from those of the Benedictine, and other monkish churches with which they have been contrasted; if they were not aisled, then it is clear that they cannot have been built, as alleged, in imitation of the inferior class of aisleless parish churches, seeing that such a distinction—if it ever existed at all—had wholly ceased and determined. But, to whichever class they may severally have belonged—and doubtless each would be adequately represented, they are as follows:—

Temp. Hen. IInd 1154-1189.—Westwood in Lesnes, founded—1178; Stafford—1180; Stonely c.—1180; Hickling—1185.

Temp. Ric. Ist—1189-1199.—Burseough;—Blithborough;—Wormgay;—Tandridge.

Temp. John.—1199-1216.—Newark;—Caldwell;—Wormley;—Worspring;—Torksey, founded by the King himself;—Healaugh Park;—Haverford;—Castel Hymel;—Motisfont;—Creyk;—Acornbury;—Bradley;—Ratlinghope;—Markby;—Sandleford;—Beeston;—Broomhill;—Mountjoy;—Peterston;—Byrkley;—Campess;—Herringfleet.

Temp. Hen. IIIrd 1216-1272.—Spinney;—Frithelstock;—Bilsington;—Chetwood;—Michelham;—Ravenston, founded by the King himself;—Cokesford;—Lacock;—Wroxton;—Reigate;—Burnham;—Berden;—Leighs;—Wymondsley Parva;—Newstead, Linc.;—Belton;—Massingham Magna;—Flitcham;—Longleat;—Alnesborne;—Kersey;—Flixton;—Latton.

Temp. Ed. IInd—1307-1327.—North Ferriby;—Haltemprice.

Temp. Ed. IIIrd—1327-1377.—Maxstoke—1336; Bisham Montague—1338; Flanesford—1347; Dertford, founded by the King himself—1355.

Temp. Hen. VIth 1422-1461.—Syon—1432.

Only one other fact need here, perhaps, be mentioned in this connection, and that is, that of the thirty seven, or, more correctly speaking, thirty-six churches of Austin Canons which were parochial, five only, viz:—those of Canon's Ashby, Gresley, Letheringham, Sheringham, and Westacre—the first named of which alone was cruciform—were *certainly* either one aisled or aisleless; six, viz:—those of Bethgelart (originally a church of monks), Carham, Rattinghope, Holy Trinity, Ipswich, Warter and Wombbridge, have been entirely destroyed, and their plans consequently lost; one—Ouston Abbey church, is in so fragmentary a state as to leave its original form uncertain; while the remaining *twenty-five have both north and south aisles to their naves at least, and the larger and more important of them, to their choirs also.*

And now, having shewn by a series of examples, beginning with those of the very earliest foundation, and continued step by step to those of the latest, how far from accurate is the allegation that the churches of

canons whether Augustinian or secular, were built distinctively on an aisleless, cruciform plan, and in direct imitation of mere parish churches, I come to the further and last point of my enquiry under this head, viz:—whether parish churches, *as such*, were ever, under any circumstances, cruciform. Like “always”—as we have already seen—“never” is no doubt, a risky and dangerous word to use, and in treating of so wide a subject it would be venturesome, not to say rash, to speak too positively, and assert that such a thing as a cruciform parish church, *quâ* parish church, does not, and never did exist. That there are examples of parish churches innumerable which present a cruciform appearance is a fact, doubtless, within the knowledge of everyone. The question is, in what way, and under what circumstances, did they become so? Were they so built in the first instance, or afterwards, either by the parishioners themselves, or by others on their behalf, for their full and unrestricted use and benefit? Could such be shewn to have been really the case, then there would at once be an end of the matter, for the parishioners, having full rights over every part, such structures would be in the truest and fullest sense, *parish* churches. Monastic churches, of any size or pretensions, whether of monks or canons, were, we know, as a rule, cruciform, and for the same reasons, viz:—to accommodate the multiplicity of altars commonly met with in such structures, whether those altars pertained to the original foundation, or became afterwards necessary in connection with the chantries of later benefactors. Parish churches, however, occupied a normally different position. Under the rule of a single priest, they possessed but one common altar placed systematically at the east end of the chancel, and to which all parishioners without exception enjoyed free access. This was known as the high, or parish altar, and to this, as from the first, the whole congregation, when engaged in common worship, faced. Of what use then were transepts to the parishioners at large, and what possible interest can they be supposed to have had in their erection? The question is a wide and far reaching one, for the buildings in which they occur are of all ages from those of pre-conquest date down to the sixteenth century; and of all sizes from such immense fabrics as those of Newark, Nottingham, Yarmouth, and S. Mary Redcliffe, down to those of the smallest and humblest village class, such as Bowes in the North Riding of Yorks., and Hamsterley in Durham—the very smallest cruciform churches I know of. As to the few examples of cruciform, pre-conquest, parish churches, such as those of Dover Castle, Worth, and Bradford-on-Avon, it would—though there is no reason that I know of to draw any distinction between them and those of later date—be useless to say anything, seeing we know absolutely nothing, *for certain*, of the circumstances or conditions under which they were built, and may, therefore, for the present, let them stand apart. Chronologically then, we come to the aisleless, cruciform, twelfth century parish church, in direct imitation of which those of the Austin Canons are alleged to have been built. Now, notwithstanding all that has been said upon the subject, and the important part it has been made to play in our present enquiry, I would wish in the first place to ask—if not too utterly presumptuous—where *are* those churches, and who has *seen*, or, from personal knowledge, can tell us anything about them? Be it clearly understood that I refer strictly to such as belong to the three first quarters of that century, and which alone can have

served the Austin Canons, as alleged for models; for during the last quarter, in which the Transitional and First pointed styles prevailed, aisles had every where become quite common, and the distinction in that respect, between parish, and monastic churches—if it ever existed—had ceased. No doubt there are aisleless Norman parish churches of the period in abundance, some with western towers, as at Heighington in Durham; some with central ones, as at Ilfley, Stewkley, Newhaven, Gillingham, &c.; and there are also others which are cruciform, as at Melbourne in Derbyshire, and S. John's Devizes, in Wilts.; but then there is this difficulty, that those which are aisleless are not cruciform, and those which are cruciform are not aisleless, so that the typical, aisleless, cruciform, Norman parish church is as far off as ever. Such a form, it is true, became common enough at a later period—in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, in small buildings erected for special purposes and under special circumstances, as at Llandabarn Vawr, Alfreton, Shottesbroke, Minster Lovel, Poynings, &c.; but, with a tolerably wide experience, I cannot, for my own part, call to mind a single example of that “cruciform, aisleless, Norman parish church” of the twelfth century, of which the Canons are said to have become so enamoured that they at once adopted it as their model. But, whether such examples be producible or no, we are still confronted with the enquiry, how came the mere parish church, either of the twelfth, or any succeeding century, to be cruciform? For all purposes of public worship, in respect of the parishioners generally, such a form would be about the most inconvenient as well as unbecoming that could be devised, and one which we may be sure, the practical common sense of the middle ages would never tolerate. Naturally then, in face of such facts we must look for public and united, to private and individual sources for the origin of such features. Nor will the result of our quest leave us in any doubt. On every side, turn where we will, we shall find overwhelming and superabundant proof, documentary and structural, that these cross limbs where, as usual, there are two, or where, as occasionally happens, there is but one, were invariably of private foundation, and built for private uses, being everywhere designed as sepulchral, or chantry chapels for the founders and their families. Whether, in any case, transepts were ever erected by guilds or confraternities, may perhaps be open to question. Such bodies, we know, did possess chapels of their own, and these chapels would seem occasionally to have been attached to the parish church. At Little Walsingham, for example, in the accounts of the guild of the Blessed Mary for the year 1516, there occurs the following entry:—“*For leading the new chapel to the parish church, £6.*” But, such chapels would rarely, I think, if ever, take the form of a regular transept. Nor, even if they did, would the circumstance in the least degree affect the question before us, since such chapels would still, in the strictest sense, be private property, built by private means, and maintained for private use and benefit. Though annexed, like other chapels, to the parish church, they would, in no true or actual sense be part of it; nor, would the parishioners, as such, have any rights in them whatever. And such was, universally, I believe, the case with transepts proper. Attached as they were, for the sake of convenience, to the parish church, the cost of their erection or maintenance was in no case defrayed by the parish, nor had the parishioners access to them as of right.

Though for the most part, perhaps, assuming a fairly symmetrical appearance, and therefore, in the present day—when all structural divisions have been removed and their areas thrown open to the body of the church—ordinarily assumed to have all along formed part and parcel of it, they will very frequently be found to be of varying dates, and to owe their origin to different families. One magnate in a parish having glorified himself in such a fashion, another, sooner or later, not unnaturally followed suit, imitating more or less closely in his work, the lines and general dimensions of his predecessor's. Of this there is a striking example, among others, in the little village church of Hamsterley, co. Durham, where, to the original small, aisleless nave of late transitional, or very early first pointed work, a large south transept of nearly equal size was added very shortly after its erection—so shortly indeed, as to differ in no perceptible degree almost from the original structure. And so the church, with this single appendage, continued for some eighty years, then, some other "local man" too, was moved to prepare a "long home" for himself, and build a fellow to it. And the curious thing is that, notwithstanding the lapse of time, his new transept was built—and that evidently of set purpose—in the completest fac-simile, exactly matching the other in every particular of length, breadth, height, construction and other detail, save only that its north window instead of consisting of three long, narrow, lancet lights—mere slits—like the southern one, is composed of three sharp, trefoiled lights under an enclosing arch. The result is a symmetrical little building forming as nearly as possible, an exact Greek cross, and so harmonious in style and proportion that the general observer would never doubt but that all was of a common date, and devoted from the first, as at present,—when screens have been removed and pews intruded everywhere—to a common purpose. To such as have eyes to see, however, the presence of a piscina in the south, and of a large blue Tees marble stone bearing the matrix of a fine open floriated cross of brass in the north, transept, indicate unmistakably the origin and nature of those parts: and prove that though joined on to, they were never really parcel of, the parish church. At Auckland, S. Andrew's, again—the mother church of Hamsterley—we find precisely the same state of things, only on a larger scale. There, however, it is the north transept which takes precedence; the southern one, which was made to correspond with it in size and shape, having been erected some seventy years afterwards, when the church was made collegiate by the famous bishop Beck. Nor did the principle of assimilation adopted by the builders of the south transept stop there, for no sooner was it finished than the windows of the original north transept, which till then had exactly re-produced the contemporary ones of the choir, were altered so as to correspond with the windows of that new transept, and others of similar character which were at the same time inserted into the choir by Beck, and so bring all into accord. Here again, all looks so uniform and homogeneous, that it might well pass for contemporary work, and as the result of a single and complete design. But, notwithstanding the general likeness, close examination reveals the secret of widely different dates, and shews that, not only were the limbs erected in perfect independence of each other, but also of the parish at large; knightly effigies—now displaced—and altar adjuncts still in situ, disclosing at once the sources from which they sprang, and the uses to which they

were applied. At Barnard Castle church—to continue my illustrations from our ten cruciform Durham churches, which may probably, I suppose, be accepted as fairly representative of all the rest—the same thing occurs again. To an originally aisleless Norman nave and chancel, narrow nave aisles were added in later Norman times, and to these, on the south side, during the thirteenth century, a considerable transept. This was the Chantry Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded by Robert de Mortham, vicar of Gainford—the mother church of Barnard Castle—sometime before A.D. 1300, and in it till recently, his perfect monumental effigy reposed. And this south transept continued, apparently, to be the only one till the end of the fifteenth century, temp. Ric. III., when, being like the rest of the church recast, a corresponding transept, entirely new, as it would seem, was built in close imitation of it to the north. By whom the latter was erected is unknown; but a piscina, and two monumental niches in the north wall indicate as clearly as do the piscina and effigy of Mortham's chapel, its origin, and that it too was of private foundation. At the adjoining parish church of Staindrop—the burial place of many of the Nevilles—a single thirteenth century transept alone remains annexed to a late twelfth century nave northwards: for in A.D. 1343, the then head of the house, Ralph Nevill—victor in the fight of Neville's cross—having obtained licence from the Prior and Convent of Durham to found three new chantries, displayed his rights over the south transept, or south limb of the transept—in which his ancestress Isabel Nevill, the foundress of her famous line was buried—by pulling it down bodily, and erecting an immensely broad aisle, of nearly the same projection, in its stead. The piscina—sedilia for the chantry priests—their vestry—sepulchral niches in the wall—four effigies, and the matrix of a brass may still be seen in it; together with the notches for the screen-work which once shut off the eastern, or private part of this aisle, as also the north transept, from the body of the church entirely. At Sedgfield, the fact of the transepts having been founded by different persons, and at different times, is pretty clearly established. That to the south—the chapel of S. Thomas, is of uncertain age; but the northern one was founded by the then rector, John de Henlee, in honour of S. Catherine, A.D. 1379.¹ Both transepts are additions to the fine, and original church. S. Mary's Gateshead, affords another illustration of this very general rule. Here, in the north "Porch"—as the transepts, or transeptal chapels were commonly called in these parts—was founded the Chantry of S. Mary by one Alan Prestre in A.D. 1330. He was also founder of another chantry, viz: that of the Holy Trinity, probably in the same transept. The Chantries of S.S. John Baptist, and Evangelist, founded by John Dolphanby in A.D. 1421, and 1422, respectively, occupied, as it would seem, the south transept; the difference of date between the two being thus again, close upon a century. At Brancepeth church, which stands close to the castle—one of the seats of the mighty Nevilles, and where, leaving Raby for awhile, they usually resided during the winter—both limbs of the transept—clearly

¹ There is a difficulty on this point however; the details of the transept being of earlier date. It might seem, therefore, that Henlee simply founded a

chantry in a transept of previous erection; the owners of which had either died out, or transferred their right in it to him.

an addition to the original church—were built at, or about the same time by the head of the house early in the fourteenth century;—probably shortly after the death of Robert Nevill, the “Peacock of the North,” who was killed at Berwick in 1319, and whose grand mail-clad effigy, till recently, rested at the northern end of it. The presence of chantry priests at his feet, singing for his soul, seems to indicate that a special chantry—whether consisting of the whole, or part of this transept only—had been founded on his behalf. But even the whole of it was found insufficient for the needs of so great a house; for about the close of the century they rebuilt the chancel, adding to it on the south side a noble mortuary chapel adjoining the south limb of the transept, and which till only the other day held two large altar tombs. In all the foregoing examples, save that of Hamsterley—a minute structure with an open bell-cot—the churches have western towers. In the remaining three, viz :—those of Houghton le Spring, Norton, and Darlington, the towers are central, and the transepts, instead of being erected at different times, are contemporary. At Darlington and Houghton, they are very nearly so with the respective choirs as well; and this was doubtless also originally the case at Norton, but there, both the choir and nave have been re-built in a later style. The church of Houghton, like the whole of those already referred to, except that of Auckland which was made collegiate by bishop Beck, is, and was always a simple parish church. Norton and Darlington, were both collegiate; Darlington having been founded and built expressly as a collegiate church by bishop Pudsey, 1190-1196; and Norton having very probably also, been for the most part rebuilt by the same prelate, for the same purpose, and at about the same time. Who the builder, or builders of the Houghton choir and transepts may have been, is unknown. Both are of the thirteenth century. The reedification of the chancel, which is a little the earlier, would naturally devolve upon the rector; but the south limb of the transept—identical in every particular with the northern one—is certainly due to one of the old lords of the place—whether of the Le Spring family or not—whose contemporary, mutilated effigy, clad throughout in chain mail, reposes on a raised altar tomb within the south wall. The work of the transept is all of one piece, pattern, and date; and if not founded by one and the same person, the other is now unknown.

We come now, then, to the two collegiate churches of Norton and Darlington, the last upon the list; and of which, though out of the category of parish churches, pure and simple, it is desirable to take account. What the origin of Norton church may be is doubtful. The transepts and lower part of the tower are almost, perhaps quite, certainly Saxon work, though whether of pre-conquest or early post-conquest date, it would be hard to say. There was certainly, however, a church on the spot in A.D. 1082, into which William of S. Carileph, bishop of Durham, then inducted certain of the secular canons, whom on the intrusion of the monks, he had expelled from the cathedral. But whether the whole structure was rebuilt by Carileph for the reception of the seculars, or whether he simply made use of a pre-existing church for that purpose—and the latter would seem from the entire absence of any, even the rudest Norman detail, to be the more probable supposition—one of these transepts—the northern one—certainly became in after years, even if it had not been so from the first, a private, mortuary, or chantry chapel. It was known as the

Blakiston, or Blaixton Poreh, from the lords of an ancient manor of that name in the parish, one of whose effigies, closely resembling that of the famous Brian Fitz Alan in Bedale church, Yorks., and among the very finest in the north, is still perfectly preserved. The south transept was known as "Pity Poreh," doubtless from its altar of our Lady of Pity, but under what conditions it was maintained is uncertain. It may have been, probably was, attached to the regular foundation of secular canons which, if not continuous from the time of Carileph, was certainly in existence in the thirteenth century, and which, with certain modifications continued till the general suppression. Darlington church—one of the finest in the county, and of a type distinctly different from all the rest—stands alone in this respect, that it was certainly planned and built for one of Canons from the very first, and that by no less a personage than the famous bishop Pudsey. With a strong infusion of the monastic spirit in its design—narrow, lofty, and severe, it consists of a choir and transepts which were aisleless; a nave of exactly the same height with exceedingly narrow, and originally very low aisles; and a central tower and spire; the whole, with the exception of the last named features, of very early pointed work, retaining in the choir traces of the Transition. Though aisleless, both choir and transepts are in two stories throughout; each of which in the interior is enriched with beautiful and continuous wall arcading. What the ritual division of the church, which was under a dean and several prebendaries, may have been before the dissolution, cannot now be said, for we have no witness to it. The rich work of the interior, however, terminates at and after the easternmost pier arch of the nave, which on either side is elaborately moulded, the rest being all plain. It might seem possible therefore, that the parochial part of the church—if there were really any structural division—terminated at the western arch of the tower, as at Dunster, the rich bay forming the sanctuary: and that the choir and transepts were reserved in some sort, more especially for the Canons, but of this we know nothing. Certain it is, however, that there were at least two altars in the south transept—which from the greater richness of its arcading, probably formed the Lady-chapel—as there are still to be seen the remains of two contemporary piscinas there. There was also an external western entrance to it, which, since the dissolution, has been taken out and the space carefully filled up with fine ashlar masonry, like the rest of the walling. It was probably contrived for the special use of the Dean, who had the cure of souls, and whose house stood at the south-west corner of the churchyard. In the north transept I have found no remains of piscinas, though there may have been, and probably was, one altar there also. But whether or no, Darlington Church was, as we have already seen, altogether removed from the class of mere parish churches; and its transepts, not being like theirs of private foundation, and for private uses, would stand upon an entirely different footing, whatever that footing might be.

Thus, out of the ten existing cruciform churches of the county of Durham, the transepts of eight are seen to have been built by private persons, and mostly at different times for their own private uses; one, at least, of those of the ninth—which are of Saxon construction, and go back to times and circumstances of which we know nothing—being also, in post-conquest times a private chapel; while in the case of the tenth,

the church was not a simple parish church at all, and therefore out of the reckoning. But, the evidence for the private nature of these appendages is far from resting solely upon that supplied by such buildings as eventually, through their application, assumed a cruciform shape. It is confirmed in the strongest possible way by that of a numerous class of churches, usually of smaller size, in which the development has stopped permanently half way,—in which no second founder has ever come forward, and which, consequently, possess a single transept, or limb of a transept only, to the present day. As to the origin or nature of these, there neither is, nor ever was, the least shadow of a shade of doubt whatever. They still remain, for the most part, more or less filled with the tombs of the founders and their successors; and known, far and wide, traditionally and historically, as their “Porches.” We have them at Eggescliffe, Redmarshall, Grindon, Sockburn, Merrington, Denton, and Kelloe. At the collegiate church of Chester-le-street, the mortuary chapel of the Lords Lumley took the form of an extra aisle opening by three arches from the eastern half of the north aisle of the church; but one of them long since pulled down the two western bays, walled up the arches, and converted the space of the eastern bay into a family pew—a tolerably strong display of private rights. Eggescliffe church, whose transeptal chapel somewhat in principle resembles that at Chester, has its opening to the nave on the south side by two arches. It is known as the “Aslakby Poreh” or chapel, so called from the ancient lords of that manor, the effigy of one of whom, clad in chain mail, still rests under a constructional arched tomb in its south wall. Another and similar effigy—expelled doubtless from the same chapel—is now, or was lately to be seen, mutilated and weather worn, in the churchyard. At Redmarshall, the only transept, which again is to the south, is, and has for ages past been known as the “Claxton Poreh” from the name of the later lords of Wynyard, though it was really founded and built by one of the Laytons, their predecessors in the estate and ownership of the chapel;—the magnificent alabaster tomb which it contains and was built to hold, being undoubtedly that of Thomas Layton and his wife Sybilla, A.D. 1417.

Grindon church, which is a small building consisting only of a nave and chancel, has also, attached to its south aisle, a single transept. This is known as the “Fulthorpe Poreh,” the lords of which local manor both built, and lie buried in it. Two large marble slabs, one charged with their arms, still occupy the centre of its floor, and bear witness to their foundation. At Sockburn church, the burial place of the famous family of Conyers—now unhappily a ruin—the chapel is on the north side. Though not nowadays, so far as I know, ever called their “Poreh,” no doubt as to its nature or origin can possibly exist, for it is filled throughout with their sepulchral memorials from the fourteenth century down to nearly their extinction. At Merrington church, an ancient Norman structure consisting formerly of a nave, central tower, and chancel—now well nigh restored off the face of the earth—there was also but a single transept. It was known as “Laurence’s Poreh”—doubtless from a chantry under that invocation—but every thing relative thereto is now, it seems, forgotten. The little church of Denton, destroyed unhappily, in the early years of the present century, and which consisted simply of an aisleless nave and chancel, had also a large south transept only. This was

"Brackenbury's Porch"—so called from the well known family of that name—which opened to it "by a wide pointed arch." When Hutcheson, our earliest county historian wrote—now a century since—"there were remains of stained glass in the lights, and the floor of the Porch was covered with the sepulchral memorials of its former owners." Kelloe church, the last of these one limbed transeptal churches, has its chapel, which is known as the "Thornlaw Porch," or "Pity Porch," towards the north. It was founded in A.D. 1347, by one of the old lords of the place, John Fitz Henry de Kellaw, and Elizabeth his sister, in honour of the Blessed Mary—whence "Pity Porch." In 1352, on the conveyance of their lands in Thornlaw to one John Harpyn, it was stipulated that the grantee should maintain a perpetual chantry of three priests therein, daily to celebrate masses for the souls of the founders, their parents &c.—whence "Thornlaw Porch." As evidencing the strictly private character of this "Porch," possession of which went with the estate, we find John Trollop of Thornley Esq^{re} in 1522, making the following testamentary disposition:—"to be buried in my Porche of our Ladye in Kellowe Church, betwixt my wyfe and the altar ende. And later still, in the now destroyed Register of the parish there occurred this entry:—"21 July, 1611, Mr. John Trollop, owner of Thornlaw, *buried by himself*," *i.e.* in his own Porch.

Far as I am then, from asserting dogmatically that the parish church, quâ parish church, was never, under any circumstances, cruciform, I think I may safely say I know of no such example. All the cruciform churches I have adduced, which comprise the whole of those now remaining in this county, shew palpable proof of their cross limbs having been erected by private persons for private uses; and what obtained without exception among the churches of Durham—and I may add, all others that I have met with elsewhere, may reasonably be assumed as evidence for the existence of a rule, not merely of local, but, as I am disposed to think, general—perhaps, universal, application.

(To be continued.)

Original Documents.

Communicated by the Rev. A. R. MADDISON.

BREVE AD INQUIRENDUM DE BASTARDIA ET NON BASTARDIA DOMINÆ KATHERINE HEBDEN.

This Brief is one of a series contained in a parchment volume lately found in the Exchequer Gate at Lincoln and entitled "Brevia Regia." They were addressed to John Buckyngham, Bishop of Lincoln 1363-1398. The subject matter is not usually very interesting, but the Brief here printed throws some light on a genealogical question which has vexed several minds, viz. how to account for the representation of the Hebden and Rye families. As so often happens in such cases authorities differ. One thing is now plain. Dame Katherine Hebden became by default of issue from her aunts, sole heiress of the Rye family. We may fairly assume that William de Wyhom, her father, came from the parish of Wyham cum Cadeby on the Lincolnshire wolds. In Banks' *Baronia Anglica Concentrata*, Vol. ii, p. 127 we find that Nicholas de Rye held the manor of Gosberkirk with Surflect, Pinchbeck, Quadring, WYHAM, and Donington in 1342, and that his wife's name was Juliana. We may assume with some reason that he is identical with either the first or second Nicholas in the pedigree here given.

The representation of the Hebden family became vested in the Tempests and Dymokes eventually.

Sir Piers Tempest (a hero of Agincourt) married Dorothy daughter and heir of Nicholas Hebden (vide Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* for 1286).

Sir Thomas Dymoke married Elizabeth daughter and heir of Sir Richard Hebden by the daughter and heir of Rye. (Vide Burke's *Landed Gentry*, sub. Dymoke of Scrivelsby).

In the Visitation of Yorkshire 1563-4, the Tempest marriage is given thus, "Sir Piers Tempest married daughter and heir of Sir Nycholas Rye." In a note to the Pedigree we are informed that the manor of Barropar (Beaurepaire) came into the Tempest family.

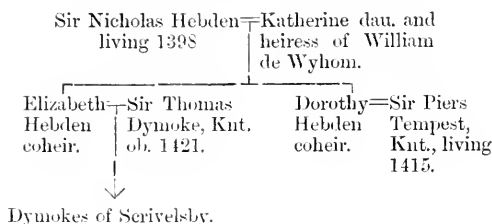
The Dymokes unquestionably inherited estates in Gosberkirk, Quadring, Surflect and Donington from their intermarriage with the Hebdens.

May we not fairly assume that Sir Nicholas and Dame Katherine Hebden had *two* daughters, coheiresses; that one married a Tempest and brought with her the manor of Beaurepaire, which is known, from an *Inq. Post Mortem*, to have belonged to the Tempests in later times;

while the other marrying a Dymoke carried into that family the Gosberkirk and other estates?

Where the manor of Beaurepaire (called "Bealraper" in an Inq. Post Mortem of the 15th century) was situated is not known. No such manor is to be found in Lincolnshire.

CONJECTURAL PEDIGREE.



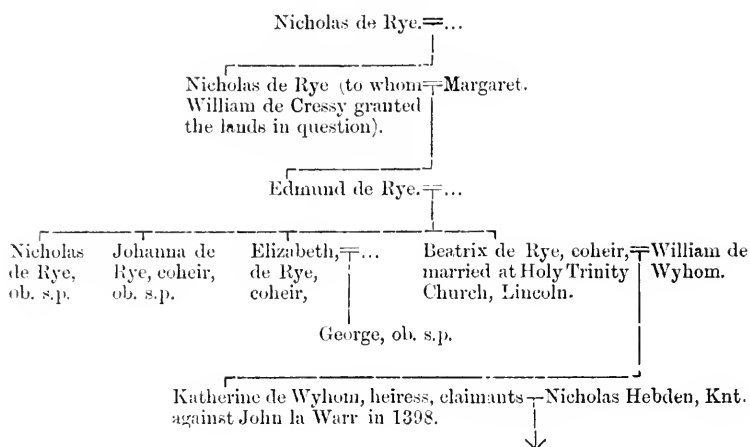
Ricardus dei gratia Rex Angliæ et franciæ et dominus hiberniæ venerabili in Christo patri J. eadem gratia Episcopo Lincoln. salutem. Cum Johannes la Warr miles in curia nostra coram dilectis et fidelibus nostris Willmo Thimying et Ricardo Sydenham justiciariis nostris ad ass'ias in com Lincoln' capiendas apud Lincoln' arrainavit quandam ass'iam novæ diss'eie versus Nicholaum Hebden et Katerinam uxorem ejus et Johannem Verdon de Gosberkyrk juniorem de libero tenemento suo in Gosberkirk, Surflet, Quadring, Donyngton, Pynchebek et Swynes-hede et que-tus est se diss'eiri de manerio Beaurepaire quatuor messuagiis centum acris terræ quaterviginti acris prati quinquaginta acris pasturiæ et decem libratis redditus cum pertinentibus iidemque Nicholas et Katerine quo ad unam medietatem manerii terrarum tenementorum et redditus prædictorum et tricesimam partem alterius medietatis manerii prædicti cum pertinentibus excepta tricesima parte medietatis duorum messuagiorum et decem librarum redditus prædictæ tricesimæ partis cum pertinentibus, placitaverunt in barram ass'ie prædictæ prout in recordo prædicto liquet manifeste. Et quo ad totum residuum manerii terrarum tenementorum et redditus prædictorum placitando allegaverunt quod quidam Willmus de Cressy chivaler fuit inde seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo et sic inde seisitus residuum illud dedit et concessit quibusdam Nicholao filio Nicholai de Rye et Margaretæ uxori ejus habendum eisdem Nicholao filio Nicholai et Margaretæ et heredibus de corporibus suis exeuntibus virtute ejus doni prædicti Nicholaus filius Nicholai et Margaretæ fuerunt inde seisiti in dominico suo ut de feodo talliato et de tali statu inde obierunt seisiti post quorum mortem residuum prædictum cum pertinentibus descendebat cuidam Edmundo ut filio et heredi eorum Nicholai filii Nicholai et Margaretæ. Et de ipso Edmundo descendebat residuum prædictum cum pertinentibus cuidam Nicholao filio et heredi ejusdem Edmundi. Et de ipso Nicholao eo quod obiit sine herede de corpore suo exeunte descendebat residuum prædictum cum pertinentibus quibusdam Beatrici, Johanne et Elizabethæ ut sororibus et heredibus ejusdem Nicholai filii Edmundi. Et de prædicta Elizabetha sorore Nicholai descendebat jus propartis sue residui prædicti cum pertinentibus cuidam Georgio ut filio et heredi ejusdem Elizabethæ. Et de prædicta Johanna eo quod obiit sine herede de corpore suo exeunte descendebat

jusproportis sue residui predicti cum pertinentibus prefatæ Beatrici ut sorori et uni heredum ejusdem Johanne et prefato Georgio ut consanguineo et alteri heredum ejusdem Johanne sez filio Elizabethæ alterius sororis ejusdem Johanne. Et quod quidam Will'mus de Wyhom cepit in uxorem predictam Beatricem et ipsam in ecclesia sanctæ trinitatis infra civitatem Lincoln bannis inter eos antea more debito proclamatis desponsavit, qui quidem Will'mus de Wyhom et Beatrix post sponsalia predicta inter eos celebrata habuerunt exitum prefatam Katerinam, et postea predicti Will'mus de Wyhom et Beatrix obierunt et predictus Georgius obiit sine herede de corpore suo exeunte, post quorum decessum predicta Katerina ut filia et heres dictorum Willmi de Wyhom et Beatricis et ut consanguinea et heres predicti Georgii sez filia Beatricis sororis Elizabethæ matris ejusdem Georgii in residuum predictum cum pertinentibus intravit. Et predictus Johannes la Warr supponendo predictos Georgium et Beatricem obiisse sine herede clamando residuum predictum cum pertinen ut escaclam suam eo quod residuum illud cum pertinen de eo tenetur, residuum predictum cum pertinen intrasse voluit, et predicti Nicholaus et Katerina ipsum intrare non permiserunt petendo judicium si predictus Johannes la Warr assiam in hoc parte versus eos manutenere debeat. Ad quod predictus Johannes la Warr replicando dixit quod ipse pro aliqua præallegata ab assia sua predicta de residuo predicto excludi non deberet quia dixit quod predicta Katerina omnino est bastarda hoc prætendendo verificare. Et predicti Nicholaus Hebden et Katerina ipsam Katerinam esse legitimam et non bastardam verificare similiter obtulerunt. Et quia hujus causæ cognitio mero jure ad forum spectat ecclesiasticum vobis mandamus quod convocatis coram vobis in hoc parte convocandis super præmissis diligenter faciatis inquisitionem. Et quid inde invenietis constare faciatis prefatis justiciariis nostris ad assias in comitatu predicto capiendas assignatus apud Lincoln die veneris prox' post festum Sancti Jacobi apostoli prox' futurum per literas vestras patentes et clausas sigillo vestro signatas hoc breve remittentes. Teste. W. Thirnyng apud Line. tercio die Martii anno regni decimo nous.

Certificatorium Justiciariis domini Regis.

Venerabilibus viris domino Will'mo Thirnyng et Roberto Tirwhit Justiciariis domini nostri Regis ad assias Co'm. Lincoln' capiendas assignatis Johannes permissione divina Lincoln' Episcopus salutem in omnium Salvatore. Breve dicti domini Regis presentibus literis nostris interclusum reverenter ut decuit recepimus in hæc verba, "Ricardus dei gratia" ut in proximo brevi de sicut pluries. Breve itaque predictum et nobis demandata in eodem debite exequentes super præmissis omnibus et singlis in dicto brevi contentis convocatis in hoc parte convocandis iuxta omnem vim formam et effectum brevis ejusdem de et super contentis in eodem diligentem fieri fecimus inquisitionem evidenter comperimus et nobis constat sufficienter dominam Katerinam uxorem domini Nicholai Hebden militis in brevi prefato nominatam fuisse et esse legitimam et non bastardam. Quæ omnia et singla vobis significamus per has literas nostras patentes et clausas sigillo nostro consignatas. Datum apud Sleaford undecimo die mensis Julii Anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo} nonagesimo octavo. Et nostræ consecrationis tricesimo sexto.

PEDIGREE.



Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 5th, 1885.

R. P. PULLAN, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

In opening the forty-third session of the Institute, the Chairman spoke of the high interest and value of the exhibition that had been held during the autumn in the rooms of the Society. Owing to the intelligence and perseverance of Mr. Flinders Petrie the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund had been most successful and many members of the Institute had enjoyed the advantage of inspecting, during the exhibition, the quantity of remains that had been recovered from the site of the city of Naukratis, and of hearing the explanation of them from the explorer himself. He was gratified,—the Chairman continued—to see Mr. Petrie, at the first meeting of the new session and the members present who had not been fortunate enough to see the newly found antiquities, would be glad now to hear his paper upon them.

“Mr. PETRIE gave a general account of the results of his excavations for the Egypt Exploration Fund on the site of the city of Naukratis, which he had found about two years ago, and where researches have been carried on during the first half of the present year. The principal results have been the recovery of some fragments of the archaic temple of Apollo, erected by the Milesians, and of a vast quantity of archaic dedications on bowls and vases, altogether some hundreds of archaic inscriptions of the sixth century B.C.; the finding of the great Pan Hellenion, a fortified area larger than Lincoln's Inn fields, and of the site of a Ptolemaic building at its entrance, from the foundation of which a series of models have been obtained representing all the tools and materials employed in the building. The factory from which came the statuettes in glazed pottery of Egyptian style found in the Rhodian tombs has also been discovered, figures and scarabaei identical with those of Kameiros, and moulds for making them, having been unearthed in large numbers. Several Greek inscriptions on stone have been found, one a decree of the city of Naukratis which establishes the identification of the site, and another very beautifully set dedicating the *palaistra* to Apollo. A large collection of weights, of iron implements of the sixth century B.C., and of archaic pottery, has also been made here. It is expected that the excavations will be continued during the coming season in order to recover the other temples known to have existed at this most important site.

MR. PETRIE's paper is printed at page 45.

THE REV. B. W. GIBSONE sent the following "Notes on Wolvey Church" which were read by MR. GOSSELIN :—

"I submit to the Institute an original drawing of the ancient doorway of Wolvey church Warwickshire, which considerably resembles those of the same date at Wyken and Wolston churches, but which somewhat exceeds them in richness of structure, being more deeply recessed, and having four pillar nook-shafts instead of two. A church stood here in Edward Confessor's day, but we cannot doubt that our portal belongs to the Anglo Norman period, for the chevron or zig-zag ornamentation round the deeply recessed circular arch, and the capitals of the nook-shafts are characteristic of the Norman, and yet there is not a fragment belonging to the Norman date in all the rest of the church, which is in the Decorated style.

"Mr. Bloxam, the venerable ecclesiologist, accounts however for such cases (Gothic Architecture, vol. i. 291), 'There appears to have been a custom prevailing among the architects, who succeeded the Normans, of *preserving the doorways* of those churches they rebuilt or altered; for doorways in the Anglo-Norman style still exist in many churches the other portions of which were erected at a much later period; and the reason for this may have proceeded from a laudable wish to retain some visible remembrance of the piety of the founder, by whom the original work was designed; thus in the tower of Kenilworth church, &c.'

"And it is probable that this was the case at Wolvey also, for widow Alice de Astley, who in 1344 (according to Dugdale), founded and endowed a chantry in the chapel of our Lady within the parish church, clearly established it in this very south aisle, where the sedilia still remain, and where also the Norman doorway exists. It seems therefore highly probable that she was the person who rebuilt the whole aisle in its present decorated style and that, being a pious woman, she spared the handsome portal in memory of her Norman ancestors and in pride at the long standing of the church.

"Mr. Bloxam writes to me thus :—'The ornamentation on the arch of the Norman doorway resembling the letter M is uncommon and has no specific name. If it had been of a later period than the twelfth century, it would probably have been considered the initial for Maria, *i.e.* the Virgin Mary; but I have not met with it before in Norman work. The doorway is rather of the twelfth than the eleventh century, viz. : *circa* A.D. 1150.'

"The structure itself seems to be formed of the fine light-coloured sandstone of the district, quarried at Attleboro', but the pillars of the doorway have their roundness almost wholly worn away through the sharpening of knives and possibly arrowheads by men awaiting divine service; nevertheless near the tops and out of convenient reach of molestation, traces of spirals and other ornaments may be recognized, and two at least out of the four capitals are well preserved. The wooden door and its adjustments seem to be an insertion of a later date than the arch. The whole is much hidden by successive coats of white-wash and by a deep red-brick porch, quite mis-matching the rest of the church, which, it is almost needless to say, has not been restored or renovated, the estimated cost of a complete repairing being £3,600.

"Mr. Bloxam continues his remarks,—'I used to know Wolvey and its history fifty years ago, as I was steward of one of the manors and have

held a court there. There are points of historic interest connected with the parish especially in the wars of the Roses; Edward IV. was taken prisoner on Wolvey Heath; I remember also the curious monument in the church of a Knight and his Lady (Sir Thomas de Wolvey and Alice) an early instance—about 1300—where two sepulchral effigies are placed side by side.

“I find also that Mr. Bloxam in his ecclesiastical architecture before named refers to a window in our north aisle as an illustrative example of how painted glass may determine the date of a window containing it. Speaking of the Decorated period he says (vol. I, page 227):—‘beneath the figure of a female was inscribed as follows:—

‘Dna Alicia de Wolvey, que fecit fieri istam capellam.’

“The example is pertinent; but the glass has vanished, the roof of this aisle having fallen-in during a great storm in 1620.

“I may, perhaps, take the opportunity of confirming Mr. Bloxam’s opinion that this is a parish interesting to antiquaries; it contains houses occupying the sites of,—

“(1) A Hall, whose history dates back to Anglo Saxon times and held for seven centuries, by the present line of squires. (2) A House of the Templars. (3) A Hermitage earlier than Richard II., according to Dugdale.

“About three quarters of a mile, also from our parochial borders, (the borders not only of the shire and diocese, but of Mercia and subsequently the Danelagh), is the intersection of the Watling Street and Fosse Way, the two leading Roman Roads in Britain; portions of these bound our parish, which is the most central in England. On the borders of our Heath was a romantic Marian *auto da fe*.

I submit a short Memoir of this decayed little market-town, now not better than many hamlets, but which gives name to a stall in Lichfield Cathedral.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund.—A selection of Antiquities from the site of Naukratis.

By the Rev. B. W. Gibsons.—Drawing of the doorway of Wolvey church.

December 3rd, 1885.

R. P. PULLAN, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair.

The Chairman, in the course of a paper on Excavations in Asia Minor, briefly described the operations of the Boudroom expedition and stated that his discovery of the Lion Tomb at Cnidus, gave him a clue to the construction of the Mausoleum by the use of a tholus, of which there are examples not only in the Lion Tomb, but in the well of Hippocrates in the island of Kos and at Mecene. He was astonished to find that the lower cell of the so-called prison of St. Peter at Rome was part of a tholus, proving the Eastern origin of the Etruscans. It was either a treasury, or built over the spring which rises in it, as at Cos. He stated that he explored the whole west coast of Asia Minor from Caria to the Dardanelles, visiting Alexandria, Troas, Assos, Pergamus, Sardis, Ephesus,

Priene, Miletus Iassus, Euromus, Heracleia, and identified the sites of Myrina, the Grynium, and Scepsis—at Pergamus he had remarked traces of fine architecture on the Acropolis, where the Germans subsequently made most important discoveries. The excavation in which he had taken part extended over a period of ten or twelve years but not continuously. In 1861 he excavated the Temple of Dionysus at Teos for the Society of Dilettante. He found that the temple had been rebuilt in Roman times, but not on the pseudo-dipteral plan of Hermogenes. In 1866 he excavated the Temple of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad, which turned out to be of an original plan, being pseudo-dipteral octastyle with fourteen columns on the flanks; but more remarkable for the beauty of its architecture was the Temple of Athene Polias at Priene, which he excavated for the same Society in 1869-70. An inscription on one of the antæ showed that it was dedicated by Alexander the Great. The ruins when uncovered were found to be well preserved, so that the restoration was a comparatively easy task. The principal members of the architecture were removed to England, and are now placed in the Mansoleum Room of the British Museum, where they may be compared with those of the Mausoleum designed by the same architect.

MR. WALFORD, remarked that the Temple of Apollo Smintheus was mentioned in the first book of the Iliad, but he was not quite sure that the derivation of Smintheus from *σμύς* mentioned by Mr. Pullan was correct.

THE REV. J. HIRST said he had lately heard from the Director of the German excavations at Pergamus that the ruins of a Temple of Athene had recently been discovered there. At the time of his late visit to Ephesus, the site of Mr. Woods' excavation of the Temple of Diana was partly filled with water, and the banks were constantly giving way, so that an examination of the site was difficult.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. R. P. PULLAN.—Large coloured views taken from those exhibited at the Burlington Fine Art Club.

By the REV. C. R. MANNING.—A mediæval Paten of somewhat uncommon type, from Runton, Norfolk. It is silver-gilt, 5½ inches in diameter, and the rim is quite plain. The first depression is circular, and the second is sexfoil, with a stalked leaf ornament in the spandrels. The central device is the monogram *i h c* on a field charged with a cross botonnée between four quatrefoils, within a circular border of short rays. There are no hall marks, but the date is about 1510.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

"A true and most dreadfull discourse of a woman possessed with the Deuill : who in the likeness of a headlesse Beare fetched her out of her Bedd," &c.—1584, "At Dicheat in Somersetshire." Reprinted in facsimile, edited by ERNEST E. BAKER. ROBBINS, Weston-super-Mare, 1886.

We may congratulate the inhabitants of the obscure village of Dicheat on having this stirring and most startling event as a part of their history, for it is a capital example of the ephemeral literature which enshrined the superstitious fancies and fears of the people, and found such favour with them in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

From the highest to the lowest the belief in a veritable and substantial devil was never more firmly established than at this period. That sapient monarch James I. himself has recorded that "no doubt verie manie persons have seen the devil being like unto," &c. "with hornis and tayle," but it is interesting to observe that the appearance of the arch enemy is usually vouchsafed, not so much to princes as to persons in humble station, or to the very simple dwellers in out-of-the-way places. Dicheat was accordingly, as Mr. Baker observes, a very fitting place for such "strange newes" to come from, and apparently, the person who took the trouble to set it down was an honest, God-fearing man who not only thoroughly believed all that the witnesses certified, but, we will hope unconsciously, also embellished what was told to him. When all was over, and the fiend had departed from Margaret Cooper, many "godly learned men" visited her, and, as we can easily imagine, all agog with amazement, encumbered the sufferer with their sympathy. So the wonder grew, and we should suppose that the account of the matter was written by one of those curious individuals, Master Doctor Cortington, parson of Dicheat, for in his introductory homily he emphasizes his warnings by the mention of a particular storme of hail stones "equal in greatnesse to a Goose Egge, of eight inches about." The size is considerable either for hail or egg, and both productions must have been other Dicheat phenomenons. The story reads in parts like extracts from a life in the "Golden Legend" and is very graphic and picturesque.

As the entire tract, in which the violent vagaries of the headless bear are set forth, contains only twelve pages we need not forestall the curious items, but merely express our agreement, on the one hand, with the statement on the title page that it is "A matter as miraculous as ever was seen in our time," as well as, on the other, our entire concurrence

with Mr. Baker's more prosaic conclusion in his preface that, "Mrs. Cooper had a fit, and the credulous country churls imagined the rest."

The readers who turn to the book will not fail to notice to what a pitch of excellence the art of re-printing in fac-simile has been brought in our day; they will recognise in the tract faithful evidence of the gross ignorance and superstition of "the good old times," and, perchance, feel thankful that they do not live in them.

"*Silex Scintillans*" By HENRY VAUGHAN (Silurist). Being a fac-simile of the first edition, published in 1650, with an introduction by the REV. WILLIAM CLARE, B.A. (Adelaide). London: ELLIOT STOCK, 1885.

The reprint of the first edition of "*Silex Scintillans*" adds a welcome volume to a valuable series, and it will find a fitting place on the bookshelf near Herbert's "*Temple*." Herbert was not Vaughan's model, nor was "*Silex*" composed in imitation of that famous work, but neither author will suffer from the juxta-position, and we may with advantage compare the utterances of two kindred souls.

Mr. Clare gives us in his preface some information as to the dates of the different editions of the book, and it strikes us as somewhat remarkable that a work which must at the times of its first and second appearance—namely in 1650, and 1655—have created considerable interest, should have had no re-issue until the Rev. H. F. Lyte, whose title to capability on such a matter will not be disputed, brought out a third edition in 1847.

It is no longer a matter of conjecture that the thoughts of no less a man than Wordsworth were influenced by the genius of Vaughan. A copy of "*Sacred Poems*" was found in his scanty library at Rydal Mount, and we cannot help thinking that this fact alone, would make the facsimile welcome to many who might otherwise pass it by as pedantic and obsolete. We are indebted to Mr. Lyte for an admirable biographical sketch in the edition of 1847, and we should have been glad to have found something of the same nature in the preface to the present reprint. To a vast number of intelligent people the man is absolutely unknown. Unlike that of Herbert, the genius of Vaughan has been buried like his own "*Hidden Flowers*;" and Mr. Clare shows us by his preface that he could have given us what we desire with much taste and feeling. Mr. Clare sums up the poet as follows:—"Vaughan no doubt was indebted to Herbert for much in his character and inner life; but his genius as a poet was all his own, and one that kept him free from the foibles of his time than was Herbert. He wrote poetry before, as well as after the influence of Herbert became a power in his life:"—and he speaks of the value of the first paper published by the late Mr. J. R. Green in the "*Druid*," as giving a description of Jesus College, and Oxford generally, during the stirring years of Vaughan's residence"—a value which is indeed enhanced by the fact of the paper revealing an early stage in the development of the style of a lamented historian, snatched away, alas, so early!

"Newton, his Friend, and his Niece." By the late AUGUSTUS DE MORGAN. Edited by his WIFE and by his pupil ARTHUR COWPER RUYARD. London: ELLIOT Stock.

Though hardly within the scope of the period with which we usually concern ourselves, the name of the great author of the "Principia" shall be our excuse for simply calling attention to this little work. We must confess that, much as we admire the pertinacity with which the author adheres to his theory, that a secret marriage took place between Catherine Barton and the Earl of Halifax, we cannot bring ourselves into such a frame of mind as to agree with him. There is, no doubt, much to be said on both sides of the question, but we are disposed to think that there is rather less to be said on the side that Mr. De Morgan espoused than on the other. Nevertheless the book is interesting as telling us much about Newton's life and habits, and we do not scruple to commend it as a brave attempt to prove what appears to us upon the evidence adduced as a high improbability.

Archæological Intelligence.

THE VALUE AND PRESERVATION OF THE COURT ROLLS OF MANORS.—We believe we cannot better further the laudable object which our learned *confères* at Burlington House have in view, than by furnishing the members of the Institute with the following copy of a Memorandum which has just been issued by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries.

“The vast amount of light which the ancient Court Rolls and other Deeds appertaining to the numerous manors in this country throw upon the habits and civilisation, and the legal and social condition of its inhabitants, render them of great historical interest and importance. In questions of genealogy their value is self-evident, but in tracing out the development and gradual growth of those institutions, under which this country has so long flourished, the aid that they may afford to the student can hardly be over-estimated.

“The importance of preserving such documents has not, however, been always apparent to those who have had them under their charge; and many a bundle of Rolls has been consigned to destruction merely because at the present day they have become obsolete as legal documents, have been difficult to decipher, or have cumbered the space at the disposal of their custodians.

“Much of the land, which was formerly held under copyhold tenure, has now been enfranchised, and the tendency at the present day is more and more in favour of freehold tenure, so that within a comparatively short period it seems probable that manors, with their attendant formalities, will become things of the past; and the documents relating to them become practically valueless for legal purposes, and even more liable than now to heedless destruction.

“The Society of Antiquaries of London is anxious that steps should be taken, while yet there is time, for the preservation of Court Rolls and other Manorial Records, and is confident that if the attention of Lords and Stewards of Manors be called to the historical value of such documents they will readily assist in protecting them from injury, either by depositing them in some public repository, or preserving them with their other muniments.

“The public repositories where Court Rolls would, in all probability, be willingly accepted and preserved under the most advantageous circumstances for reference, are—the British Museum, and the University Libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, and the Public Record Office. But there are, in addition, many other local Institutions and Museums where such documents would be gratefully accepted and carefully preserved.

"In the Bill now before Parliament for the Compulsory Enfranchisement of Copyholds is a clause providing that, in certain events, the Court Rolls and other Manorial Documents may be deposited with the Master of the Rolls for safe custody, while right of access to them is still maintained. Their deposit with other Institutions might, if thought desirable, be accompanied by certain stipulations as to powers of resumption.

"The principal difficulty in dealing with the object now in view appears to be that of bringing home to the minds of the Lords of the Manors and their Stewards the value of what are apparently worthless documents. To do this, however, nothing more seems necessary than respectfully to call their attention to the subject, and this perhaps can most readily be effected by the circulation of a Memorandum such as the present among them.

"A movement of this kind seems especially to afford an occasion when the Society of Antiquaries may call for, and will doubtless receive, ready and efficient aid from the various Archæological and Antiquarian Societies and Associations throughout the country; and, if each within its own district will send copies of this Memorandum to those who may probably have ancient Court Rolls and Records in their custody, attention will be generally called to the importance of their being carefully preserved, and the desired result will follow.

"Many, no doubt, of the present custodians of such records are already as anxious for their preservation as any Antiquarian Society can be, and these will see in the present appeal an ample justification for the care they have bestowed on the records in their charge.

"Burlington House, Piccadilly,
London, W.

March 17, 1886."

THE HOUSE OF WILLIAM BURGESS.—MR. R. P. PULLAN announces the publication (by subscription) of forty photographs—16in. by 13in.—of this remarkable example of the genius of a valued and lamented member of the Institute. Accurate representations of so unique a building, embodying, as it does Mr. Burgess' thorough knowledge of all the arts of the Middle Ages, will prove a fitting memorial of our departed friend; we shall hope to say more on a future occasion concerning their publication. In the meantime our readers will be glad to know that such "a treat to the eye and lesson to the mind" is brought within their reach. The plates will be accompanied by descriptive letterpress from the pen of Mr. Burgess' accomplished kinsman, Mr. Pullan, to whom subscriptions, £4 4s., may be sent at 15, Buckingham Street, Strand, London. Mr. Pullan also announces the publication by subscription—£2 10s.—of a selection of photographs from the designs of our late distinguished member. These will further evince his versatility in the art of design and the large resources of his active mind.

THE REGISTER OF EDMUND STAFFORD, (A.D. 1395-1419); AN INDEX AND ABSTRACT OF ITS CONTENTS, BY THE REV. F. C. HINGESTON-RANDOLPH. LONDON: BELL AND SONS.—At the moment of going to press we have pleasure in announcing the appearance of this important portion of the Mediæval Registers of Exeter. We shall return to this publication in a fuller manner on a future occasion. Meanwhile we offer our cordial encouragement to the really laborious work which the Editor has set his hand to, by reminding our readers of the desirableness of

proceeding at once with the publication of the Registers of Bronescombe, Quivil, Stapledon, Grandisson, and Brantingham, "which, (including Stafford), will complete the History of the old Diocese of Exeter" for the greater part of two centuries. The next volume will contain the Registers of Bishops Bronescombe and Quivil (which are known to be of exceptional interest and value), and this is now offered to subscribers at the modest cost of 10d. 6d. Application should be made to the Rev. F. C. Hingston-Randolph, Ringmore Rectory, Kingsbridge.

THE EIGHT-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMPLETION OF DOMESDAY. This is *par excellence*, the age of celebrations, centenaries, and anniversaries, and it was hardly likely that Domesday would be forgotten. We venture to think that the eight-hundredth anniversary of this precious and venerated volume will find favour among a large number of antiquaries and historians for there is probably no book in the world which so well deserves, requires, and repays, the trouble of a critical examination as the Great Survey. It is a perfect mine of information and we are glad to see that the "Celebration" will partly take the sensible form of the delivery of a series of original papers on subjects connected with Domesday Book. The matter is in the initiatory hands of the President and Council of the Royal Historical Society.

THE ARCHEOLOGICAL JOURNAL.—It may be convenient to record that in consequence of Mr. St. John Hope's appointment as Assistant-Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, the Editorship of the *Archæological Journal* has passed from his diligent and able hands. The Council of the Institute has again confided the fortunes of the *Journal* to Mr. A. Hartshorne, to whom all communications respecting it may be addressed.

MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE IN CHESHIRE.—The general arrangements for the meeting of the Institute at Chester, on August 10th, under the presidency of the Duke of Westminster, are now completed. The Presidents of Sections are:—*Antiquities*—The Bishop of Chester; *History*—Mr. Freeman; *Architecture*, Mr. Beresford Hope. The following places will be visited, among others, during the week of the meeting:—Flint, Conway, Carnarvon, Eaton, Marple, Bramhall, Llangollen, Wrexham, Beeston, Banbury, Nantwich, Hawarden, &c.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE 1886.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF LANGRES AND BESANÇON.¹

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

Last year I had the honour to read before the Institute a Memoir on Roman Antiquities in Switzerland. I now invite attention to two cities in France which lie in the same direction : Langres, on the line of railway from Paris to Bâle, and Besançon near that to Nenchâtel. They have been little visited by English travellers ; the latter, though one of the most interesting localities in the country, being situated, like Autun, between grand routes, has suffered similar neglect in consequence of the slight détour necessary to reach it.

Langres is placed in that elevated region where the waters divide their course ; the Meuse descends to the North Sea ; the Marne, Aube and Seine, to the English Channel ; the Vingeanne and Saône flow southwards to the Mediterranean.² The city stands on an isolated hill which is not overshadowed by any greater height ; here the bracing air circulates freely, so that the antiquary may at the same time pursue his researches and invigorate his health. The Cathedral, the Porte Gallo-Romaine, and the Museum, are the objects to which his inquiries should be specially directed.

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 2nd, 1885.

² *Mémoire sur la Fondation de la Cathédrale de Langres et le Style de Transition* par Henry Brocard, Architecte, p. 11. This gentleman is Secretary of the Historical and Archaeological

Society of Langres, and curator of the Museum there ; he is therefore well acquainted with the local antiquities. In his absence the traveller would do well to apply to Mons^r la Boullaye, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque.

1. The Cathedral of St. Mammès at Langres cannot be ranked with the finest churches in France. It has not the lofty elevation, vast extent, sculptural decoration and storied windows which we admire at Rouen, Amiens, Chartres and Reims; but it is very interesting nevertheless. As in the history of Greek art some monuments claim our attention, rather from their connexion with those that precede and follow, than on account of their own intrinsic merit;¹ so this cathedral, however inferior to many others, takes a prominent place in the sequence of architectural development. We have here an early and striking example of the Transition style, which employed the round and the pointed arch simultaneously. The absence of documentary evidence concerning the date of erection has opened a wide door to conjectures. Some say that the present church was built in the fourth century, because a basilica is stated in an old chronicle to have been founded at that period,² and there is no distinct account of its destruction and replacement by another. Arguments so weak scarcely deserve to be refuted, but they are a specimen of the rashness with which some French archaeologists jump at conclusions. The very stones, uninjured by the corroding file of time, cry out against them. On the other hand, M. Henry Brocard thinks that the cathedral was commenced between 1001 and 1014 A.D. by Bishop Brunon de Roucy, and finished by his successor, Lambert de Vignory, who sold Dijon 1028 A.D., probably to pay the expenses he had incurred

¹ I refer particularly to the remains found at Assos and Selinus. W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture, Reliefs from the Temple of Assos*, pp. 61-64, figs 14-19. The most ancient metopes from the Temple of Selinus, pp. 64-67, figs. 20-22; *Descriptive Catalogue of the collection of casts from the antique in South Kensington Museum*, by the same author, pp. 6 *sq.*, 8 *sq.*, Nos. 15 and 18. For Selinus see Dr. Th. Gsell-Fels, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien*, in Meyer's *Reisebücher*, second edition, 1877, zweiter Band, Palermo, Museo Nazionale, Erdgeschoss, p. 221 *sq.* "die älteste dorische Skulptur: Selinunt, pp. 328-358, with plans, and full page engraving, p. 340; see especially p. 351 *sqq.* As the reliefs belong to different periods, the progress of Hellenic art may be studied better in

this series than anywhere else. Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. I, pp. 116, 121 *sq.*; Wordsworth's *Greece*, Introduction by Mr. G. Scharf, p. 33, figs. 70, 71, 72; p. 38, figs. 77, 77a, 78; p. 39, fig. 79.

² *Mémoires de la Société Histor. et Archéol. de Langres*, Art. Cathédrale Saint-Mammès, par MM. Daguin et Godard, prêtres, Tome. I, p. 69; they quote,—une inscription consignée dans toutes les chroniques langroises.

L'an septante neuf et trois cens
Gratian le quart empereur
Fonda le saint lieu de céans
Au nom de nostre créateur
Régnaunt Priane Duc de France
En Bourgoyne Chilpéric roy
Tous chrestiens ayez y fiance
Il est ainsi en bonne foy.

in the construction. Though the exact date cannot be ascertained, this theory is supported by a comparison with other edifices of the same age; it is also corroborated by the accounts of Brunon's life, and by the fact that his tomb was the most ancient of those preserved in the cathedral till the French Revolution.¹

I propose to consider the building as a proof of the continuity of art, or, in other words, as an imitation of Roman architecture. This may be observed in four particulars.

1. The arches of doors and windows are round, while the vaults that separate the nave from the side aisles are pointed. Roman influence was dominant at Langres in the eleventh century, and many monuments existed then which have since disappeared. The design of St. Nazaire at Carcassonne is said to be taken from the Temple of Diana at Nîmes a hundred and twenty miles distant;² but the builders of St. Mammès had models before their eyes, and even at their doors, in Longe-Porte and the Porte Gallo-Romaine. M. Brocard claims for Langres the honour of inventing the ogive, but here I cannot agree with him. According to his own admissions, which are derived from chroniclers and historians, the place was connected far more closely with the south than with the north, and in Provence the pointed arch was used from Charlemagne to St. Louis;³ hence it seems most likely that this style was not indigenous at Langres, but imported from the south of France.

2. Fluted pilasters are very numerous in the choir, ambulatory and triforium. Besides the examples at

¹ Brocard, *Op. citat.* pp. 6-9. Brunon displayed great activity in his administration. Il . . . , réforma les abbayes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, de Saint-Michel de Tonnerre, fonda ou restaura un grand nombre de prieurés, fit rebâtir Saint-Vorles de Châtillon, &c.

² Viollet le Duc, *La Cité de Carcassonne*. (Aude), *Historique*, p. 6, 1881. En 1096, le pape Urbain II vint à Carcassonne pour rétablir la paix entre Bernard Aton et les bourgeois qui s'étaient révoltés contre ui et il bénit l'église cathédrale (Saint Nazaire), ainsi que les matériaux préparés pour l'achever. C'est à cette époque en effet que l'on peut faire remonter la construction de la nef de cette église. Fergusson,

History of Architecture, vol. i, pp. 403-405, woodcut 285, section of church at Carcassonne, with the outer aisles added in the 14th century, p. 403 *sq.* The side aisles and all the openings are constructed with round arches, but the difficulty of vaulting the nave forced on the architects the introduction of the pointed arch. For the Temple of Diana at Nîmes, v, *ibid.* p. 283 *sq.*, woodcuts 180, 181.

³ Fergusson, *Op. citat.*, vol. i, p. 400. French antiquaries cannot be charged with dulness, but the enthusiasm that stimulates their industry, leads them into exaggeration; they are disposed to represent their monuments as older than they really are, and to appropriate inventions without sufficient evidence.

Langres above-mentioned, from which they were immediately derived, we may compare others in the adjoining province of Burgundy; the Portes d'Arroux and St. André at Autun, show pilasters of the same kind and in the same position, viz., between round arches. The Arco di Bara in Spain, on the way from Tarragona to Barcelona, has both its façades decorated in this style. It is briefly noticed in Ford's Handbook, p. 468, edit. 1878; but more fully described in my memoir on the former city, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xxxvii, pp. 23-26. A similar case of imitation occurs at Reims in the church of St. Remi, where some of the details are copied from the Porta Martis.¹ In the choir of Langres the width of the fluting is twelve centimètres, and the depth seven.

3. The acanthus of the Corinthian order, which was preferred by the Romans,² appears throughout this cathedral. It has been supposed that in some cases the antiques were simply transferred to the mediæval structure; this notion is refuted by comparison not only with well-known types, but also with specimens found at Langres itself. The classic original can be traced everywhere in a form capriciously disfigured, for the foliage has lost in semi-barbarous hands the rich folds and soft undulations which adorn Trajan's Forum or the Temple of Mars Ultor at Rome. Sometimes, indeed, one is at a loss to decide whether the sculptor intended to represent the acanthus or the oak-leaf.³

¹ Congrès Scientifique de France, treizième Session, tenue à Reims, en Septembre 1845, p. 276. les colonnes cannelées de la jonction de la croix, que l'on pense être une imitation des anciens monuments romains.

The flutings in the Cathedral at Langres are shown in Planches, 13 and 17 of the *Mémoires*, Soc. Hist. et Archéol. de Langres, vol. i, livraison 4, p. 76.

² On the other hand, the Greeks employed the Doric order in Greece Proper for the most part, and in Ionia the Ionic almost exclusively. The Sicilian temples adhered to the old Doric forms. C. O. Müller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, English translation, p. 75. §108 *sq.* Many instances of the Roman usage above-mentioned are given, *ibid.* pp. 171-175., §190 *sq.* The Choric monument of Lysicrates, sometimes called the Lantern

of Demosthenes, supplies the best example of Greek Corinthian, and is contemporary with Alexander the Great: Stuart has fully described it in his *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. i, chap. iv, pp. 53-64, with numerous engravings. The Corinthian columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at the same place are Roman, and may be referred with great probability to the age of Augustus, because they exhibit analogies of dimensions and treatment with those in the Temple of Mars Ultor at Rome: Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, chap. xii, Pls. XXXVII-XXXIX.

Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, ii, 63, mentions the Corinthian order in the Didymæon at Miletus, but I think there is some reason to suspect that these ruins are on the site of Myus, a neighbouring city.

³ *Mém. Soc. Langres*, i, 78, Pl. XVI,

4. Figures rarely occur in the capitals, which must be regarded as another sign of Roman influence.¹ Moreover the grotesque is conspicuously absent. Some exceptional instances may be found on the north door and in the gallery of the apse. Two monsters have their heads joined together in one; a hideous beast holds another in his claws; two-winged dragons gnaw the breasts of a woman whose hair is dishevelled. The theological doctrine of sin, its acts and their results, is symbolized in stone. The soul that yields to temptation becomes carnal and bestial; it is enslaved by vice, and delivered into the power of Satan. For hieratic reasons, imagery of this kind appears on the north rather than on the south side; inferiority belongs to the former, and subjects are taken from the Old Testament in preference to the new.

The Façade, which is not without merit, was designed by the celebrated d'Aviler,² architect of the Porte du Pérou at Montpellier, in which the bas-reliefs commemorate a national benefit and a national disgrace—the Canal du Midi, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.³

containing 7 figs. Des milliers de débris, soit tirés du sol, soit restés visibles, ne montraient-ils pas sans cesse aux sculpteurs langrois la feuille d'acanthé, qu'ils ont remise à profusion sur les chapiteaux, en archivoltes autour des ogives et sur les moulures autour des tympans? It is said that the *acanthus spinosus* which has a narrow and prickly leaf was imitated by the Greeks, but the soft *acanthus (mollis)* by the Romans: Wornum, *Analysis of Ornament*, p. 53, and Pls. Vitruvius relates the origin of this architectural decoration, and his story is so poetical that we are unwilling to see it disturbed by the rude hand of modern criticism: lib. iv, cap. i, p. 79 *sq.*, ed. Rode; *Atlas of Pls.*, Tab. v. *Formae* i, ii: Sir W. Chambers, *On Civil Architecture*, ed. Gwilt, vol. I, p. 196. Pl. 1, *Primitive Buildings*; pp. 152, and 224 *sq.* with the editor's note. Virgil's line, *Georgics* IV, 123, — *aut fletu tacuissimum vimen acanthi*, presents a striking coincidence with the words of Vitruvius, *loc. cit.*, *cujus (acanthi) cauliculi, secundum calathi latera crescentes et ab angulifegulæ ponderis necessitate expressi, fleturas in extremas partes volutarum facere sunt coacti*: cf. the note in Martyn's edition of the *Georgics*. However, it is not quite certain that both authors are speaking of the same plant.

The late Mr. James Yates wrote a learned and interesting Memoir in the *Classical Museum*, vol. iii, pp. 1-21, On the use of the terms *Acanthus*, *Acanthion*, &c., in the ancient classics. The *acanthus* is a hardy plant, and may be seen in the gardens of the Botanical Society, Regent's Park.

¹ The French phrase *chapiteaux historiés* is analogous to "storied urn" in Gray's *Elegy*. Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 111, Pl. 51, shows an English example of a capital decorated with figures, where there is no other kind of enrichment. Comp. St. Bernard, who lived 1091-1153, *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*, *Quid ibi immundæ simiæ? Quid feri leones? Quid monstrosi ceutæures? Quid semi-homines? Quid maculosæ tigrides? Quid milites pugnantes? Quid venatores tubicinnantes?* quoted in *Mém. Soc. Langres*, i, 80, note 2; Pl. XVI, figs. 2, 6.

² Augustin-Charles D'Aviler was born 1653 and died 1700, but the facade, as we now see it was commenced in 1760. D'Aviler is also known as an author; he wrote *Cours d'Architecture*, *Dictionnaire de tous les termes de l'architecture civile et hydraulique*, etc.

³ For an account of the results of this measure and remarkable instances of the malignant cruelty with which Louis XIV

This front consists of two towers with a pediment between them, surmounting the chief entrance. In the three stories different orders are used; Doric in the lowest, Ionic in the middle, and Corinthian in the uppermost. A cross is planted on the summit of the tympanum with the Virgin on one side and St. John on the other, of colossal size and semi-recumbent. At first sight we perceive that the style adopted here does not harmonise with the interior; but the want of unity is not so striking as in many other churches, on account of the Roman imitations previously mentioned.

The Cathedral is dedicated, as I have already said, to St. Mammès.¹ Though widely venerated, he makes but a poor figure in Hagiology; so little is known about him that his cult can scarcely be regarded as "a reasonable service." Even the Bollandist editors reject with incredulity many apocryphal stories, justly remarking that some of them are at variance with the statements of Basil and Gregory Nazianzen.² This patron saint lived at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and suffered martyrdom under Aurelian. It is said that he fasted forty days, and that he lived amongst wild beasts, exercising some marvellous power over them. The former tradition seems copied from our Lord's temptation; the latter reminds us of Orpheus, but the Christian legend has an air of ferocity that contrasts painfully with the "elegant mythology of the Greeks."³

persecuted his Protestant subjects, see *The Huguenots, their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland* by S. Smiles. This work is very interesting, but far from complete, *cf.* *Notes Boulonnaises: La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, etc.* par V.-J. Vaillant.

¹ Professor Ramsay called my attention to the fact that there was a church of St. Mammès at Constantinople. See Ducange in vol. xxi of *Byzantine Historiae Scriptores*, edit. Venet., Constantinopolis Christiana, lib. iv, c. vi, *Aedes sacrae Sanctis Martyribus, Confessoribus etc. dicatae*, No. 60: c. xv, *Monasterias ubi barba, Nos. 25, 26*. The most important reference is No. 25, p. 129 *sq.*, where Ducange notices the Cathedral at Langres, a *ejus S. Mamantis reliquiis . . . aedes primaria, quae sancto Joanni Evangelistae sacra est, S. Mamantis appellationem deinceps sumpsit &c.*

² *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 35, pp. 123-

446. §I. Celeberrimi hujus Martyris gesta summa in obscuritate delitescunt, ac rebus apocryphis infarta sunt.

³ *Ibid.* p. 438, s. 13, *Martyr unum de leonibus . . . nutu vocans, ait; veni mecum ac . . . tu gentilium et Judaeorum pueros . . . cursu velocissimo arripe, et crudeliter diserce.* This story may possibly be derived from the narrative of the destruction by bears of the children that mocked Elisha. *Reg. lib. iv (ii), c. ii, v. 24* *egressique sunt duo ursi de saltu, et laceraverunt ex eis quadraginta duos pueros.* On the other hand, many mediaeval tales have the advantage over the classical myths, especially as inculcating kindness and charity: see the biographies of St. Nicholas and St. Martin of Tours, Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, pp. 268, 427 *sq.*

Two scenes from the life of St. Mammès are represented in the tapestry of the Cathedral at Langres; one piece shows him in the desert surrounded by wild

On a seal of the chapter of Langres we see a hand as the device. Some have explained it by reference to Tacitus, Histories, book I, chap. 54, where it is related that the Lingones sent right hands to the Roman legions in sign of hospitality. They were doubtless made of silver and joined. In this passage, however, the author does not speak of any badge or heraldic emblem peculiar to the Lingones; the quotation, therefore, is only a case of erudition misapplied.¹ Some say that the hand is that of Roland, nephew of Charlemagne, who conferred on the Chapter the investiture of Rolandpont by delivering his glove to them. But another seal used by the same body furnishes the elucidation that is wanted. Upon it we see engraved not only the hand in benediction, but also the fore-arm, with the epigraph BRACHIVM BĪ MĀMETIS, the arm of St. Mammès. It was presented by the Byzantine emperor, enriched with gold and jewels to Raynard de Bar, Bishop of Langres, in return for some services he had rendered, and was brought by him from Constantinople to the Cathedral.²

The chief dimensions are—length from the portal to the Lady-chapel, 94^m.40; breadth at transepts, 42^m.00; breadth in nave, 25^m.85; height of nave, 23^m.00; height of towers, 45^m.60.³

II. Unquestionably the Porte Gallo-Romaine is the most important monument of its kind at Langres, whether we compare it with other remains of the same period, or regard it as a model copied by mediæval architects. Caylus

beasts; in the other he appears amidst flames which are miraculously diverted from him towards the executioners. The designs are explained by inscriptions in old French. These ornaments of the choir were presented by the Cardinal de Givry. Soc. Langr. i, 99.

¹ Orelli in loco has the following note. *dextras] argenteas, et quidem junctas, hospitii fidei, pacis, concordiae* (H 2, 8), *insigne, quales visuntur in nummis Julii Caesaris apud Akerman i, p. 106: PAX.S. C. et in M. Antonii, ubi caduceum tenent. Ibid. p. 26. Cf. Xenoph. Ages. 3, 4: δεξιὰν πέμπειν. Anab. 2, 4, 1: δεξιὰς παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον.* By a typographical error, chap. 14 has been substituted for chap. 54, Soc. Langr. iii, 55, note 1. See Cohen Médailles Consulaires, p. 25, No. 10, Pl. III, Antonia No. 9.

² Dextrochère is the French technical

term; for the right hand in heraldry. Soc. Langr, *ibid.*, Armes de l'Evêché de Langres, leur origine, pp. 54-59, woodcuts of seals, p. 55 and 56.

³ Les Cathédrales de France par M. l'Abbé J. J. Bourassé, 1843, contains an account of the church of St. Mammès and of the Porte Gallo-Romaine, pp. 449-456.

The Greek authorities for the life of St. Mammès are St. Basil, who was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Homil. xxiii, In Sanctum Martyrem Mamantem, and St. Gregory Nazianzen. Orat. xliii. In the sixth century Queen Radegund sent to the patriarch at Jerusalem for the relics of the saint, and received one of his fingers. The body is said to be now at Milan. Lives of the saints by the Rev. Baring Gould, vol. viii. p. 158 *sq.*

notices it, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, tome III, p. 14 sqq., and calls it a Triumphal Arch; but notwithstanding the deference due to his learning and taste, I venture to differ from this statement. He had not visited Langres and trusted to inferior engravings¹; on the other hand, any one who had examined the localities would, I think, come to the conclusion that the French names *Porte Gallo-Romaine* and *Longe-Porte* are correct, and that these structures are entrances in the line of the city walls. I have seen the former,—here engraved from a photograph; the latter no longer exists.

In this case, as often happens, one mistake has led to another. The antiquaries who started with the notion of a Triumphal Arch proceeded to account for the two openings by supposing that they were made for a pair of conquerors; Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus who were colleagues in the Empire, A.D. 161-169, or the Gordians, father and son, who reigned A.D. 238.² The most simple and obvious explanation of the building is to say that it was constructed, according to the practical spirit of the Romans, with separate passages for ingress and egress. The same arrangement appears in the *Portes d'Arroux* and *St. André* at Autun; but these have in addition smaller lateral archways for foot passengers. We may also remark that the elder Gordian was pro-consul of Africa when he was raised to the throne, and, as far as history records, neither he nor his son was ever in Gaul.

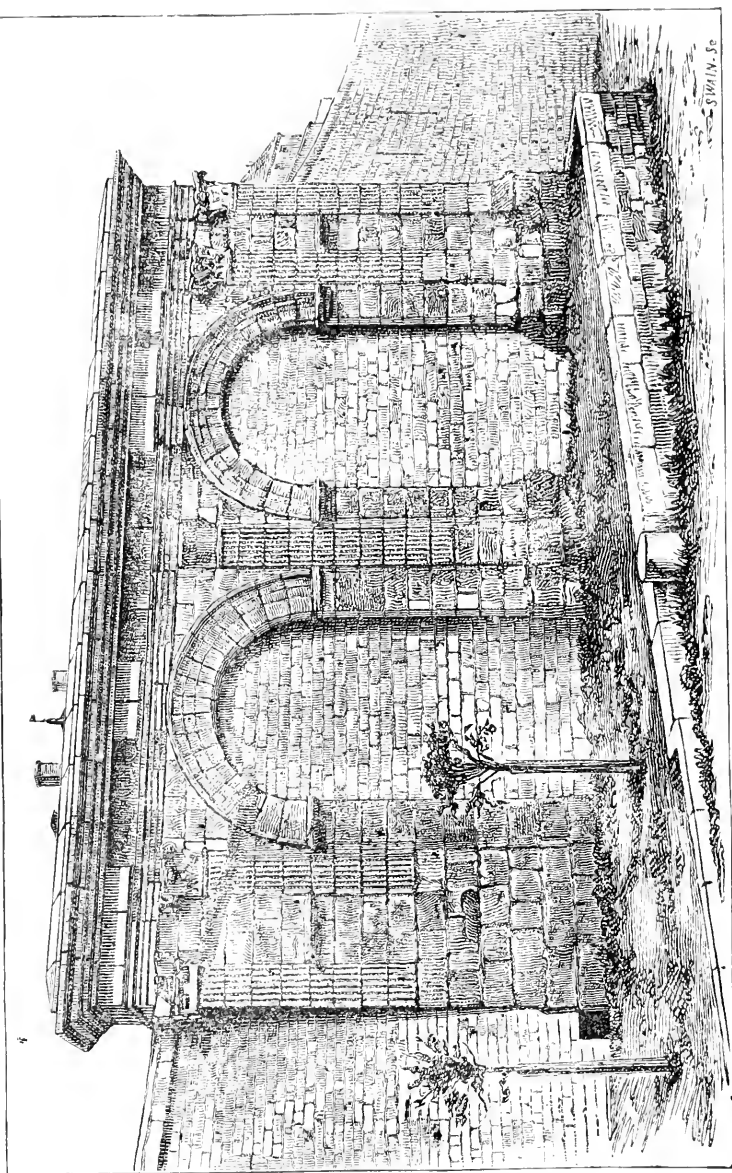
On the whole, the reign of Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, A.D. 305-306, seems the most probable date of this monument. Having received the Government of Spain, Gaul and Britain, he fixed his residence at Trèves; according to Eutropius, he was not only loved but even revered by the Gauls.³ Besides the respect which his wise and clement administration secured, he must have gained great popularity among the Lingones by

¹ He speaks of the *bon gout* prevailing in this monument as his reason for assigning it to an early period of the Empire—an erroneous opinion which personal observation would have at once prevented.

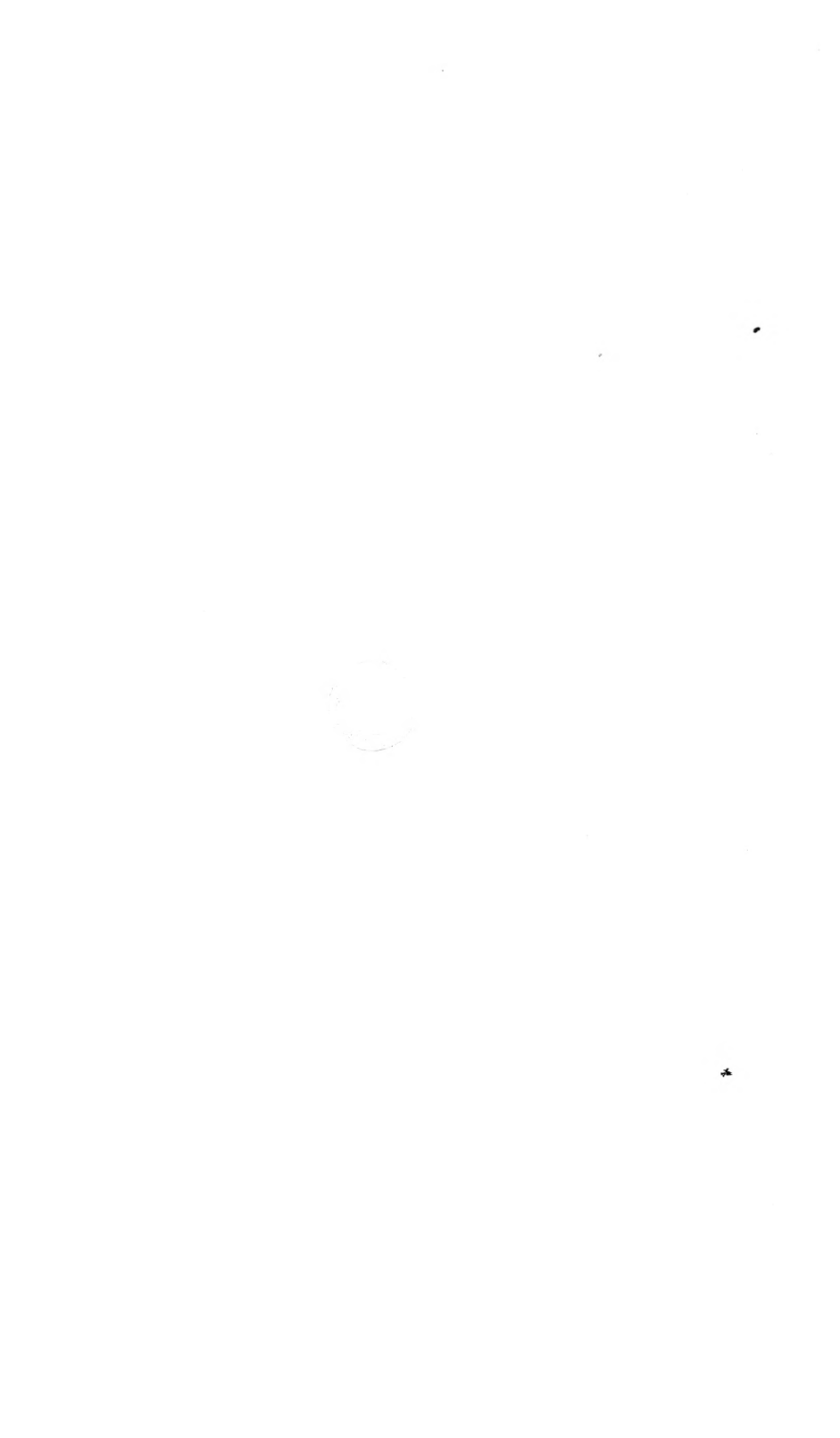
² This unfounded assertion appears in the earlier editions of Murray's Handbook for France, and is repeated in that

of 1884, although it had been corrected by a local antiquary, M. Girault de Prangey.

³ Eutropius, *Historiæ Romanæ Breviarium*, lib. x, c. 1. *Hic non modo amabilis, sed etiam venerabilis Gallis fuit: præcipue quod Diocletiani suspectam prudentiam, et Maximiani sanguinariam temeritatem imperio ejus evaserant.*



Porte Gallo-Romane Langres.



a battle fought near their city, in which he defeated the Alemanni.¹ Under such a sovereign it is likely that the roads issuing from Langres would be repaired, and new gates erected upon them, with inscriptions and decorations in his honour. Caylus says that the style of the Porte Gallo-Romaine is too good for the Lower Empire. But we have here a general excellence of design and due proportion together with inferior execution of details—a combination not infrequent in the Constantine period. The Romans, adhering to well-defined rules of construction, erected magnificent edifices when they were no longer able to represent human, animal or vegetable life with spirit and fidelity. Moreover, the local antiquaries have correctly remarked that monuments of this class in the east of Gaul for the most part belong to the fourth century. It is sufficient to cite as examples the Basilica at Trèves and the Porta-Martis at Reims.

The gate, to some extent, partook of the character of a triumphal arch, and commemorated achievements performed by an emperor or some great general—a conclusion we may reasonably draw from the shields and helmets sculptured in the frieze, and from an inscription of which only two or three letters are now visible. Similarly at Pola in Istria, the Porta Aurea was an entrance into the city, and perpetuated the distinctions of the Sergian family.²

This remarkable monument arrests the attention of every traveller who visits Langres, because he passes it in going from the railway station to the city; it is also on high ground, and the view is not obstructed by adjacent

¹ Eutropius, ix, 23. Per idem tempus a Constantio Caesare in Gallia pugnatum est circa Lingones; die una adversam et secundam fortunam expertus est: nam cum, repente Barbaris ingruentibus, intra civitatem esset clausus tam præcipiti necessitate, ut, clausis portis, in murum funibus tolleretur; vix quinque horis mediis adventante exercitu, lx. fere millia Alamannorum cecidit.

Eumenius, Panegyricus Constantio Caesari dictus, c. xxi, Ita nunc per victorias tuas, Constanti Caesar invicte, quidquid infrequens Ambiano, et Bellovaco, Tricassino solo, Lingonicoque restabat, barbaro cultore revirescit. Traduction des Discours D'Eumène par M. L'Ablé Landriot et M'Abbé Rochet,

accompagnée du texte, p. 109, and p. 298 note 3.

² This gate is sometimes called *Aurata*, and had only a single arch. Baedeker's Deutschland. Erster Theil, p. 183, ed. 1863, ein zierlicher ornamentreicher einsamer 21' h. Ehrenbogen im korinth. Stil, von der hier heimischen Familie der Sergier errichtet. The monument was erected by Salvia Postuma *de sua pecunia*, not by Sergius, as Mr. Bunbury states in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, s.v. Pola, vol. ii, p. 643. Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, Tome iii, Première Partie, Pl. XCVIII, à la 178 page; see also p. 177, §iv: hecites Spon as his authority.

buildings. The façade, looking to the north-west, consists of two entrances now walled up, which are surmounted by semi-circular arches.¹ Between each of these is a pilaster, and the design is completed by the addition of two more pilasters on each side, both pairs being separated by an interval of nearly two diameters. The voussoirs are arranged in three bands, the lowest of which has the same height as the other two put together; in the architrave also there are three rows of stones, but of equal height. Exclusive of bases and capitals, the shafts in length slightly exceed seven diameters, though Vitruvius mentions eight as the proper number.² Such a difference may perhaps be accounted for by the elevated position of the building, which is approached by a steep ascent. The fluting projects about four centimètres from the surface of the wall. In height the capitals are $1\frac{1}{7}$ diameter instead of $1\frac{1}{6}$;³ the acanthus-leaves of the Corinthian order show a marked inferiority to good examples, the forms being

¹ Compare the gate at Emerita (Merida) which also has two archways: Heiss. *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*, pp. 398-405, Pls. LX-LXII containing many examples. Sur les revers des deniers, Nos 1 et 2 on a placé une des portes d'enceinte et une partie de l'enceinte elle-même de la nouvelle ville des soldats *emeriti*, p. 402 *ibid.* This coin is by no means rare.

We have an instance of this construction at Saintes, where there is a so-called Arc de Triomphe, but the popular name, in this as in many other cases, conveys an erroneous impression. Montfaucon correctly describes it as Monument élevé sur le Pont de la Charente à l'entrée de la ville de Saintes. It has been removed, and rebuilt on the bank of the river; but a photograph from an old engraving, which I obtained on the spot, shows the arch in its former position on the bridge. Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl. Supplément*, tome iv, pp. 99-102. Pl. XLII, who compares Alcantara in Spain; Chaudruc de Crazannes, *Antiquités de Saintes*, Frontispice, pp. 89-100; Saintes et ses Monuments, Guide du Voyageur, par M. Louis Audiat, pp. 21-24; Murray, *Handbook for France*, Pt. I., p. 210, edit. 1882. The great number of pilasters in the lower story of this building should be observed; they are placed at every corner—two at right angles to each other—twenty four in all.

² We must bear in mind that the Porte Gallo-Romaine is of the Corinthian order,

the favourite one with the Romans, as is shown by the acanthus-leaves in the capitals. I have followed here and below the dimensions given by M. Girault de Prangey's paper on this Gate in the second livraison of the *Mémoires Soc. hist. et archéol. de Langres*. This number is missing from the sets in the possession of the Society, and can only be obtained by some fortunate chance. The reading in the passage of Vitruvius *De Architectura* is somewhat doubtful; it stands thus in Rode's edition, *Posteri vero elegantia subtilitateque judiciorum progressi et gracilioribus modulis delectati, septem crassitudinis diametros in altitudinem columnae Doricae, Ionicae octo semis constituerant*. Note S. Cod. ms. cum Ed. Sulp. et Cod. Franck. *novem*, Lib. iv, cap I, p. 79.

³ Vitruvius, *ibid.* p. 80, *Ejus autem capituli (Corinthii generis) symmetria sic est facienda: uti quanta fuerit crassitudo imae columnae, tanta sit altitudo capituli cum abaco*.

In determining the relative proportions of the various parts of a columnar ordinance architects often use the word *module*; it means half the diameter of the column at its base: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, vol. iii, 467, glossary at the end of the article *Architecture* by Prof. T. Hayter Lewis and G. E. Street, R.A. For measurements v. *ibid.*, pp. 407, 416, Pls. XII and XIV, and Sir W. Chambers on *Civil Architecture*, ed Gwilt, vol. i. p. 222 sq., Pls. XII and XIII.

indistinct, and the extremities rudely carved. These signs of decadence, therefore, correspond with the date which I have assigned. At present, the sculptured ornaments of the frieze exist in two portions, towards opposite ends of the front; they are sufficiently well preserved to be copied. Similar decorations appear on the south side of the building, whence there is good reason to suppose that the frieze was carried continuously round it, as is said to have been the case in a triumphal arch at Laodicea ad Mare, Ladikiyeh in Syria, which resembles the Janus Quadrifrons at Rome.¹ Many stones of the frieze are modern insertions; and the cornice, except two fragments, is new. This latter member of the architecture affords proofs of decline, for the ovolo is flattened instead of having the convexity of a quarter of a circle; the dentils also and mouldings are defective in proportion. As late as the seventeenth century the cornice and frieze were complete, together with the capital of the central pilaster, which is now unfortunately missing.²

¹ Pococke, who published his description of the East, fol. in 1743-5, mentions vol. 2, Pl. XXVIII, p. 197, a triumphal arch at Laodicea as "almost entire." He says "the pediment in the entablature is very extraordinary, and has not a good effect; over this there is a sort of attic story, the frieze of which is enriched with military ornaments—shields round and angular, swords, helmets, and breast-plates. The Plate shows the West and North sides, it indicates that the sculptures went all round the edifice, though, of course, they are not so distinctly visible where the shadow falls. Comp. T. Shaw, *Travels in Barbary and the Levant*, 1757, vol. ii, p. 262. These works are reprinted in Pinkerton's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 17 vols. 4to., Lond. 1808-14.

Mr. Popplewell Pullan's Book, *Eastern Cities and Italian Towns*, §xii, pp. 137-139, contains a short notice of the Arch at Latakia. I am indebted to Mr. Pullan for a drawing copied from his sketch book, in which the sculptured attic appears; in his letter he states there was an internal dome.

Comte de Vogué, *Syrie Centrale, Architecture civile et religieuse du 1^{er} au VII^e siècle*, Tome i, Planche 29, Arc à Lattaquieh, p. 75, fig. 29. Plan de l'arc tétrapyle, p. 76, fig. 30. Angle intérieure l'arc tétrapyle. La première

assise de la coupole est ornée d'une frise sculptée représentant des armes romaines, casques, boucliers, cuirasses. This frieze seems to have been continuous round the dome inside. De Vogué's plate is defective, because it exhibits no trace of sculptures in the attic. At Latakia a great archway has been walled up, just as at Langres.

Latakia is a port of call for French and Russian steamers in the Levant, and is chiefly known for its exportation of tobacco. Tristram Ellis, *On a raft and through the desert, Journey through North Syria and Kurdistan*, &c., vol. i, p. 13.

The Janus Quadrifrons, near the church of S. Georgio in Velabro, is described by Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, p. 31. Pococke says that the arch at Latakia is built with four entrances, like the Forum Jani at Rome, he means, of course, the monument usually called Janus Quadrifrons. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. vii, cap. iv, s.f., Nunc eum (Janum) bifrontem, nunc etiam quadrifrontem, tanquam geminum, facientes.

² As far as I am aware, French antiquaries have not noticed two ledges attached to the wall of the Porte Gallo-Romaine one at each end of the facade, between the pilasters, and on a line with the impost from which the arches spring,

The length of the façade is 19^m 97^c, and the height 10^m 65^c: and though this gateway is very inferior to the Portes d'Arroux and St. André at Autun, which are adorned with elegant arcades above, still the general arrangement is symmetrical and pleasing. The monument we are considering terminated the street from the Forum to the city wall, and stood on the commencement of the Roman road that led from Langres (Andemantunnum) to Bar-sur-Aube (Barium ad Albulam, Barcastrum or Segessera) and the camp on Mont St. Germaine, and thence to Sens (Agedincum).¹ During the Middle Ages the building

These projections were intended to support figures in relief, that have disappeared, not being deep enough for statues in the round. The closest parallel I have met with is the Arc Antique at Saint. Rémi (Bouches du Rhône): the ledges in the front here occupy a similar position between two fluted columns, but are lower down than at Langres; the figures upon them are in high relief, and partially preserved. The same arrangement was adopted in the sculptural decorations on the sides of the building. Ad. Joanne, Guides, grand format, Provence-Corse, Alpes Maritimes, p. 110, edit. 1877. St. Rémi (Glanum Livii). A dr. et à g. du monument, sur les deux faces principales, sont sculptés des captifs enchaînés et des femmes qui semblent partager leur sort.

Another example may be found in the Arch commemorating Trajan's achievements at Beneventum; it is far better known than that at St. Rémi, but less apposite for our present purpose: Luigi Rossini, Gli archi trionfali, onorarii e funebri degli antichi Romani, sparsi per tutta l'Italia, Roma 1836—Arco di Trajano in Benevento, prospetto della parte esterna della Città. On either side of the arch are four ledges, one above another, between two Corinthian columns, supporting rows of figures in high relief. This magnificent engraving of the largest folio size, has been copied on a reduced scale in Westropp's Handbook of Archaeology, p. 79. A small woodcut in Fergusson's History of Architecture, vol. i, p. 311, represents the same subject very inadequately.

This mode of decorating triumphal arches has been often imitated by the moderns. The Porte St. Denis, erected by Blondel on the Boulevards at Paris may suffice as a specimen. "Over the lateral arches are pyramids in relief rising to the entablature." Galignani's Guide, p. 254.

¹ Such is the opinion of le Père Vignier who thinks that the road traversed the forest of Clairvaux; but M. Th. Pistolet de Saint-Perjeux says that it took a more Southerly direction through Avrolles (*Eburobriga*). See his Article, Notice sur les voies romaines, les camps romains et les mardelles du département de la Haute Marne, Soc. Hist et Archéol. de Langres, vol. i, pp. 293-329. He explains the *Mardelles* as excavations pratiquées dans le sol, qui sont, dit-on, des restes d'habitations, and refers to Strabo, lib. v, cap. iv, Italia, Campania § 5, p. 244. "Ἐφορος δὲ τοῖς Κιμμερίοις προσουκίων τὸν τόπον φησὶν αὐτοὺς ἐν καταγείοις οἰκίας οἰκεῖν, ὡς καλοῦσιν ἀργίλλας. These words follow the description of lake Avernus and its neighbourhood. M. St. Ferjeux says, op. citat. p. 323, Strabon nous apprend... d'après Ephore, que les Kimris habitaient souvent des espèces de caves qu'ils nommaient *argil*, mot qui, dans la langue cambrienne, signifie un couvert, un abri. The Cymry are here confounded with the Cimmerii—an error which has arisen from the resemblance of the names. Some ancient writers held this opinion, and were followed by the moderns, but it is now generally rejected. There are far better reasons for identifying the Cymry with the Celtic Cimbri. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, s.v. Cimbri, Cimmerii; W. F. Skene, The Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i, p. 42 sq. Prichard, Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, vol. iii, pp. 100-105. In his note M. St. Ferjeux has *Ephorās* (*sic*) for "Ἐφορος, by a typographical error.

The Article above mentioned is accompanied by a map of the Roman roads in the department of the Haute-Marne, and an extract from the *Pentingerian Table*, reduced to two-thirds of the original size, containing the East of Gaul: see the *Tabula*, edit. Mannert, 1824, Segmenta, 1 and 2. Not only Andemantunnum, but

was converted into a fortress, and several loopholes were made in it; one of them is still visible at the north corner, about three mètres above the ground.

Autun has at present two Roman gates resembling each other, and the same could be said of Langres till lately; for Longe-Porte, on the north side, was a close, even a servile copy of the Porte Gallo-Romaine, as is proved not only by the general appearance, but also by exact measurements. From the number of objects discovered, we learn that this quarter of the city was of much more consequence in ancient than in modern times. Elsewhere commercial prosperity has destroyed the relics of former ages, and we need not go out of our own London to find instances, in which so-called improvements have left nothing but names to commemorate the past. At Langres changes made for military reasons have produced the same result. The position, commanding the passage from the basin of the Saône to that of the Seine, seemed so important that the French Government decided on fortifying it. Hence Longe-Porte was removed in order to continue the *enceinte* of the town without interruption. At the same time the inhabitants had cause to deplore the disappearance of their ancient ramparts, of the ivy and other wild plants that grew luxuriantly around, and of the picturesque roofs that afforded shelter as they took their walks on the *chemin de ronde*.

Longe-Porte was demolished in June, 1850, while M. Girault de Prangey was writing his account of it for the Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres. This memoir was illustrated by a good engraving which I exhibit.¹ The name is evidently derived from the passage bored, like a tunnel, in the side of the hill which is here very steep, and not from King Longo, a fabulous founder

Segessera and Eburoniga also are marked here. The same Society has also published as an illustration of the Article, *Limites de la Province Lingonnaise*, which contains many useful citations (*Mémoires*, tome ii, pp. 261-270), a map on a large scale, entitled *Carte de la Province Lingonnaise et du Diocèse de Langres avant 1731*. It gives the ancient as well as modern names of towns, and includes portions of the adjoining dioceses; and it shows the Roman roads, whether indicated in the Itineraries or not.

Several *viae* radiated from Langres, as was also the case at Reims (*Durocortorum*) and Autun (*Augustodunum*); they still testify to the importance of these cities under the Romans. Vestiges of this kind are very numerous throughout the Haute-Marne, and perhaps more Roman roads may be traced here than in any other Department.

¹ *Mémoires*, tome i, pp. 135-141, Planche 21, Art. Longe-Porte.

of the city.¹ A visit to the spot would, I think, at once dispel any doubt on the subject. It is likely that this gateway had the same origin as the Porte Gallo-Romaine, and was erected in the reign of Constantius Chlorus, especially as the proportions and details in the two monuments are identical. Down to the date above-mentioned a fluted pilaster remained between two piers, on the imposts of which some voussoirs rested. Hence we infer with certainty that there were two arched entrances, and with great probability that there were two pilasters at each end to complete the design.² Three portions of the frieze remained—enough to prove that it consisted, as at the Porte Gallo-Romaine, of shields and helmets; two stones also showed fragments of capitals, in which the acanthus-leaf is unmistakeable. The scroll work (*enroulement*), which was visible above the modern gateway, seems to have been brought thither from some other monument, because it does not harmonize with the design, as far as we can ascertain it from other members and details, or from comparison with the Porte Gallo-Romaine; and, secondly, because a similar pattern has been often found in the old walls of Langres, *e.g.* near the Tour de Navarre.

The ground plan of the building is supposed to have been a parallelogram, 20 mètres in length and 6 in depth, with two openings, each 4 mètres wide. This gate stood on the most important road out of Langres, leading to Trèves (*Augusta Trevirorum*) the head-quarters of the Roman commander on the Rhine, and sometimes the imperial residence; it passed through Neufchâteau (*Noviomagus*), Toul (*Tullum Leucorum*), Verdun (*Veredunum*), and Metz (*Dicodurum Mediomatricorum*).³

¹The name is sometimes written Longho: *ibid.* p. 37 *sq.*, Art. Les Lingons durant l'Ere Celtique. At p. 39 reference is made to Livy, book V, chap. 35 Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Æsim fines habuere; and the river Æsis is said to be the same as the modern Adige. This is a mistake, for the Æsis is now called Esino, and Athesis is the ancient name for the Adige.

²Arguing from the analogous structures at Autun, M. De Prangey infers that there was a gallery instead of an attic over the entablature in Longe-Porte; he also remarks that the latter would have

interrupted the *chemin de garde*, and destroyed the military character of the monument. However, this opinion does not seem to rest on a solid foundation; v. my Paper on Autun, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xl, p. 31, note 3, with engraving.

³Fragments of an inscription have been discovered near Longe-Porte; it is conjectured that they refer to the construction or repair of roads, and that the name of some emperor or benefactor was formerly visible. The following letters may still be read, ROA VRN. R. OFE. LV and AG; but they cannot be interpreted.

III. From Longe-Porte we pass by an easy transition to the Museum, because so many objects found near the former have been saved from destruction by their removal to the latter. It contains Gallo-Roman, Roman, Celtic, Egyptian, Mediæval and Renaissance antiquities.¹ The first class are deposited in the apse of the ancient church of St. Didier² and in apartments leading to it. This secularized building adjoins the Salons des Tableaux and the Galerie Perron, the latter of which is filled with collections pertaining to Ethnology and Natural History.

Among the bas-reliefs the most interesting is No. 184 on a stone of moderate thickness, which was accidentally brought to light in 1849, when a portion of the city wall fell down. It is broken, and the human figures are not well preserved. Three persons are seated in a four-wheeled car drawn by four horses, harnessed in two pairs according to the modern fashion, instead of being all abreast, which in ancient times was the usual arrangement.³ Though

¹ M. Henry Brocard's Catalogue du Musée fondé et administré par la Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres, 1873, will be found very useful, the part that treats of Inscriptions requires revision.

² St. Didier or Dizier (Lat. *Desiderius*) is said to have been the third Bishop of Langres; according to some accounts he was martyred about A.D. 264, but other authorities bring the date down to 411. The *Acta Sanctorum* relate that he was a poor peasant taken from the plough, and selected for the bishopric because his staff budded miraculously. During his episcopate, Crocus (also called Crochus and Croscus), king of the Vandals or Alemanni ravaged Gaul; St. Didier interceded for Langres, and was decapitated: Bollandists, *Vigesima Tertia Maii*, Tom. v, vol. 16, pp. 242-247, *Des Desiderio Episcopo et Sociis Martyribus*. An account of the translation of his relics, together with the inscription on the shrine, is given in *Mém. Soc. Langr.* Tome. iii, p. 65 *sq.* The first two lines on the reliquary are printed thus:

VANDALICVS GLADIVS HVC
SANCTVM DECAPITAVIT
PERCVSSOR PROPRIIS MVNIBVS
SE MORTIFICAVIT:

but for MVNIBVS read MANIBVS. Tradition relates that the executioner rushed violently against the city gate, and dashed his brains out—*crebra percussione evacuatus cerebro: Acta Sanc-*

torum, loc. citat. p. 245 *sq.* The restored tomb of the Saint is now in the Museum. Proofs of the veneration in which he was held are afforded by the Rue St. Dizier, the principal thoroughfare at Nancy, and the town, St. Didier, an industrial centre at the north end of the Haute-Marne.

The Bishop of Langres must not be confounded with another St. Didier, Archbishop of Vienne, murdered A.D. 603. The latter rebuked Brunehaut (for her sarcophagus v. Antt. of Autun, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xl, p. 37), on account of her incestuous marriage with Meroveus, and was in consequence put to death by her orders: *Acta Sanctorum*, *ibid.* pp. 251-255, *De S. Desiderio Martyre, Episcopo Viennensi in Gallia*.

The *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Tome. 14, s.v. Didier, mentions two other saints and a bishop of the same name.

³ The truth of this assertion will be seen at a glance by anyone who opens an illustrated work on Greek or Roman numismatics. The most celebrated example of the quadriga with horses abreast is the Syracusan medallion which is repeated many times in Hunter's Catalogue, Tab. 62 *sq.*, and in Mr. B. V. Head's *History of the Coinage of Syracuse*, Plates III-V. We may also compare the coins of Philistis, Queen of Hiero II, where "the horses are sometimes galloping and sometimes walking." Head, *ibid.* p. 65 *sq.*, Pl. XI, figs. 6-9; British Museum, Catalogue of Greek coins, Sicily

the execution is rude, the design expresses with spirit the attitudes of men and movements of animals. The driver holds the reins; a personage of superior rank, looking in the same direction, occupies an elevated seat; another man, also sitting, has his back turned to his master, like a servant on a dog-cart. From the simplicity, both of carriage and costume, we may infer that a scene of private life, and not a public procession, is represented here. This view is confirmed by comparison with other reliefs in the same collection. The smaller mosaic at Orbe, where the subject is agricultural, would also serve as an illustration. The head-stalls, through which the reins of the wheelers pass, deserve notice, and I do not remember to have seen any exactly resembling them.¹ M. de Prangey says that the carriage may be called *carpentum*, *carruca*, or *petorritum*. All three terms are used of Gallic conveyances, but the first had only two wheels; the second and third had four, which is indicated in the last case by the word *petor*, equivalent to the Greek τέσσαρες, Æolic, πίσυρες.²

Though the figures are more or less mutilated, they all seem to wear the same dress, the *bardocucullus*, for which M. de Prangey writes *lucerna cucullata*. *Bardocucullus* is classical, but *cucullatus* occurs for the first time in the Origines of Isidorus, who died A.D. 636.³ This bas-relief, unnoticed by editors and commentators, elucidates two lines in Martial, Book I, No. 53:—

Nos. 539 and 553, pp. 212, 214, with engravings. The first plate of Cohen's Médailles Consulaires shows the same arrangement on six Roman denarii of the gentes Aburia, Acilia and Emilia.

¹ The only tolerably well-preserved head-stall which is left from antiquity was found in Thorsbjerg; it is fully described by Dr. Engelhardt, Denmark in the Early Iron Age, chap. iii, sect. 7, Harness, pp. 59-62, esp. p. 60; Thorsbjerg, Pl. XIII, fig. 1; some details are drawn full size in No. 1a to 1d. Cf. My paper on Scandinavia, Archæol. Journ. vol. xxxiv, p. 256.

² *Petor* corresponds to quatuor, as πέντε to quinque. The connection of these words is certain, though not so obvious at first sight on account of our incorrect pronunciation of QU as KW; but with the Romans QU were equivalent to K or C

with a hard sound. The interchange of P and C is common. e.g. palumba (palumbes), columba: Professor Key on the Alphabet, p. 53, sect. 6.

Ritum seems to be a Roman form of the Celtic Roth, rotha, Roith (obsolete) a wheel; diminutives Rôithlean, Ruithlean. See Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary. The same root appears in the Latin rota. French roue, and German Rad: Soc. Langr. vol. i, p. 140 sq., notes 2, 3.

³ Isidor. l. 19, Orig. c. 24. Casula est vestis cucullata, dicta per diminutionem a casa, quod totum hominem tegat. Forcellini, Lexicon s. v. A Drinking Scene is painted in a thermopolion or wine-shop at Pompeii, and two of the figures wear the *cucullus*: Sir W. Gell, Pompeiana, vol. ii. p. 11; Pl. LXXX; one member of this group is copied by Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s. v.

Sic interpositus villo contaminat uncto

Urbica Lingonius Tyrianthina bardocucullus.¹

The epigram is addressed to Fidentinus, who had copied the author's poems without acknowledgment, and had inserted amongst them one page composed by himself. Martial compares the plagiarist's verses to the greasy wool of a coarse cloak made at Langres, which would pollute Tyrian dyes if placed in contact with them. The contrast is much the same as we might draw between the frieze coat of a peasant and the fine West of England cloth worn by a gentleman. M. De Prangey speaks of *cucullus* and *bardocucullus* as if they were synonymous; here again I think he is mistaken, for the former word means a hood, and the latter a cloak with a hood as an appendage to it, closely resembling the Roman *paenula*.²

No. 185 consists of two bas-reliefs which seem to have been placed on the sides of a pedestal supporting some monument, probably sepulchral. The subjects are similar; in one case three mules are drawing a four-wheeled waggon, the whole length of which is occupied by a cask, represented without attention to perspective, as the end of it appears, which would not be visible to the spectator standing in front. So, in the Transition period of Greek sculpture, we see figures with the full face and the

¹ Juvenal, the contemporary author most nearly parallel to Martial, uses the word *cucullus* four times; in Satire vi, 118, he mentions a hood worn at night by the Empress Messallina, wife of Claudius, with a view to avoid recognition;

Sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos, but viii, 145 is more *à propos*, because here *Santonicus* answers to *Lingonicus* in the passage cited above,

Quo, si nocturnus adulter Tempora Santonico velas adopena cucullo
² This similarity is proved by Martial, xiv. 128.

Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo, Cercopithecorum paenula nuper erat.

Paenula seems to be the same as the Greek *φαινόλη*, which occurs in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, iv, 13, but Stephens reads *φαιλόνη*, and Tischendorf *φελόνη*. Bloomfield, *in loco*, derives *φελόνης* (*φελλόνης*) from *φελός*, the bark of a tree, but this etymology is very doubtful. V. Alford's notes, critical and explanatory.

With *bardocullus* comp. Historia Augusta, ed. Lugd. Bat., 1671, Tom. i, pp. 545-550, Julii Capitolini Pertinax Imperator, c. 8, Auctio sane rerum Commodi in his insignior fuit...cuculli Bardaeici. On this passage Casanbon remarks, Utrum vero a Gallorum Bardis fuerint dicti, an a Bardeis Illyricis, ... nondum plane constitui.

Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary has a copious article on the Celtic word *bard*, and gives the equivalents in several languages.

See also Soc. Langr., Tome I, pp. 59-64, Notice sur les Costumes des Gaulois en général et des Lingons en particulier à propos de quelques monuments de l'ère Gallo-Romaine, by M. Paul Péchiné, architecte; esp. p. 61 *sq.* and notes: *ibid.* i, 140, M. De Prangey thus describes the "*laccerna cucullata*", ce vêtement à capuchon, la *cuculle* arabe actuelle, qui a conservé si parfaitement le nom comme la forme du vêtement principal de nos aïeux.

feet turned to one side, instead of being fore-shortened: of this confusion the Æginetan Minerva is a well-known example.¹ Between the wheels there are some small objects, one of which is supposed to be a drag (*enrayure*). The driver wears the *bardocucullus* as before, but the hood is thrown back over his shoulders; he holds a whip as well as reins. Caylus calls the animals horses; he had not seen the original, and the length of the ears shows him to have been mistaken. On the second stone a man holds a chain to which two mules are harnessed; the feet and a shapeless head are all that remain of another man looking towards him. Caylus conjectures that he is bringing a third horse to complete the team. The cask and harness on these slabs are like what may be seen in this part of France at present.²

No. 240 is a very remarkable bas-relief, and has attracted the attention of M. Palustre of Tours, formerly Directeur de la Société Française d'Archéologie; but whether he has written any memoir on the subject I am unable to state. Three shelves are arranged vertically; three sandals are placed on the highest, three bottles on the middle, and three boxes on the lowest. M. Brocard thinks that we have here the emblems of some trade, like the signs outside shops in modern times; but I am inclined to agree with the opinion of M. Cournault, Conservateur du Musée Lorrain à Nancy. He explains the sculptures with reference to baths: the sandals or slippers might be wanted to protect the feet from impurities on the floor, as is now the case with the Turks and Arabs; the bottles would hold unguents used by bathers, and the boxes pro-

¹ The fact that her feet are both unnaturally turned towards the side of the Greeks is interpreted by some writers to indicate her partiality; W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 125. I should rather attribute this anomaly to defective drawing, and compare it with the awkward figures that we see in mediæval glass-painting. The idea of representing a preference by the posture of the feet may be ingenious, but I think it is proved to be mistaken by comparison with the Selimnite metopes, where the feet are in profile and other parts of the body *en face*, but no such motive can be imagined. I refer to the groups of Perseus beheading Medusa, Hercules carrying the Cereopes,

and a Goddess (probably Artemis) contending with a Giant: C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler*, Part i, Pl. VI, fig. f; VII, fig. f; and viii B, fig. f. Gsell-Fels, Unter-Italien und Sicilien, Zweiter Band, pp. 221-224. Palermo, Museo Nazionale: Erdgeschloss; esp. p. 222, sect. 3, die Füße sind dem Herakles zugewandt, die herabhängenden Köpfe dagegen von vorn sichtbar (Herakles, die Kerkopen-kobolde an der Stange forttragend).

² *Receuil d'Antiquités*, Tome IV, pp. 396-400, Pl. CXXII, nos. II and III; for Cucullus and Bardocucullus see esp. p. 399, where Caylus says that these words are absolutely synonymous.

vided with lids on the lowest shelf might contain objects of the toilette or personal adornment.¹

The museum possesses many inscriptions; a large proportion of them are sepulchral and very imperfect, but their fragmentary condition need cause little regret, because they seem to be insignificant, and closely resemble what have been found elsewhere. I shall notice a few of the more important ones.²

No. 11. SVCCESSVS
 NATALIS.L
 MACERIEM
 CAEMENTICIAM
 CIRCA.HOC.TEM
 PLVM.DE.SVA.PE
 CVNIA.MATRO
 NAE.EX VOTO SVS
 CEPTO
 V. S. L. M.

Successus, freedman of Natalis, has built a stone wall round this temple with his own money, in honour of Matrona, according to a vow which he had made. He has fulfilled his vow willingly, deservedly.³

¹ According to M. Brocard, objects for sale are here figured in stone for the same purpose as we often see them painted—a common practice in the South of Europe. He published a short notice of this relief in the *Mémoires* of the Soc. Langr., Tome III, p. 231 sq., 1 June, 1885, accompanied by an illustration which he kindly permitted me to exhibit. The stone was discovered in the course of excavations made by the military engineers at the citadel of Langres. Besides the three sandals mentioned above, a fourth is partially visible. The two on the spectator's right show an opening that would leave the extremity of the foot bare, and in this respect resemble the *campagus*—a boot which exposes the toes; it occurs in the *Tombeau de Jovin*: v. my paper on Reims, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xli, p. 124, and references to Montfaucon in note 2.

The three bottles are of a square shape, and might be called *lagenæ*. A description of vases in Dr. Birch's *Ancient Pottery and Porcelain*, vol. i, p. 56, will closely apply here. "Their necks are short in proportion to their handles, and their handles reach from the shoulder to the lip, which is always turned with a ridge" (*Egyptian and Oriental Pottery*). Generally the circular form is preferred, as is shown by the illustrations in the *Catalogue of Glass*, Slade collection, pp. 29-49, Roman blown glass; but square

bottles are mentioned p. 32, Nos. 192, 196. The Colchester Museum contains fine specimens of ancient glass, remarkable for their size and good preservation, but I wish now to call attention to the fact that some have nearly the same shape as the vases figured at Langres: *Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Colchester Museum*, p. 9, No. 173, Pl. IV, fig. 5; p. 10, No. 196. Bottles of the same kind have been found in the town of Châtelet, between St Dizier and Joinville, near the river Marne, and the line of railway from Blesme to Chaumont. This place is marked as "ville ruinée" in the map of the Roman roads of the Haute-Marne, Soc. Langr. tome i, p. 330, Planche 43: v. *Arts et Métiers des Anciens*, etc., par Grivaud de la Vincelle Paris, 1819, planche xevii.

² I have followed the numbers in M. Brocard's *Catalogue* for the inscriptions as well as for the bas-reliefs.

³ *Successus* is an uncommon name, and does not occur in Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Biography*; an example of it is given by Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinae*, under the head *Lucernæ*, p. 240, No. 1330, ²², SVCC-CESSI, with the singular device of an ape riding on a crocodile. *Successus* is said to have been found on a sepulchral tablet at Bath, but the stone has disappeared: *ibid.* p. 28, No. 58.

We meet with Natalis more frequently.

Every author is his own best expositor, and can only be understood by adopting the method of a concordance, and elucidating one passage in his works by another. Similarly, an inscription should be compared, if possible, with others of the same *provenance*. Thus the initial letter L in the second line is proved to stand for *libertus*, freedman, by reference to No. 73, where LIB occurs, i.e., *libertae*, freedwoman. In No. 118 we have the abbreviation LB; in No. 119, 4^a, the word LIBERTAE in full.¹ The term *maceries* is employed here strictly in accordance with the usage of classical Latin; it means a wall roughly constructed and enclosing a plot of ground, garden or vineyard, as distinguished from the wall of a town (*murus*) or of a house (*paties*). Various materials, such as earth or bricks, might be used in building the *maceria*; but in this case the word *caementicius* shows that it consisted of small stones (*caementa*), not the large rectangular ones (*quadrata*) that we see in regular masonry.² Langres is

Antonius Natalis, a Roman knight, joined the famous conspiracy of C. Piso against Nero, in which Lucan, the poet, was also engaged; and escaped punishment by promptly betraying his accomplices: Tacitus, *Annals*, xv, 50, 54, 56, 71. A rescript of Trajan is addressed to Minucius Natalis, who may have been a jurist: Smith's *Diet. of Classical Biography*. Our own monuments exhibit this name thrice; at Ribchester, near Cirencester, and in London. The first place is called Coccium by Hübner, but Mr. Thompson Watkin identifies it with Bremetonacum: *Roman Lancashire*, p. 28 sq. According to the latter authority, Coccium was at Wigan. The stone tablet found at Ribchester, and now preserved at St. John's College, Cambridge, mentions T. Floridius Natalis as *legatus* of a legion; a full-page engraving of it from a photograph is given by Mr. Watkin, *ibid.*, opposite p. 146, with copious explanations; cf. Hübner, *Insc. Brit. Lat.*, p. 59, No. 222, lapis magnus litteris elegantibus; many of the letters are ligulate. For the other two instances of Natalis v. Hübner, p. 30, No. 66: and Patella, p. 277, No. 1336,⁷⁵⁰. I have cited these British inscriptions as showing the connexion between Anglo-Roman and Gallo-Roman epigraphy.

Vota suscipere is equivalent to *vota facere*; the latter phrase is frequent in Cicero's writings, but he uses the former at least once: *De Natura Deorum*, lib. iii,

c. 39, § 93, Atque iidem etiam vota suscipi dicitis oportere.

¹ L in the last line stands for *lubens*, so that we have two very different uses of the same character in one inscription. No less than forty-five meanings of L will be found in Gerrard's *Siglarium*, usually printed as an appendix to the English Translation of Forcellini's *Lexicon*.

² *Māceria* (*maceries* in Prudentius and Gruter p. 611, No. 13) is allied to μάκελον, μάκελλον, μάκελος=δυσφρακτος, φραγμός, an enclosure, (v. Liddell and Scott), and the Latin mācellum, notwithstanding the difference of quantity; for this does not constitute a fatal objection. Doederlein, *Lateinische Synonyme und Etymologien*, Fünfter Theil, p. 351. c. 244 § 4, suggests another derivation, Aber liegt *margo*, Mark, nicht nahe genug? This seems to be a mere guess, though it might be said in its favour that R. sometimes disappears. "Thus the German sprechen is in English *speak*, our word *world* is in German *Welt*." Key on the Alphabet, p. 93. The difference between *murus* and *maceria* is well shown by Caesar's description of Alesia, the place where Vercingetorix was besieged. The former word relates to the town, the latter to a space outside occupied by the Gallic troops. Bell. Gall. vii, 69. Varro mentions four kinds of *maceria*. *De Re Rustica*, lib. i, c. 114; cf. Cato, *R.R.*, c. 15. 1.

For *caementicius* v. Horace, *Odes* iii, 1, 35. *Caementa demittit redemptor*, and Orelli's note *in loco*.

near the source of the Marne (*Matrona*), so that this inscription, recording a vow to the goddess of the stream, possesses a local interest.¹ She was, doubtless, admitted into the Roman Pantheon, which, with one exception, embraced all religions, as equally useful and equally true.²

No. 18. ATTIVS EVHODVS
 VG COLON

These words are only a fragment, but I have transcribed them on account of the word EVHODVS, which has nearly the same meaning as SVCESSVS mentioned above. It is evidently compounded of *εὖ* well, and *ὁδός* a way, the Latin form retaining the aspirate which disappears from the Greek *Ἐυδοός*. The corresponding female name EVHODIA is given by Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis*, p. 91, No. XL, and copied by Orelli, *Collectio Inscr. Lat.* vol. I, p. 298, No. 1503. When the form EVODIA occurs in prose (as in Sicilian inscriptions), it is ambiguous, because it may signify *success* or *fragrance* (*ἐυδοία* or *ἐυωδία*).³

No. 55. I. ET. LITAVICCO. FIL·ON.

¹ *Matrōna* the river is distinguished by accent and quantity from *matrōna*, a married woman. Caesar, B.G., i, 4, says that the *Matrona* and *Sequana* (Seine) form the boundary between the Galli and the Belgæ.

Guides Diamant, Vosges, Alsace et Ardennes par Paul Joanne, p. 55, s.v. Langres. Excursions aux sources de la Marne (5 kilomètres), situées au S.E., au bas d'un cirque de rochers (381 mètres d'altitude), près de Balesme (vestiges de bains romains).

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. ii, sect. i, vol. i, pp. 165-167, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith. The deities of a thousand groves and a thousand streams possessed, in peace, their local and respective influence.

³ Evodus is best known to us as the name of an artist who engraved on a beryl the likeness of Julia, daughter of Titus and Marcia Furnilla. The gem is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris: it is signed ΕΥΘΑΟΟ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ; C. O. Müller *Denkmäler*, part i, tab. Ixix, No. 381; references to Mongez, Clarac and Lenormant will be found in Wieseler's edition.

Mr. Hodder Westropp, *Manual of Archaeology*, p. 269, mentions this gem as being in the Marlborough Collection; but I have not found it in Mr. Mas-

kelyne's Catalogue; No. 447 is a bust of the same personage, signed by Nicander. Cf. Westropp, *ibid.*, p. 278, under the heading, Celebrated Engraved Stones.

Stephens, *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae*, edit. Didot, s.v. *Ἐυδοός* Plurimi etiam (Evodi) memorantur in inscriptionibus, velut in Atticis apud Boeckh, vol. i, p. 368, No. 266, &c. Vid. *Ἐυδία*, facilis via; *Ἐυωδία*, bonus odor. I have explained Enodia. *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xxxviii, p. 160, note 1.

Spon's Inscription mentioned above deserves notice; it begins thus: CAELO AETERNO | TERRAE MATRI | MERCVRIO | MENESTRATORI, on which Orelli remarks, *Vestigia hic mihi videor invenire, Cadicularum, &c.* Quidam inter Judeos haeretici, qui caelum tanquam summum numen colebant: Forcellini, s.v. Cf. Juvenal. Sat. xiv, 96 sq.

Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem.

Nil praeter nubes et coeli numen adorant, and Lipsius, note on Tacitus, *Hist. lib. v.* c. 5

Fabretti has the same Inscription, chap. x, No. 114, see also No. 113 and his note. Bailey's edition of Forcellini refers to this passage in Fabretti, but incorrectly.

Litavicus though not deemed worthy of a place in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Biography and Mythology, was a very important personage; he was an Æduan chief of the highest rank, and zealously opposed Cæsar's attempts to conquer Gaul; he boldly denounced the Romans as brigands, and slaughtered as many of them as he could.¹ The last passage where the name of Litavicus occurs in the Commentaries informs us that he was received by the Æduans into Bibracte, their capital and stronghold; he then suddenly disappears from history, like the Batavian leader Civilis more than a century afterwards.²

Various forms of this name are given by Oudendorp in his critical note on Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vii, cap. 37, Litavias, Lictaviceus, Lictavictus, Litaviceus, Litavictus. In a case of this kind inscriptions and legends on coins may assist us to determine the true reading: it is obvious that, when they are contemporary, they afford better evidence than manuscripts which are later.

The Musée Departemental des Vosges at Epinal supplies an interesting parallel, which fortunately is better preserved: Catalogue by M. Felix Voulot, Conservateur, 2^e partie.—Série Lapidaire, p. 14, No. 30. I copy this historical document, because it is probably unknown to most English antiquaries.

<p>SEX · IV_{ENT} · SENOVIRI DVBNOTALI · F · IVL · LITVAARA · LITAVICc I · F MATER · FACIENDVM CVRAVIT</p>
--

Sexto Juvento Senoviri Dubnotali Filio Julia Litumara Litavicii Filia mater faciendum curavit.

The inscription was found at Monthureux, canton de la Vignotte, near the source of the river Saône, South-West of Epinal.

¹ Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, lib. vii, cc. 37-40, 43, 54, 55. C. 38, Proinde, si quid est in nobis animi, persequamur eorum mortem, qui indignissime interierunt, atque hos latrones interficiamus.

² Tacitus's account of Civilis ends abruptly with a fragment of his speech,

when he met the Roman general, Cerealis, on the broken bridge over the river Nabalia, perhaps the Yssel, the Eastern branch of the Rhine. *Histories*, iv, 26; see Orelli *in loco*, and Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vi, p. 525.

From the beauty of the characters we infer that this sepulchral monument belongs to a good period of the Roman occupation; and we may reasonably conjecture from the epoch and the *provenance* that Litumara here mentioned was related to the Litavicus of Cæsar's Commentaries. Her husband's name, Dubnotalus, resembles Dubnorex on Æduan coins, usually written Dumnorix; Rollin et Feuardent, Médailles de la Gaule, chefs Eduens, No. 129 sq.¹ M. Voulot explains Senoviri as meaning a warrior of the tribe of Senones; but a comparison of this name with Sacrovir, an Æduan chief, would not support his opinion.² The syllable *Vir*, like *Dun* in towns, occurs at the beginning, as well as at the end, of proper names, *e.g.*, Viridomarus, Viridovix; it is the same as the Celtic *Fear*, *fír*, a man, a husband. See O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, and Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, where similar words in other languages are mentioned. *Fear* becomes *var* in Carrignavar, *i.e.* rock of the man, a village about four miles north of Cork—cf. *Fearach*, &c.

Litavicus is also known to us by an important coin engraved in Hucher's *Art Gaulois*, pl. 2, No. 2. The device on the obverse is a bust of Diana with quiver on the shoulder and sceptre in front, or perhaps a sceptre on each side; on the reverse we see Litavicus galloping to right, and carrying a standard surmounted by a wild boar: legend—LITA.³

No. 69.	D	M
	BOUDOCA	
	IVNĪ FILI	
	O	

¹ This is the form which Oudendorp adopts, Cæsar, B.G., I., 9, 18, &c. With DVBNOREX compare DVBNOCOY on the obverse of the same medal: Lettres à M. A. de Longpérier sur la Numismatique Gauloise par F. de Saulcy, pp. 136-138, ANORBO-DVBNORIX; p. 138 sq. DVBNORIX-DVBNOCOV; ibid. pp. 155-157, 239-242, Anorbos-Dubnorix. At p. 139 DVBNOREIX occurs.

² Tacitus, Annals iii, 40, 41, 43-46; the last reference is the most important. Sacrovir, the leader of the Æduan revolt in the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 21, was defeated by the Roman general, C. Silius, near Augustodunum (Autun). The name Sacrovir is visible on the Arch at Orange:

my paper on Autun, Archæol. Journ. vol. xl, p. 30, note 3.

³ Hucher, Table du Texte, p. 58, Les braies du cavalier sont attachées au bas de la jambe et au cou-de-pied, et la légende LITA est quelquefois LITAV et LITAVICOS en toutes lettres; ibid. Deuxième Partie, Catalogue Critique des Légendes des Monnaies Gauloises, p. 151: Lelewel, Atlas to Type Gaulois ou Celtique, Pl. VII, No. 7: Duchalais, Description des Médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale, p. 115 sq., Nos. 354-357; with references to Mionnet.

The horse galloping, said to be an emblem of liberty, is the most common type on Gallic coins, but the wild boar, I think, in frequency ranks next to it.

Found in the citadel, in the Gallo-Roman cemetery.

This fragment is brief and imperfect, but interesting, because it contains a name that reminds us of Boadicea, the heroic queen of the Iceni, who, "bleeding from the Roman rods...rushed to battle, fought and died.¹ It is worth while to observe that *Boudoca* approximates more closely to *Boudicca* than to any other of the numerous forms which this name takes in the MSS. of Tacitus. The latter is adopted by Halm in his excellent edition, following the reading of the Codex Medicens, Annals, Book xiv, chap. 37. It most probably occurred in the following inscription at Chichester :

CCA.AELIA
CAVVA
FIL.AN.XXXVI

which Hübner interprets thus, [Bodi]cca Aelia, Cauva, [Laeti] fil(ia) an(norum) xxxvi. He remarks that the characters are good and belong to the close of the first century, so that the monument is nearly contemporary with Boadicea, who poisoned herself A.D. 62.²

No. 76. TABRIVS
CANDIDVS
VSEHMNS

Tabrius Candidus vivus sibi fecit hoc monumentum haeres non sequitur.

The inscription and expansion are repeated as they

Though extinct in Britain, the species is still very numerous in the French forests; and where the game is preserved, this mischievous animal often causes litigation between the farmers and the proprietors of the soil. I remember having seen many heads of wild boars stuffed, in a shop-window, as I was passing through the Rue St. Dizier at Nancy. In the following works the reader will find an abundance of numismatic illustrations—Lelewel, op. citat. Troisième Période, Age d'Airain, pp. 152-160, c. 69, Sanglier enseigne des Eduens et empreinte de leur monnaie ; c. 70, Les alliés des Eduens prennent le sanglier dans leur monnaie, c. 71, Bouc, sanglier et autres quadrupèdes de la monnaie noire et blanche, Akerman, Ancient Coins of Spain, Gaul and Britain, Plates XIII-XX, Gallia, Encyclopédie-Roret, J.B.A.A. Barthélemy, Numismatique Ancienne, Planches Nos. 349-399, esp. 389, Duchalais, op. citat., Planches i-iii ; Tables des Types principaux, s.v. Sanglier, where

many examples are given ; there is also one amongst the Monnaies Pannoniennes described in the same work, p. 407, No. 103, Reverse, COVIOIYVVIII. Sanglier *cum ceretro erecto*, marchant à gauche.

¹ Cowper's Poem entitled Boadicea, ed. Bohn, vol. v, p. 265 sq; Tacitus Annals, xiv, 31, 35, 37 ; v. Orelli Adnotation Critica on chap. 31; Zeuss, Grammatica Celtica, vol. i, p. 27. Boadicea ap. Tacitum, pro Boodicea, Bôd. ? p. 39, he mentions the names Boudius and Bondia. Cf. Hucher, op. citat. Catal. Critique des Légendes des Monnaies Gaul. BODVOC, BODVO, av. ar. (Britanni vel Nervii). Lelewel a figuré ces deux monnaies, Pl. VIII, Nos. 18, 19.

² Insec Britannie Latine, No. 13, p. 19. Hübner supposes Cauva to be the name of some British tribe. This inscription was found in the year 1833, and published by Mr. Thomas King in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, 1836 ; Appendix to vol. xxvi of the Archæologia, p. 466.

stand in M. Brocard's Catalogue, but they seem to require correction. Having been unable to find *Tabrius* elsewhere, I propose to read for it TABVRIVS, i.e. *Titus Aburius*. This latter name occurs at Palma in Mallorca, given by Hübner C.I.L., Spain, No. 3669: also in coins of the Gens Aburia; Cohen Médailles Consulaires, Planche I, Nos. 1, 2, pp. 1-3.¹ It should be observed that the legends of these denarii M. AB VR I (which I exhibit) and C. AB VR I show the ligature VR=UR. If the surface of the stone had been weathered or injured in any way, the oblique stroke forming the letter V might be so far effaced as easily to escape notice. Of the cognomen *Candidus* our own country furnishes examples; there was one at Manchester mentioned by Camden, but it is now lost. According to him the stone was inscribed thus—

C. CANDIDI
FIDES XX
I I I I

For FI we must substitute PE, so that the expansion will be C. (centuria) *Candidi Pedes xxiiii*; "The century of Candidus (built) twenty-four feet."²

Another example (c) ANDID FECIT, is given by Mr. Roach Smith, Roman London, p. 89; it is the name of a potter on a *mortarium*.

The letters HMNS may be expanded *haeredes monumentum non sequitur*, the monument does not go to the heirs; but the omission of *hoc* before *monumentum* would be unusual. I am inclined to suspect that it has been omitted before N, either by the stonecutter or by the copyist, so that the words would be in full *hoc monumentum*

¹ No. 1 has for its device on the reverse the Sun holding a whip, No. 2, Mars helmeted with trophy, spear and shield—both deities in a quadriga. There seems to be here an allusion to the name Aburia which resembles *amburo* to scorch, consume. This is the opinion of Vaillant, and Pighius says *ardens Martis astrum*, but Eckhel doubts the correctness of their explanations, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. v, p. 117 sq. See also Morell's Thesaurus, Tom. i, Familiarum Romanarum Numismata, p. 1 sq., Tab. i, Nos. i, iv.

² Mr. Thompson Watkin's Roman Lancashire, chap. iv, *Mancunium* p. 99. A description of four centurial stones is given pp. 99-102. They are interesting

as evidence of the presence at Manchester of the Frisians, "a very distinguished race," frequently mentioned by Tacitus. V, note p. 102, Memoir on the Roman garrison at Mancunium, &c., by James Black, M.D., F.R.S. Hübner, Insc. Brit. Lat. No. 215, cf. 667.

COH-I >IV
LI CANDID

Coh(ortis) I >(centuria) Iuli(i) Candid(i)

This stone was found in the Roman Wall near Borecovicium. See also Nos. 857, 1331³⁰; and Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 111, No. 210. Twenty stones are engraved in this work, bearing the designations of cohorts and centuries, pp. 111 sqq.

*haeredes non sequitur.*¹ Our inscription is evidently sepulchral, and the last line of it corresponds with a passage in Horace, where the poet is speaking of a burial-ground on the Esquiline :

Hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurrae, Nomentanoque nepoti.
Millē pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat ; haeredes monumentam ne sequeretur.²

The measurements in front and in depth are here mentioned, just as we see them now placarded upon walls in notices of land to be let for building.³ For this purpose another inscription at Langres should be compared.

No. 111 SEXIVL
 . . . IAN
 L.PXVI
 L.PXII

i.e. longum pedes xvi, latum pedes xii.

The meaning of the letter L is illustrated by No. 19,

LAT.P.V

i.e. latum pedes v.

No. 115 D. M.
 V.FVLE RVFIFILI
 IVILV COCHFILIVS
 MARITVS

These words appear on the upper part of a funereal *cippus*, half of which is broken off. I have noticed them on account of the accent on *maritus*. Wilmanns, remarks that accents occur in inscriptions, beginning with the age of Augustus, but become very rare at the end of the second century, and that the last he has seen belongs to the reign of Gallienus, A.D. 254—267.⁴ The subject is

¹ According to M. Brocard's expansion *haeres* stands in the nominative case ; but the accusative is required here, which is proved by the verses cited from Horace.

² Satires, lib. I, viii, 10-13. Solita hac formula H. M. H. N. S. cavebant ne . . . transiret ad heredes, neve ab his aliquando vendi posset ; Orelli *in loco*, and compare his Collectio Insec. Lat., No. 4379. HOC MONVMENTVM HEREM NON SEQVITVR.

³ Orelli, op. citat. no. 4374

IN AG. P. XII

IN FR. P. XXIV

Cf. nos 4382, 4557.

⁴ Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. i, p. 16, No. 68. We have here the sentence inscribed by Augustus on two obelisks, one in the Circus Maximus and the other in the Campus Martius. Some

of the vowels are accentuated. The former, sometimes called Flaminian, is now in the Piazza del Popolo ; the latter, on the Monte Citorio, was erected as the gnomon of a sun-dial, and hence called Solarium Augusti : Pliny, Hist. Nat., Lib. xxxvi, Cap. x, Sect. 15 ; Smith's Dict. Class. Geog., art. Roma. vol. II, p. 837 ; Murray's Handbook for Rome, 7th ed., pp. 87-89. Cf. omn. Ammianus Marcellinus xvii, 4, caput totum.

Comp. Corpus Insec. Lat., vol. i, p. 600, Index Grammaticus, s. v. apices ; p. 168, sq. No. 586, album augurum crediderim totam inscriptionem posterioris ætatis (i.e. after U.C. 666) esse, quam certe prae se fert *decuria* v. 11 cum apice in vocali longa.

An accent is called *apex* in Latin.

interesting, because it throws some light on the pronunciation of Latin, which has lately excited much attention, and still remains *sub judice*. But the investigation presents many difficulties, as we find accents on syllables where we should least expect them. For example, Orelli, vol. i, p. 379, No. 2213, gives the following: || M.VÁLERIVS IVLIÁNVS SÓCER ÉT || VÁL. SÉCVNDILLÁ (Gratianopoli, Grenoble). *Valerius* shows that we are wrong in saying *Valérius*, and the inscription here agrees with the rhythm of Horace's line, Satires i, 6, 12.

Contra, Laevinum, Valerî genus, unde Superbus.

On the other hand the accent on the last syllable of *Sécvndillá* seems strange, because the quantity is short in the nominative case, and the emphasis falls on the penultima.

(*To be continued.*)

THE GRAHAMS OR GRÆMES OF THE DEBATEABLE LAND—THEIR TRADITIONAL ORIGIN CONSIDERED.¹

By JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A., Scot.

The traveller from Carlisle to the North, when he reaches Gretna station and the little stream, the Sark, that here divides England from Scotland, knows, if he is read in Border history, that around him lies a tract of country, every acre of which has resounded to the clash of arms—the “Bateable Land,” as it was called of old. Two famous pitched battles have been fought within its bounds—Sark in 1449, when the Scots gained the day, and the Rout of Solway in 1542, when they were scattered to the winds. Claimed by both nations, but belonging to neither, it was the resort of all the broken men of the Western and Middle marches.

It was an oblong stretch of wild land, lying on the Scottish side of the waters of Esk and Liddel, and including within its bounds the historic Solway Moss. Originally it had belonged to Scotland, as early records shew, but in the course of the long Border warfare, it had become neutral, ruled by strange laws and customs ; one of these being that during peace time both Scots and Englishmen pastured their cattle there in safety while daylight lasted, but after sunset the animals remained at the risk, which it is needless to say was considerable, of their owners not seeing them again. It comprised two parishes, Canoby and Kirk Andrews, and when finally divided between the two countries about the middle of the sixteenth century, the former of these was allotted to Scotland, the latter to England. The memory of this division is preserved by the name of the artificial boundary—the “Scots Dyke.”

Long before this time the well-known Border clan of

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, March 4th, 1886.

Armstrong held many of the peel houses in Canoby, while the Grahams occupied the greater part of Kirk Andrews. While no one has ever claimed an origin for the Armstrongs elsewhere than the scene of their bold exploits, the Grahams, on the other hand, say that they are the descendants of the great Earls of Stratherne or Menteith, whose domains lay around the lovely lake of Menteith or Inchmahome. The tradition in the family of Graham of Esk, from whom those of Netherby, Norton-Conyers, &c., are descended, is stated in Sir Bernard Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, ed. 1873, to be that their ancestor was,—

“Malise Graham earl of Stratherne, who changed the title to Menteith, that of Stratherne being annexed to the Royal house by King Robert II. This nobleman m. Anne daughter of Henry Vere earl of Oxford, and had three sons and two daughters, the second of which sons, the Hon. Sir John Graham of Kilbride, called *John with the Bright sword*, left Richard Graham, from whom are lineally descended the Grahams of the Borders, both of the English and Scottish side.”

This brilliant origin—some of the details of which are, however, incorrect; for it was James I, not his grandfather Robert II, who deprived Earl Malise of the title of Stratherne, and the latter's marriage to the daughter of a non-existent *Henry*, Earl of Oxford, is a fiction rejected by all good authorities—seems as yet unsupported by any authentic record. There is indeed some diversity of statement as to the sons of Earl Malise, their order, and even their names.

Mr. Fraser, who edited the *Red Book of Menteith* in 1880 for Mr. Stirling Home-Drummond, and had access to the best family archives, including those of the Duke of Montrose and Mr. Graham of Gartmore, gives a pedigree of the Menteith family. According to this, Earl Malise had five sons (1) Alexander, Master of Menteith, who died while a hostage for his father in England in 1469, *s.p.* (2) Sir John, of Kilbride, who m. Margaret Muschet, and died before 1478, leaving a daughter only, who was contracted to Malcolm Drummond. (3) Patrick, who also died in his father's lifetime, some time after

1478, leaving a son Alexander, who became second Earl of Menteith on his grandfather's death, c. 1493. (4) John. Mr. Fraser says, he was probably born after the death of his elder brother, Sir John. There is no evidence of his being married, and he had no connection with Kilbride. He adds that he has found no proof of the tradition that he was ancestor of the Grahams of Netherby. This is, of course, merely negative evidence on these last points. (5) Walter, of Lochton. He was ancestor of the Grahams of Balquhapple, a family which Mr. Fraser has traced down to 1625.

Mr. W. O. Hewlett in his *Notes on Scotch Dignities dormant or forfeited* (1882), gives a different account of the Earl and his children. He makes Alexander, the second earl, to be son of Earl Malise's eldest son Alexander, master of Menteith, who died *vita patris*; adding that the Grahams of Gartmore, in Perthshire, are the male representatives of Sir John of Kilbryde, the second son of Earl Malise.

While it is undoubted that towards the close of the fifteenth century there were great dissensions in the Earl's family, owing to unequal settlements of parts of his lands on his fourth and fifth sons, John and Walter, who are called his sons "carnall," and were both minors in 1494, there seems to be no positive authority for the tradition that one of these brothers betook himself to the Debateable Land.

Some slight countenance is perhaps given to it by the circumstance mentioned by Mr. Fraser (*Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii) that William eighth and last Earl of Menteith gave Colonel Grahame, keeper of the Privy Purse to His Royal Highness the Duke of York (James II) while at Edinburgh, a "borebrife" (i.e. birthbrief), attesting that he and his brother, Sir Richard Graham of Esk, just created Lord Viscount Preston, were of his family. The Colonel had evidently prepared and sent this birthbrief to the Earl for his signature. In the Earl's letter, dated at the "Yle of Menteith," 4th July, 1681, he says that the Viscount and the Colonel were "lineallie descended of Alexander, Earl of Menteith, who was eldest son to Earl Malice," his predecessor, and that he is much honoured that so many noble and brave gentlemen are descended of

his family, and prays their "increase." It will be noticed that the terms of this certificate are quite at variance with the family tradition, thus showing the little value to be attached to these birthbriefs, which, as a great authority has remarked, were generally mere complimentary performances seldom founded on any authority.

This Colonel "Grahme" (so the name is spelt in the paper presently to be mentioned) was a man of note in the North. From an interesting paper¹ on Levens Hall, Westmoreland, an estate which he purchased in 1690 from the last of the old Northumbrian family of Bellingham, it appears that Colonel Grahme had been knighted by James II, and that his elder brother, Sir Richard, was at one time styled the "Goodman of Netherby," a territorial designation well known in Scotland, and given to land owners, however large their estates, who held them not of the Crown but of a subject. After the misfortunes of James II, Sir James Grahme settled at this beautiful estate of Levens, represented the county in Parliament, and married a daughter of the Earl of Berkshire. The descendants of this marriage still enjoy the property, the gardens of which are celebrated as having been laid out by M. Beaumont, a Frenchman, who designed those of Hampton Court.²

Long before this time, when the clan of Graham were being deported from the Borders as disorderly people, to the Low Countries and elsewhere in the reign of James VI in 1605, the Earl of Montrose, head of the Scottish Grahams, appears to have recognised Richard, son of Walter of Netherby and the rest of the clan, as his "cozens."³

Such attestations as these in most cases meant no more than the desire of a great Scottish noble to include all of his surname in the number of his followers.

But whatever the real facts may be as to the order or the names of the children of Earl Malise, or their career, there is clear evidence in the English records that so early

¹ Contributed to the Architectural Section of the Royal Archaeological Institute at their Meeting at Lancaster in July, 1868, by the Rev. G. F. Weston, Vicar of Crosby Ravensworth. (Printed, *Journal* vol. xxi, p. 97, etc.)

² It is reported that there has been a

discovery lately made of some interesting original letters and papers of James II at Levens Hall.

³ *4th Report of Historical MSS. Commission, Border papers of the Earl of Crawford.*

as the third year of Henry V. (1415) there was already a race of the same name living on the Esk. "John Grame dwelling on the water of Esk near Carlisle, gentleman," and others, are accused of having on divers occasions between Midsummer and Michaelmas, 1415, conspired with the coroner of Northampton against one John Peyntour, of Stony Stratford, in Buckingham, charged with clipping money.¹ This "John Grame" was thus much older than the Earl of Menteith, who must then have been a mere boy. In 1494 "Thomas Grahame, Scottishman," bailiff of the Prior of Canonby, appears in a claim for redress before the Wardens of the West Marches.

According to the Esk pedigree, the real founder of the family fortunes was Richard Graham, gentleman of the horse to James VI. He was created a baronet on 20th March, 1629, by Charles I. He is there said to have purchased Netherby and the barony of Liddel from Francis earl of Cumberland, and in short, like the Thane of Cawdor, was a prosperous gentleman. His father is there called "Fergus Graham esq. of Plomp."² When the latter flourished is not said, but he is the first man named after John "of the Bright sword," the traditionary link with Stratherne, who, as Mr. Fraser has shewn, was alive in 1500. This leaves a gap of 70 or more years between him and Fergus of Plomp, who must have lived in the latter half of the 16th century. And I am pleased to be able to contribute a link in this gap, in case the family archives do not shew it. This is an Obligation or Bond by "Riche Grame of Neyerbe and Fergus his broyer" as sureties for another Grame, called "Neyr Wille otherwise Clayseman," that he should not depart from my Lord Flemyng till Sunday next the 14th March, 1558, "under pane of thrydtene scoir (*i.e.* 260) crowns of ye sone." They also bind themselves "to hold my Lord harmless of the said

¹ Privy Seals, 14 Hen. VI.

² Fergus was probably "Fergus Grayme of the Moat of Liddel," who had a grant of Arms in 1555:—barry of six, or and gules, within a bordure engrailed sable; in the sinister chief a boar's head erased; over all, a branch of a tree leaved in bend dexter." (See the *History of Liddes-*

dale, Eskdale, &c., and the Debateable Land by R. Bruce Armstrong Esq., 1883 Pt. i pp. 174, 183, n.; citing Stodart's *Scottish Arms*). These arms are quite different from those now used by the Border Grahams, who all carry those of the Duke of Montrose, with some slight differences.

Wille." They sign the document after a fashion, on 11th March, before "Edward Irwing of Gretnay" thus:—
 "Ryzhe Graym, of Netherbe,
 "Fergus Graym, wt. our
 "hands led at the pen."

James, 4th Lord Fleming, was Warden of the East and Middle Marches, and this bond seems in some way intended to secure the fidelity of "Wille Grane," perhaps as guide or otherwise to the Warden. Douglas, in his *Peerage of Scotland* however, says this Lord Fleming died on 15th December preceding, but in this he may be wrong. If he is right, John the 5th Lord Fleming, must be the person meant. The interest of the document consists in its showing that "Riche" (*i.e.* Richard) Graham, being styled "of" Netherby, was probably its owner (of some part at least) as early as 1558, a full half century before Sir Richard is said to have purchased it from the Earl of Cumberland. It also brings "Riche" within less than half a century of the traditional ancestor John. It was seen by myself some years ago in a collection in private hands, of the old papers of the Flemings, earls of Wigton. It is thus by no means *impossible* that "Riche" and Fergus Graham of 1558 might be the sons or grandsons of John (of Stratherne), but this remains to be proved. Undoubtedly it may be, for Mr. Fraser only says negatively it has not been. It must also be shown that John did fly from "the realms of fair Menteith" to the Debateable Land. He may have heard of namesakes there, and if cast off by his family, may have taken refuge with them. But all this is mere conjecture, in the absence of legal proof.

It is singular at the same time that these Border Grahams or whoever drew up their pedigree, appear to have ignored the fact that in the thirteenth century there were two families of the surname in the Marches, both of high distinction.¹ One of these held property both in

¹ Some authorities say they were the same. Henry de Graham attests a writ of Alexander II, at Kilwinning, 21st May, 1260. (*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Bain, vol. i, No. 2193). The same or his father occurs in the list of the partizans of Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, c. 1244 (*Calendar ut supra*, No. 2672). In 1279, Henry, son of Henry de Graham, grants to the Abbey

of Blanchland a yearly rent of 5s. from his mill of Symundburn in Tyndale, as in their charter from Henry, son of Henry de Graham, his grandfather (*Calendar ut supra*, vol. ii, p. 52). This seems to indicate four generations. Sir Henry de Graham, Knight, is a witness to a charter of Robert Bruce the Competitor, on 25th June, 1288. (*Calendar ut supra*, No. 556);

Tynedale and Eskdale, and there were at least three if not four successive heads of it named Henry. Sir Henry, the last of them, appears on the *Rayman Roll* in 1296, as of "Dumfriesshire," and also was at the siege of Carlaverock in 1300. His banner there exhibited a saltire with three escallop shells on a chief, showing feudal dependance on the Bruces of Annandale.¹ The other family had possessions on the East Marches at Wooler, Sir Nicholas their head having married a Muscamp co-heiress. Both he and Sir John, his son, often appear during the reign of Edward I.² It is just as likely, if not more so, that the Grahams of the Debateable Land were descendants of one or other of these families. It is, one may say, a more probable origin than from a younger son of the Menteith or Stratherne family, whose possessions lay in a distant part of Scotland.

Wherever they came from, the Grahams of Esk, Netherby, and their kindred, have become magnates on the Border. While their old neighbours the Armstrongs have been so completely despoiled of their possessions by the Scotts and Elliots, that it is believed no one of the name now owns land in the valleys of Esk or Liddel, where they were once so powerful, and Border ballads only preserve their renown, the Grahams are seated in the fair domain of Netherby. These once wild tracts, where the jackman, on his hardy nag, with "splent on spauld"³ and lance in hand, pricked across the moor, with his stolen cattle, have been converted into a fertile and smiling region. There are few finer views on the Border than those from the knolls round Arthuret church, near Netherby. The spectator, if a believer in the Arthur of Strathclyde (and as a borderer he

¹ The seal to his homage is a gem—Victory on a car. (*Calendar ut supra*, App. iii, No. 154.)

² Their shield is the same as that of Montrose, 3 escallop shells on a chief (*Calendar ut supra* vol. ii, Plate IV, No. 12). As Sir Nicholas and Henry were contemporaries, the difference in their arms is interesting.

It would appear from the authorities cited in Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong's *Liddesdale, Eskdale, etc.*, 1883, Pt. i, p. 149, that c. 1213, Henry de Graham, son of Henry de Graham, of Abercorn and

Dalkeith, married the only child of Sir Roger Avenel of Eskdale. Sir Nicholas their son, succeeded to it. Sir Henry (of Carlaverock) was very likely his younger brother, and had emigrated into Annandale, shewn by his bearing the saltire of the Bruces. The main line represented by Sir Nicholas, ended in an heiress, who married William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, whereby Dalkeith, Abercorn, etc., came to the Morton branch of the Douglasses.

³ Armour on his back.

is bound to be), knows, as he looks down on the grand plain beneath him, that he surveys the very spot where the historical battle of Arderydd was fought in A.D. 573, where the Christian Britons routed their Pagan kindred under Gwendoleu and Merlin the prophet.¹ In the dim distance to the west lies the Solway, overhung by the Dumfrieshire Criffel, and more southwards are Skiddaw and Saddleback and the other mountains of the lakes. Turning eastwards he may see the Moat of Liddel, an ancient British camp, and the Scottish southern Highlands, pierced by the valleys of the Esk and Liddel. Amid these scenes, a politician of much note in his day, the late Sir James Graham, of Netherby, delighted to cast himself free from the affairs of State, and occupy his leisure as a Cumberland farmer, and there his descendants still flourish in credit and renown.²

¹ See *Arthurian localities*, by J. S. Glennie, 1869, a most interesting work.

² In his "Douglas Book," lately completed, Mr. Fraser (vol. iii, p. 85) prints a scisin in favour of George fourth earl of Angus on 3rd January 1456-57, in the

lands of Ewesdale. The witnesses are Elwalds (*i.e.* Elliots), Armstrongs, Turnbills and Scotts, with "Fergus the Grame." All evidently Borderers of that district.

THE SURVIVAL OF MYTHOLOGY IN THE GREEK ISLANDS.¹

By THEODORE BENT.

The islands of the Ægean sea, especially the smaller ones, offer a better scope for the study of comparative folklore than any part of the Greek mainland, and the reasons for this are as follows. In the first place these islands never were, like the mainland, subject to the incursions of barbarous tribes; this fact is especially noticeable in the island of Andros, the most northern, and the most accessible of the Cycladic group from the mainland by way of Eubœa. The northern portion of Andros is exclusively Albanian in speech, manners, and customs. The Greeks in the south are highly influenced by this intermixture, which has in a measure destroyed the identity of the continental Greeks; but here the Albanian wave has ended. There is no trace of it in any other of the Cyclades.

Secondly the Italian influence which was dominant in the middle ages in the Cyclades has left traces which extend little beyond the towns on the coast. The Latin rule seems to have been at the same time mild and unpopular amongst the Greeks; religious feeling always ran high and the result is that even to this day the two races when together on the islands retain their own religion and their own customs. At Naxos, for example, there are still existing many Italian families, but they reside almost exclusively in the chief town. The sailors, in their dialect have quantities of Italian words, but up in the mountains of Naxos a few hours distant from the town, the villages are inhabited by Greeks of the most undoubted pedigree.

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Derby Meeting, Aug. 3rd, 1885.

Thirdly, during the Turkish times the smaller islands of the Ægean sea have been deemed of no account and hardly ever interfered with, and if their annual tribute was regularly paid they were allowed comparative self government. The result has been that to the smaller islands, refugees came and settled from many parts of Greece, Cretans, Peloponesians, and Greeks from Asia Minor to escape from oppression. They built walled villages up on the hills to protect themselves from pirates and there they have maintained their customs undisturbed ever since.

The material for comparing modern Greek customs with the ancient which I have collected during three winters spent amongst these islanders is very considerable. Parallels between the Greeks of to-day and the Greeks of classical times may be produced from nearly every branch of life, from their agriculture and from their industries, from their medical folk-lore, from their games, from their ceremonies connected with births, marriages, and deaths, nay, even from the way in which they catch their fish and plant their vines. To-day I will confine myself entirely to the survival of mythological deities and superstitions, as culled from their religious observances and local belief, in both of which the folk-lore of their ancestors has in a great measure survived. The ritual indeed of the Eastern church is but an intellectual adaptation under Christian guidance of the popular doctrines of polytheism. This has been brought about in many cases by a process of barefaced ecclesiastical puns. For example on Seriphos there is a healing spring with iron in it; this is dedicated to St. Isidore because Isideros as the modern pronunciation makes it, resembles *sideros* or iron which is the prominent feature in the water. In like manner St. Jacob "Αγιος "Ακουφος as they call him is supposed to cure deafness, the idea being derived from the word κοῦφος deaf. Numerous instances such as these might be adduced to prove how ingenious the early divines of the Greek church were in the use of names to suit special circumstances.

The name and attributes of Dionysos have been transferred to St. Dionysios. This is particularly noticeable at Naxos, when the great wine god Dionysos is said to have

passed his infancy and was greatly worshipped in antiquity. There are many churches on this island dedicated to St. Dionysios, and a fable about him which is still told clearly points to the continuity of the myth. It runs as follows: St. Dionysios was on his way one day from the monastery on Mount Olympus to Naxos, and he sat down to rest during the heat of the day. Close to him he saw a pretty plant which he wished to take with him, and lest it should wither by the way, he put it into the leg bone of a bird, and to his surprise at his next halting place he found it had sprouted; so accordingly he put it into the leg bone of a lion, and the same miracle occurred; finally he put it into the leg bone of an ass, and on reaching Naxos he found the plant so rooted in the three bones that he was obliged to plant them altogether; from this up came a vine, from the fruit of which he made the first wine, a little of which made the Saint sing like a bird, a little more made him as strong as a lion, and yet a little more and he became as foolish as an ass.

Who will not say that Bacchus does not exist as god in Greece to-day, when they find existing on Paros a Saint called the Drunken St. George? His festival is on the 3rd of November, the day of the anniversary of St. George's burial, the day on which the inhabitants usually tap their new made wine and get drunk, but why on such a solemn occasion as the anniversary of his death St. George should be called *μεθύστης* the drinker I could not make out except that the Greeks of to-day love, like their ancestors, to deify passions. On the neighbouring island of Seriphos on the occasion of planting a vineyard, they have quite a Bacchic orgy. Every landowner who wishes to plant his vines, calls together on a certain day fifty or more men; when church is over, he gives them a spade and slaughters some goats and fills his skins with wine. Thus equipped they all start off to their work preceded by a standard bearer holding a white banner. In the field they eat the food, drink the wine and plant the vineyard all in the space of one day, and return home again most of them decidedly merry; then the evening is wound up by a Bacchic dance and revelry in front of the village church, which is hallowed by the presence of the priest.

Sometimes, indeed, it seems as if the Greeks thought it a religious duty to get drunk. They are a sober race, taken as a whole, but on stated occasions, such as “clean Monday,” the first day of Lent, everyone considers it a religious duty to wash out his inside with wine, just as the housewife washes her cooking utensils and puts them away till Easter. In Naxos side by side with traces of the worship of Dionysos we find also traces of Jupiter. The Mount Zia or Jupiter is the highest in Naxos, and on the northern slopes of this we read an old inscription on a rock which tells us that this was the mountain of Milesian Jupiter: near the summit is a great cave which goes far into the bowels of the mountain. At its entrance now stands an altar called the “church of Zia,” where a priest goes once a year to hold a liturgy for the mountain shepherds. By this altar a shepherd is accustomed to swear to his innocence if another charges him with having stolen a sheep or a goat. An oath by the altar of Zia is held very sacred by these mountaineers. Thus we have the name of the mountain, the inscription, and the modern altar. It is highly probable that this is the cave in which the ancients believed that the great God spent his infancy when brought from Mount Ida in Crete. The idea of a supreme God has been transferred from Zeus to suit the modern religious tenets. A Naxiote mountaineer will say, “God is shaking his hair” when there is an earthquake, as if he were Zeus on his throne at Olympus.

The ancient goddess Artemis, like many others, exists still, but she has changed her sex, her attributes having been given to St. Artemidos, who in the island of Keos is looked upon as the patron saint of weakly children. The church dedicated to this saint is some little way from the town on the hill slopes; thither a mother will take a child afflicted by any mysterious wasting, “struck by the Nereids,” as they say. She strips off its clothes, and puts on new ones blessed by the priest, and if the child grows strong she will light a candle to St. Artemidos in recognition of the favour vouchsafed, unconscious that she is perpetuating in the memory of Artemis—*Κουροτρόφος παιδοτρῶφος*, as the epithets were. Curiously enough the Ephesian Artemis was greatly worshipped in this island, and many statues of her have been found here.

By means of another ecclesiastical pun the cloak of Phœbus Apollo has been handed down to the Prophet Elias. Every highest peak in every island is dedicated to the Prophet: it is an obvious transition from "Ἥλιος to Elias, invented by the accommodating divines who initiated the new religion. In times of drought the people flock to his church for he has power over rain. When it thunders they say the prophet is driving in his chariot in pursuit of demons. The sun too is personified just as he was in antiquity; he is still to them a giant driving his chariot in the sky, bloodthirsty like Hyperion when tinged with gold. The common idea is that when he seeks his kingdom (βασιλεύει ὁ Ἥλιος) he expects to find forty loaves prepared for him by his mother to appease his hunger after his long day's journey. Woe to her if these loaves are not ready! the sun will eat his brothers, sisters, father and mother, in his wrath. He has been eating his mama is said when he rises red of a morning.

In some places St. Demetrios has assumed the attributes of Demeter, and is recognized as the protector of crops and husbandmen, but in Keos St. Anarguros has supplanted Pan as the protector of flocks. His church is at a remote hamlet, and whenever an ox is ailing they take it to this church and pray for its recovery; if the cock crows when they start, or they hear the voice of a man, or the grunt of a pig, there is every hope that the animal will be cured; but on the contrary if they hear a cat, a dog, or a woman, it is looked upon as an evil omen. When at the church of St. Anarguros they register a vow that if the ox recovers they will present it to the saint when its days of work are over. Accordingly every year on the 1st of July, the day of that saint, numbers of aged oxen may be seen on their way to this church where they are slaughtered on the threshold and the flesh is distributed to the poor. On the neighbouring island of Kythnos I saw a church dedicated to St. Anarguros, built at the mouth of a cavern, as the protector of the place instead of Pan, the ancient god of grottoes.

St. Nicholas is the modern seaman's god, and the successor of Poseidon. This fact is especially obvious on Tenos. Where once was situated a great temple of Posidon is now built the town of St. Nicholas, and wherever stood

formerly a temple to the sea-god we now find a mean whitewashed edifice dedicated to St. Nicholas. Eikons or sacred pictures to St. Nicholas are often painted inside a gilded crab's shell. No sailor will go to sea without first lighting a candle at St. Nicholas' shrine, and nautical songs of to-day represent him as the inventor of the rudder, and sitting at the helm of every ship. In storms sailors will call upon him for succour, and his shrine is usually decorated with tiny silver ships as votive offerings, doubtless like those which Demetrius, the silversmith, sold for the worshippers at the great temple of Diana at Ephesus, for in every church a silver votive offering representing a lamb, a cow, or a ship, is considered the proper thing to hang up before the pictures of the saint who is supposed to have answered a prayer.

St. Eleutherios is the saint called upon by women during the pangs of childbirth, this pun speaks for itself, and doubtless the resemblance of the name of the goddess *Eileithyia*, who presided on like occasions in ancient days, and the word *ἐλευθερία* freedom suggested the change. Of course the madonna, the Panagia, absorbs into herself many of the attributes of ancient deities, as *Η παναγία Θαλασσίης*, she corresponds to Aphrodite *εὐπνοία*, and wherever stood a temple to Aphrodite now stands a church to the Virgin. In the great church of Paros there is a curious legend about an ignorant peasant who challenged the Virgin to a musical contest on the lyre, and the punishment with which he was visited for his impudence, bears a striking resemblance to that inflicted by Apollo on Marsyas.

In astrology, too, the ancient ideas are still to be traced. In Melos we were pointed out two stars, namely, the Jordan and David's chariot, which are merely a transition from the Nile and the Chariot of antiquity, and curiously enough, wherever the Nile was named in ancient days, the Jordan is now substituted. On the island of Delos for example, where the mysterious stream still comes up out of the bowels of the earth, and which was by the ancients supposed to come from the Nile, they now affirm that it comes from the Jordan.

The rainbow is now called the nun's girdle, and is supposed to be a messenger from God to point out to man

a hidden treasure. This is a curious adaptation of the idea contained in the belief in the virgin goddess Iris, who was Jove's messenger from heaven to earth.

St. Charalambos may be styled the Æsculapius of modern days. He is worshipped, and has a church in all unhealthy spots. He was, in years gone by, given special jurisdiction over the plague, and is assisted by St. Mavra and St. Barbara, in the case of small-pox, and a host of other maladies. In the churches of St. Charalambos and at other shrines where healing is performed, the old incubatio (*ἐγκοίμησις*) is still carried on; invalids who aspire to a perfect cure must sleep in the church for one night at least, sometimes for a great many more. In most of the ancient temples of Æsculapius, rooms were provided for the reception of invalids who wished to try this cure, and it is the same to-day at most of the feasts and panegyrics, those holidays which are as dear to modern Greeks as ever they were to their ancestors, and productive of the same curious admixture of joviality and religious excitement.

In their religious tendencies there is much that corresponds to antiquity. Their love of kissing the eikons or sacred pictures recalls to one's mind the statue of Hercules at Agrigentum, the mouth and chin of which Cicero tells us was worn away by the kisses of the faithful, the lamps too which they hang before their sacred pictures in their houses and at the shrines are the survival of the *ἄσβεστος λυχνος* of antiquity. If a peasant girl is ill, she will vow on her sick bed what she loves best to the Madonna of Tenos. On her recovery she reflects that this is her hair. Accordingly next year she cuts it off, and takes it to the festival. There are quantities of lovely locks of hair presented in this fashion, also old embroideries and household ornaments. In this we see what Pausanias must have witnessed at Titane, in Sicynia, for he says he could not see plainly the statue of Hygeia for the quantity of hair and silk stuff which women had hung up as a sacrifice to it.

Again, a modern Greek thinks with his forefathers, that Charon rules below in Hades. Death to them is the deprivation of the good things of life. They do not seem to comprehend the Christian doctrine of a future beyond

the 'dark grave' and the black earth. Charon is to them still the ever watchful guardian of the dead. His palace is decorated with bones; bones are used for every article of domestic use and the dead who haunt it, are forever planning to return to the upper air, and form schemes for so doing which Charon always discovers; sometimes they even manage to steal his keys, but in vain.

Punishments for sin are carried on in Tartarus in the fiery river (*πυρρινὸς ποταμὸς*) the Phlegethon of antiquity. In this manner has Christian teaching adapted to itself, rather than obliterated ancient myths.

'Charon seized him' is a common expression for death, and a clever popular enigma likens the world to a reservoir full of water at which Charon as a wild beast, drinks; but the beast is never satisfied and the reservoir never exhausted. The modern Greek death-wails are in many cases highly poetical. They sing to you of feasts, and banquets in Hades, when the dead are eaten for food: they tell you of the gardens of Hades, when the souls of the departed are planted and come up as weird plants, one of these, I heard in Karpathos is wonderfully expressive. Charon wished to plant a garden, it says; the aged he planted and they came up as twisted bent lemon trees, the young as tall erect cypress trees, but the little children he planted as flowers in his vases.

King Charon is not the death of the middle ages, he is the Homeric ferryman, he rows souls across to Hades in his caique, and he is a hero of huge stature, and flaming eyes of colour like fire, *πορφύρεος* as he is described in the Iliad. He can lurk in ambush to surprise his victims, and can change himself into a swallow, like Athene, who perched on Ulysses house on the day of the murder of Penelope's suitors.

There are traces still of the old *ναῦλον*, or freight money for Charon, in existence in a little mountain village we visited in Naxos; it is not a coin as in older days, but a little wax cross with the initial letter I.X. *N Ἰησοῦς χριστός Νικᾷ*.—(Jesus Christ conquers) engraved thereon this they put on the closed lips of the deceased to call the *νοῦλον* to secure a passage across the river of death.

There are traces too of Lethe in the lamentations they

sing to-day—a river of which the dead drink, and forget their homes, and their orphan children. There is a parallel case too from animal life; a shepherd will tell you that there grows on the mountains a herb called “the grass of denial,” and when the flocks have eaten thereof they forget their young.

Such traces as there are to be found to-day in the Greek islands of heathen mythology are mixed up with their religious observances. We will now briefly consider the lower order of the supernatural, namely the ghosts and hobgoblins which are supposed to haunt the caves of modern Greece, much as they did in ancient days.

First come the Nereids, endless stories of whom we heard in our travels. We have Nereids of the streams, water witches, which correspond to the water nymphs of antiquity. Wherever there exists a warm healing stream they believe that it flows from the hearts of the Nereids. But he that wishes to be cured must go to fill his jar holding a green lamp, and must leave a bit of his clothes there, and must hurry away without looking back, otherwise he will lose his senses. When these waters are troubled they say the Nereids have been bathing and woe to the man who is unlucky enough to see them; they revenge themselves on him for his impertinent beholding. Then we have the Nereids of the woods, valleys, cliffs, &c., the Dryads, and Hamadryads of antiquity. We hear of them with goats’ and asses’ feet, some resembling the Satyrs, others the Harpies of antiquity. They are supposed to rush in a whirlwind through the air, they injure children, they dance to the tune of the lyre played by some wretched man whom they have smitten, for by their beauty they can attract men to their peril. Sometimes by getting their wings or their handkerchiefs, a man may capture a Nereid with whom he is smitten; but first she will turn into all sorts of forms; a snake, fire, camels, &c., like the old story of Peleus and Thetis, and he may have children by her—for instance the great family of Mavromichælis of Manes are supposed to have Nereid blood in their veins. Much poetry is connected with the popular idea of the Nereids: their smiles turn into roses, their tears into pearls, they have lovely long hair. Beautiful as a Nereid, is a common expression for beauty. Their work

is weaving, and they produce most exquisite things; as they work, a man, whom they have bewitched, plays the lyre for them.

A popular cure for those smitten by Nereids is to spread a white cloth under the tree or cliff where they are supposed to dwell, and on it they put a plate with bread, honey, and other sweets, a bottle of good wine, a knife, a fork, an empty glass, an unburnt candle, and a censer. These things must be brought by an old woman, who utters mystic words, and then goes away that the Nereids may eat undisturbed, and in their consequent good humour they may allow their victim to regain his strength. Such offerings as these the Athenians used to place on the slopes of Areopagus just outside the caves where the Eumenides were supposed to dwell.

Then we have the Lamiae, evil working women who live in desert places, ill-formed like their ancestors, daughters of Belus and Sibyl. Utterly unfit are they for household duties, for they cannot sweep, so an untidy woman to-day is said to have made the sweepings of a Lamiae; they cannot bake, for they put bread into the oven without heating it; they have dogs and horses, but give bones to their horses and sand to their dogs. They are very gluttonous, so much so that in Byzantine and modern Greek the word *λαμίωνω* is used to express over-eating. They have a special fancy for baby's flesh, and a Greek mother of to-day will frighten her child by saying that a Lamiae will come if it is naughty, just as mothers terrified their children in ancient days, for the legend ran that Zeus loved Lamia too well, untidy though she was, and Hera, out of jealousy, killed her children, whereat Lamiae was so grieved that she took to eating the children of others. Some Lamiae are like the Sirens, and, by taking the form of lovely nymphs, beguile luckless men to their destruction.

Wherever we went in the Greek islands we heard stories of vampires, of men who had been buried, and, for their sins, were compelled to wander on the earth until put to rest by priestly exorcism. These vampires chiefly haunt and terrify their own relatives, "they feed on their own," as the expression goes, that is to say, they are supposed to suck the life blood of their friends to acquire

strength for their ghostly wanderings. This is also an ancient idea and common to many creeds. Homer tells us how the stones of Hades had an idea that by filling themselves with blood they could return to life, and consequently eagerly lapped up the blood of slaughtered sheep.

Other evil spirits called Kalkagarer appear on earth for ten days only, that is to say, from Christmas to Epiphany. During these days they dwell in caves, and subsist, like the Amazons of old, on snakes and lizards, and sometimes on women for a treat, if they can manage to entrap them. At night they dance till cockcrow, and enter houses by the chimneys. This is the reason why priests go round on Christmas day to bless the houses. When Epiphany comes they are forced to flee underground, taking before they go a hack at the tree which supports the world, and which one day they will cut through. They are personified as being of evil shapes—huge men, with goats' or asses' feet, and when they stand erect they are higher than the highest chimney. In short, they are the modern representatives of the satyrs, *δύσμορφοι αἰγίποδες*.

Wherever there are remains of huge cyclopean walls the inhabitants call them the houses of the Dragons, beings endowed with superhuman strength, who can tear up trees and hurl huge rocks, like Polyphemus of old; in one fable of a dragon now told there are the dramatis personæ of a tale out of an Odyssey. The dragon is Polyphemus. Spanos, a wily traveller, who conquers the silly dragon is obviously Ulysses.

Even in busy Syra we found superstitions existing. The peasants there commonly believe that the ghosts of the ancient Greeks come once a year from all parts of Greece to worship at Delos, and as they pass through Syra they are purified by washing: a cliff above the town is still called *Αἷλι*, where the country folks tell you their ablution takes place, and even to-day they will reverently speak of the "god in Delos."

The peasants of Syra are vaguely aware, too, of a game called *Δίσκος*, which they say their ancestors played with quoits, for which they used two large stone olive presses, which stand outside a church. How thoroughly Greek this is to believe in the superhuman strength of

your ancestors; it is the survival of the idea which generated the myths of Hercules.

In Andros Erinnyes are still spoken of. When a person is suffering from consumption they say an Erinnyes has seized him, and when he is dying they imagine that four of these demons are standing at the four corners of the room ready to pounce on the survivors, consequently consumption is considered infectious, especially to children of whom the Erinnyes are said to be fond. So that they are carefully kept out of the sick room during the last days of this illness. Again in many places we find witches are believed in who haunt caves and rocks; they are old men and women past a hundred, who go by the name of *σπίγλαι*. Some we heard of in Paros reminded us of the Harpies of old, for they are said to be able to turn into birds at will, and have sometimes women's heads and the bodies of birds. About those who haunt the mountains near the village of Leukis many fables are told of how they eat men, and of the ravages they occasioned until a prince came and conquered them just as the mythical Perseus overcame the Crommyonian Sow.

The inhabitants of the adjoining island of Antiparos, a wretched forlorn place, the Pariotes call "crows," and on asking the reason of this, I was told how the Antipariotes are accustomed to take oracles from crows as their ancestors took oracles from the Dodonian oak. If the crow settles on the left, the right, high up or low down on a tree, on a wall, or on the ground, they interpret the oracle according to certain rules and act accordingly.

Much might be said about the Fates as they exist to-day, and their resemblance to those weird women of ancient mythology. They are still believed to be three in number—old women who inhabit inaccessible mountains, of whose whereabouts none but magicians are aware. "I will go to the mountains to call on my Fate" is a common expression of dissatisfaction with destiny. These old women resemble their predecessors in that they are always spinning the thread as symbolical of human life. They preside over the three events of life, birth, marriage, and death, and in the ceremonies after a birth, the Fates are mixed up much in religious observances. Seven days after the child is born the Fates are called upon to choose

his patron saint. Seven candles, dedicated to seven saints are lit around the cradle, and the first to be extinguished is declared by destiny to represent the child's protector through life. A year after the birth the fates are called upon to decide as to what calling in life the child is best suited for. Objects are put on a tray, and whichever the child first touches is considered to indicate the will of the fate. If he touch a pen he will be clever, if a coin he will be rich, if a tool he will be a carpenter, and if an egg,—woe to the parent whose child touches the egg,—the fates decide that he will be good for nothing, a mere duck's egg, so to speak, in society. Pimples on the nose and forehead are called the writings of the Fates, τὰ γράμματα τῶν Μοιρῶν, and the decrees of the Fates are unalterable. Only one legend, we heard in Naxos, spoke of an ugly girl who was so disgusted with her lot that she managed to find the abode of the Naxiote Fates up in the mountains and to work on their feelings so adroitly that she became exceedingly lovely, and married a prince. But, concludes the legend, "she had no children, showing that the Fates never consent to any person being altogether happy."

ENGLISH MEDIEVAL CHALICES AND PATENS.

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., and T. M. FALLOW, M.A.

In attempting to trace out the history and evolution of English Medieval Chalices and Patens, we are met at the outset by a difficulty, viz., the rarity of actual examples.

Since the publication in 1882 of that excellent work, "Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle," the movement for cataloguing the church plate of this country has widely spread, with the result that several hitherto unknown pieces of medieval plate have come to light.

But the number is still very small, nor is this a matter of wonder when we bear in mind the spoliation of the cathedral and conventual churches by Henry VIII, and of the parish churches and chantries by Edward VI. To these must be added the loss, perhaps almost equally great, of the chalices that were spared, by their conversion into communion cups during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth.

It will, therefore, not be a matter of astonishment to those who have studied the subject to learn that a very careful enquiry we have made throughout England has brought to our notice only 33 chalices and 77 patens.

The greater proportion of patens is difficult to account for. The most reasonable theory is, perhaps, that the order for the destruction of vessels which had been "profaned" by use at mass, mentioned specially the *chalice*, meaning *chalice and paten*, and that this was taken literally by the parochial authorities, and so the paten was spared. This seems to have been especially the case in the diocese of Norwich, where, under the rule of bishop Parkhurst (1560-1575), who was a zealous reformer, not a single chalice is known to have escaped conversion into the new fashioned communion cup, while no less

than 33 patens of medieval date have already come to light, and further search will probably increase the number. Again, it may be thought by some that a sufficient amount of evidence as to the history of chalices and patens would be forthcoming from wills and inventories. This is partly correct as regards those of late date, but from the earlier documents very little can be gleaned beyond the devices of the patens; hardly anything is said as to the shape of the chalice, and nothing at all as to the depressions of the patens. We have collected together in the Appendix every entry that throws any light on the subject, so that it may be seen how far our conclusions are justified.

The earliest chalices and patens now remaining in England are some that have been found from time to time in the coffins of bishops. They date principally from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

There is, however, in the British Museum, a silver parcel gilt chalice of at least thirteenth century date, which, until a few years ago, had been in continual use in the church of Berwick St. James, Wilts; and the parish of Wyke, near Winchester, still retains in use a beautiful silver paten which cannot be later in date than *circa* 1280. These, however, are exceptional survivals, almost every other chalice and paten now remaining being at least two centuries later.

To return to the vessels found in coffins.

Of these a considerable number has come to light. It became customary after the eleventh century to bury with a priest or bishop a chalice, or a chalice and paten. And the constitutions of William de Blois, bishop of Worcester, dated 1230, expressly enjoin amongst the *ornamenta* of churches,

duo calices, unus argenteus in
quo celebretur, *alius stanneus*
non benedictus, cum quo sacer-
*dos altaris sepeliatur.*¹

We learn, too, from the "Rites of Durham,"² that on the death of a bishop or prior of Durham he was buried

¹ That is, two chalices, one of silver, for use at mass, the other of pewter, not

hallowed, to be buried with the priest.
² Surtees Society, vol. 15, pp. 45, 49.

“ with a litle chalice of sylver, other mettell or wax ” laid upon his breast within the coffin.

By far the greater number of these coffin chalices and patens are of pewter or lead, but they are also found of silver or silver gilt, and more rarely still of latten or tin. It is however specially to be noted that the silver and silver gilt vessels are all from the coffins of bishops, though examples in baser metal are equally common, and as recently as 1874 pewter chalices were found at Durham in the graves of bishops Flambard and Geoffry Rufus, who died in 1128 and 1140 respectively.¹

Examples of pewter coffin chalices and patens are so common that no special instances need be cited. Good specimens of tin and lead are preserved at Lincoln, and of latten at St. David's. Those of silver and silver gilt will be dealt with further on.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the whole of our medieval chalices and patens were strictly ordered by repeated injunctions to be at least of silver, any baser metal being peremptorily forbidden. Though the occasional mention of copper and tin chalices in inventories shews that in very poor parishes silver could not always be afforded. Vessels made of gold were by no means uncommon in cathedral and conventual churches, and even in the wealthier parishes, but only one single chalice and paten has survived to our time.

We have said that the earliest chalices and patens now remaining are those which have been discovered in episcopal graves. These have a special value of their own, as being, in a measure, dateable; for where there is no difficulty in identifying the bishop with whom they were buried, the date of his death definitely limits that of the vessels in one direction, and it is not probable that they are much earlier in date. It is possible, too, that sometimes they were his private property, or part of his chapel furniture.

For convenience we shall deal with the chalices and patens separately.

And first as to chalices ;

¹ *Archæologia*

Whatever be their date, these have in common three distinct parts :

- (a) the bowl;
- (b) the stem, which has a knot by which the vessel was held;
- (c) the foot.

From time to time gradual changes were made in the form of each of these, and it is very interesting to note how the simple chalice of *circa* 1200 developed by an evolutionary process into such an elaborate vessel as, for instance, the well-known example at Trinity College, Oxford.

Of the chalices which have been preserved to our time, nineteen are still in use; five are disused; and three at York Minster are occasionally used. The remainder are coffin chalices. Now in all the massing chalices each of the parts above named is well developed, but if the coffin chalices be examined they can at once be divided into two classes. The first includes *all* the silver, and one or two only of baser metal; the second, pewter, lead and tin ones alone.

The chalices of class I. will be found to be wrought on the lines of the Berwick example, to be made up of several pieces of metal, and well developed in the knot and other parts. The vessels of class II, on the other hand, are generally cast and in one piece, and not having been made for use, the knot of the stem is rudimentary in form and often a mere ring. They may, therefore, be dismissed from our series. It is also necessary to omit one or two coffin-chalices of class I, for although their well developed form and good workmanship show that they were made by silversmiths accustomed to fashion church plate, yet their very fragile construction militates against their having been made for use at the altar. Possibly the superior dignity of a bishop was considered to entitle him to have a silver, instead of a pewter chalice and paten buried with him. These frail vessels are invariably plain, while other silver coffin chalices and patens are often more or less ornamented. There is very little doubt that most, if not all, of these ornate vessels were made for use. Three found at York have been repaired, and are occasionally used. They are formed

of several pieces, the knot is well developed, and the workmanship and parcel-gilding are sufficient proof that they were not made for undertaker's furniture, as the base metal ones clearly were. One of these York vessels was almost certainly a massing chalice originally, for it has a crucifix engraved on its foot, as in later examples that were and are still in use.

If the eight or nine coffin chalices that seem practicable altar vessels may be included in the list of undoubted chalices, the following classification can be adopted:—

TYPE A. *circa* 1200 to *circa* 1250.

Bowl broad and shallow; stem and knot, and foot, plain and circular.

TYPE B. *circa* 1250 to *circa* 1275.

Bowl broad and shallow; stem and knot wrought separately from the bowl and foot, and one or the other, or both polygonal; foot plain and circular.

TYPE C. *circa* 1275 to *circa* 1300.

Bowl broad and shallow; stem and knot as in type B; foot circular, but with its spread worked into ornate lobes.

TYPE D. *circa* 1300 to *circa* 1350.

Bowl deeper and more conical; stem, knot, and foot as before.

TYPE E. *circa* 1350 to *circa* 1450.

Bowl as in type D; stem and knot uncertain; six-sided foot.

TYPE F. *circa* 1450 to *circa* 1510.

Bowl deep and conical; stem hexagonal with ornate knot; six-sided foot. In late instances the points of the latter terminate in knops.

TYPE G. *circa* 1510 to *circa* 1525.

Bowl broader at base; stem and knot as in type F; sexfoil foot.

TYPE H. *circa* 1525.

Bowl broad and shallow; stem cabled or buttressed on edges, with knot as before but somewhat flattened; foot sexfoil, or hexagonal with wavy sides, and with an open crown at its junction with the stem.

It is hardly necessary to observe that this series of

types is based on broad grounds only, and that the dates are somewhat arbitrarily fixed, for it is more than probable that the types overlapped one another. It is also possible that one type may be merely an ornate contemporary variety of another, *e.g.* C of B, or B of A. This certainly happens in the case of the patens.



CHALICE.—TYPE A.

FROM BERWICK, ST. JAMES, WILTS.

(Now in the British Museum.)

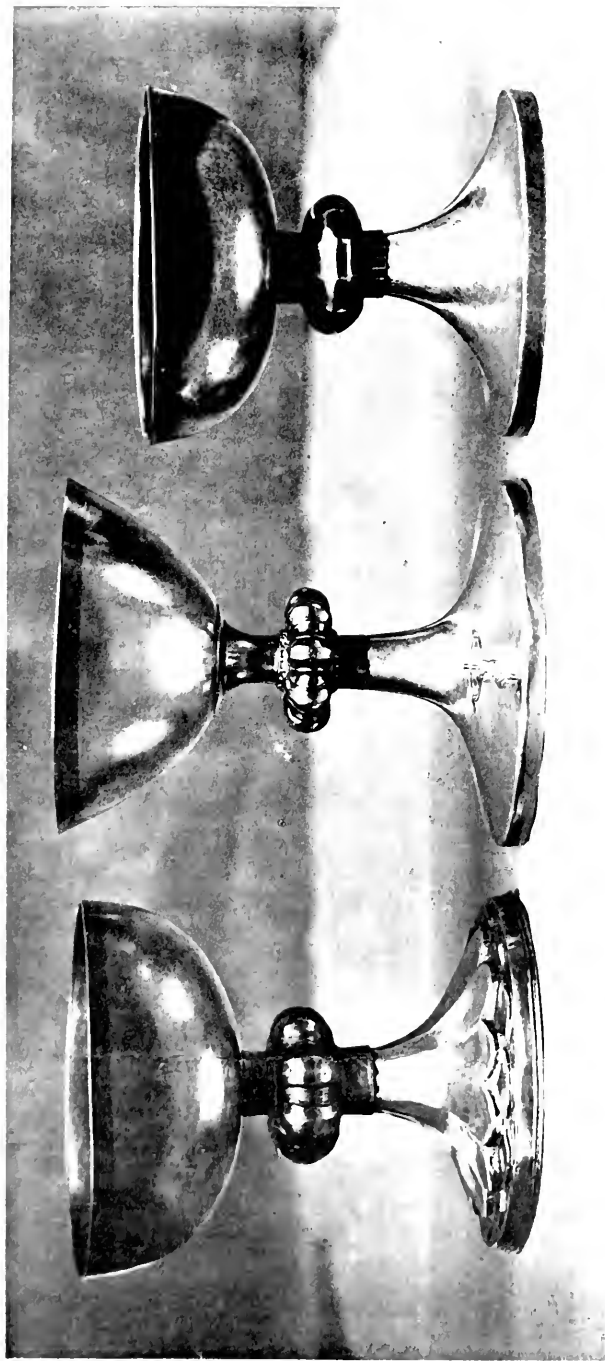
($\frac{1}{2}$ full size.)

Of TYPE A we have the following examples :

1. Berwick St. James, Wilts—now in the British Museum.
2. Chichester cathedral church—from a bishop's coffin.
3. Lincoln cathedral church—found in the coffin of bishop Grostete (1235-1253) in 1783.

The bowl is broad and shallow, the depth being to the diameter in the proportion of about 1 : 2·5. There is a quasi-lip which is found on all the earlier chalices, but was probably abandoned afterwards from its discomfort. The stem and knob are alike plain and circular, and the





1
Type B.

2
Type C.

3
Type D.

Silver Parcel-gift Chalices found in York Minster.

foot is broad and spreading, and circular in plan. The spread of the foot is quite plain, but the Berwick chalice has a rudely cut cross, apparently an addition in humble imitation of the crucifix here engraved on later vessels.

TYPE B is represented by three examples :

1. York Minster—found in a coffin. (Plate I, fig. 1.)
2. Lincoln cathedral church—found in 1791 in the coffin of bishop Richard de Gravesend (1258-1279).
3. Exeter cathedral church—found in 1763 in the coffin of bishop Thomas de Bitton (1292-1307).

As regards the bowl and foot, the chalices of this type resemble those of type A ; but the stem and knot are quite different. In the York and Lincoln examples they appear as a separate ring-shaped piece of metal, the stem being circular above and below the knot, which is octagonal in the one and eight-lobed in the other. The Exeter chalice has also an eight-lobed knot, but the stem in this case is properly joined to the bowl and foot as in type A.

Of TYPE C we have ;

1. York Minster—found in a coffin in the early part of the last century. (Plate I, fig. 2.)
2. Salisbury cathedral church—found in the grave of bishop Nicholas de Longespée (1292-1297).
3. Chichester cathedral church—from a bishop's coffin.

The special feature of this type is the enrichment of the foot.

The bowl is as before. The stem and knot follow type B, in being formed of a separate ring-shaped piece of metal, but the design differs in each case. The York chalice has an octagonal stem with eight-lobed knot ; that at Salisbury has the stem circular, and the knot six-lobed ; while the Chichester example has the stem fluted above, and circular below the knot, which is plain and circular.

The enrichment of the foot consists of a series of lobes radiating from below the stem over the spread of the foot. The York chalice has twelve lobes, rounded at the end

and showing a second series underneath ; the Chichester chalice has eight lobes, with trefoiled ends and a larger under series, also trefoiled ; the Salisbury chalice has a single series of eight simple pointed lobes.

TYPE D is at present represented by a single chalice, but one of great interest. (Plate I. fig. 3). This was found at York in the early part of the last century in the supposed grave of archbishop William de Melton (1317-1340). It is taller than most of the preceding examples, but retains both the eight-lobed knot and round foot. The bowl shews a distinct advance, being deeper and of conical form. The stem is circular, but longer and more slender than heretofore. On the spread of the foot is engraved a crucifix—a feature of especial value, not only because it is the earliest existing example of such an addition, but because it probably proves that this chalice, though found in a coffin, was made for and used at mass.

The whole of the chalices of types A, B, C, and D, are round-footed ; the four types about to be described have a foot planned on the lines of a hexagon.

The most probable reason why a change in the form of the foot was made at all appears to be this :

In the fourteenth century a custom seems to have spread all over Western Europe of laying the chalice on its side on the paten to drain at the ablutions at mass. Now the round-footed chalices of our first four types when laid on the side would have a tendency to roll, so the foot was made hexagonal for stability. The six-sided figure was chosen simply because it gives points further apart than one of eight or other practicable number of sides, and not from any fanciful or symbolical reason.

This laying down of the chalice will also account for another feature, viz., the more conical form of the bowl, which would drain out more easily when laid on its side than would the hemispherical form of the earlier types of chalices.

When the change of form was first effected is not clear. The earliest undoubted evidence of the fact occurs in the will of Sir John Foxley, dated 1378.¹ Among the bequests

¹ Archaeological Journal. xv, 268.

to Bray Church, where he desires to be buried, occurs *unum calicem deauratum cum pede rotundo*, that is, "a gilt chalice with a round foot." Further on is a list of things bequeathed to his wife Joan, including the use for her life *unius calicis deaurati cum pede de forma molette sex punctorum signati in nodo supra pedem cum armis meis*, i.e., "of a gilt chalice with a foot in the form of a mullet of six points, and marked in the knot above the foot with mine arms."

From this particular description of the new form of chalice, we have adopted the term "mullet-footed" to describe those chalices which have the foot founded on the lines of a hexagon. That the round-footed chalices were not discarded after the introduction of the new type is abundantly proved by the frequent mention of them in later wills and inventories down to the end of Henry VIII's reign; but it is doubtful whether they continued to be made, and in the later inventories the only usual mention of the shape of a chalice is when it is one *cum pede rotundo*, as if by that time any other form than the mullet-foot was looked upon as exceptional. Examples from inventories and wills will be found in the appendix.

Of TYPE E (the earliest form of mullet-footed chalices), we have but two examples.

1. Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire.
2. Goathland, Yorkshire.

It is a question, however, whether these should not each be considered a separate type forming, with the single chalice of type D a transitional series from the ornate round-footed chalices to the ornate mullet footed chalices of our type F.

In default of further examples we will speak of them as types Ea and Eb respectively.

The earlier of the two is that at Hamstall Ridware; which dates probably from the middle of the fourteenth century. The bowl is deep and conical, as in the case of the York chalice of type D. The knot and stem are circular and in one piece, resembling the chalices of type B. The stem is finely ribbed, but the knot is formed of acute sections twisted spirally from left to right. This



CHALICE.—TYPE EA.
HAMSTALL RIDWARE, STAFFORDSHIRE.
($\frac{1}{2}$ full size.)

recalls a chalice described in the inventory of the cathedral church of Lincoln taken in 1536 :

a chalis sylver and gylte . . . chased yn the foote
wt. a wrythen¹ knope havynge a scriptur yn the bottom
Johēs Gynwell.

As John Gynewell became a canon of Lincoln in 1344, and held the see from 1347 to 1362, his chalice and that at Hamstall Ridware were doubtless contemporaries.

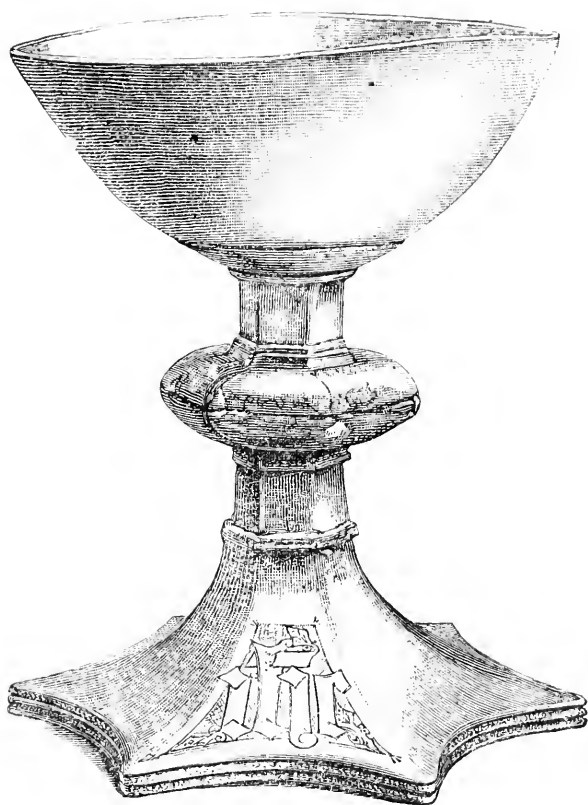
The mullet foot of the example under notice is quite plain, except that the raised edge has a beaded molding round the lower half.

The Goathland chalice (see Plate II) is entirely of the newer type though it has several early and transitional features.

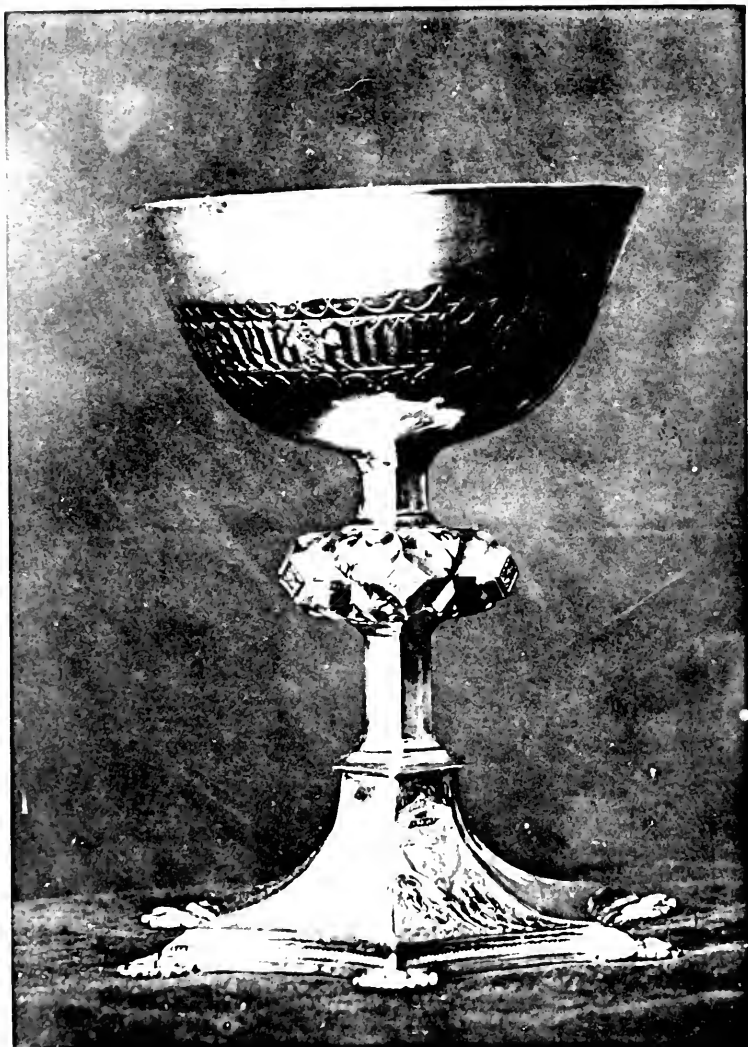
The bowl is conical in form, like those of the York and Hamstall Ridware vessels. The stem is hexagonal but unusually stout; while the knot, though six sided, is perfectly plain. The mullet foot has blunted points, and a vertical edge with cross-beading.

The spread of the foot of this chalice commences below the knot, instead of at the junction of the stem and foot. On the front compartment of the latter is engraved in bold ribbon letters *ihc* — a device which only occurs on

¹ The word 'wrythen' occurs pretty often in descriptions of secular plate, but the meaning is the same.



CHALICE—TYPE Eb.
GOATHLAND, YORKS.
($\frac{2}{3}$ full size.)



CHALICE.—TYPE FB.

HORNBY, LANCASHIRE.

one other existing chalice, that at Combe Pyne, though it is frequently met with in inventories. Were it not for the late character of the lettering one would not hesitate to assign to this chalice a date *circa* 1425; as it is, it is probably thirty years later at least.

Nearly half the known number of medieval chalices belong to our next group, TYPE F. It is necessary, however, to subdivide these into types *Fa* and *Fb*, the difference between which will be presently explained. In this type too, we for the first time meet with hall-marked examples, and have, therefore, "historical milestones" to measure from.

Fa.

1. Little Farringdon, Oxon.
2. Nettlecombe, Somerset. (?1479-80).
3. Hinderwell, Yorks.
4. Brasenose College, Oxford } a pair,
5. Brasenose College, Oxford } (1498-9).

Fb.

6. Leominster, Herefordshire.
7. Claughton, Lancashire.
8. Hornby, Lancashire.
9. Old Hutton, Westmoreland.
10. Beswick, Yorks.
11. Bacton, Herefordshire.
12. Blaston St. Giles, Leicestershire.
13. Combe Pyne, Devon.¹
14. West Drayton, Middlesex (1507-8).

The chalices of type F are so much alike in character that a general description will apply to all. A reference, too, to the lists given in the appendix will shew that many of the chalices described in the later inventories were of the same type. The Hornby chalice, shewn on Plate III, has been selected for illustration as a good specimen of type F.

The bowl is deep and conical and usually plain, but the chalices at Hornby and Leominster have an engraved band inscribed:—

*Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo.*²

¹ This chalice has lost its original stem and knot.

² Psalm cxv. Sarum Breviary.

The same legend is also frequently found in inventories. The kind of *calix* at the base of the bowl of the Claughton and Combe Pyne chalices is in each instance a modern addition.

The stem is plain and hexagonal and of good length; though the Leominster vessel presents an instance of greater enrichment, the sides being covered with tracery *appliqué* and the angles buttressed.

The knot in this and subsequent types is now a thing of great beauty. It is invariably formed with six lobes, which end in either (*a*) masks, usually of angels and crowned, or (*b*) lozenge-shaped knobs set with roses, etc., and generally, if not always originally, enamelled. The Blaston St. Giles chalice has daisies on the points. Between the lobes, above and below, are traceried compartments, generally pierced.

The foot is still mullet-shaped, and mostly plain. One compartment is usually filled with a crucifix—occasionally let in from the back and enamelled. This may be met with in various forms; (*a*) alone, on a plain or diapered field; (*b*) between two branches or flowering plants¹; (*c*) on a plain or flowered field, with SS. Mary and John. Examples of all these types of crucifix may be also met with in inventories. The crucifix is sometimes, though rarely, superseded by other devices, *e.g.*

‘cum ymagine beate Marie cum filio sculpta in pede.’

‘with the picture of Seynt Edward garnysshed in the fote.’

‘wth the image of our Lady in the fote.

‘J.H.C. in pede’

‘cum cruce in pede’

Other instances will be found in the appendix of chalices.

The only existing variations are, however, at Combe Pyne, where a small *ihc* is found, and at Claughton and Leominster, where the compartments are filled with *ihc* and *xpc* alternately, the crucifix filling the sixth compartment, though in the Leominster chalice a third *ihc* has been subsequently substituted for it.

¹ These flowering plants are much alike in every case, and seem to be intended to represent some special species.

The Bacton chalice has the words *joh̄n* and *capull* engraved on either side of the crucifix, probably for the donor; and that at West Drayton has an engraved band round the foot inscribed.

Orate p̄ aīab; Joh̄is Porpyll & Johanne uxor' ei'

Other examples will be found in the appendix.

The edge of the foot is either vertical or chamfered. It may be plainly molded, or reeded, or set with four-leaved flowers, or with a minute floral pattern.

Our subdivision of the chalices of this type into *Fa* and *Fb* is due to the latter having small knobs attached to the points of the mullet foot, in the manner of toes. Their introduction possibly originated in a desire to blunt the sharp points of the mullet foot, which would be liable to dig into the cloths etc., without lessening the stability of the chalice by reducing the area of its base. This way of overcoming the difficulty, though very effective artistically, had objections against it from the increased liability of catching the chalice in the folds of the altar cloths and vestments; so in the next two types of chalice it was superseded by a new form of foot. These knobs are occasionally met with in inventories, *e.g.* at Lincoln (1557) a chalice Lackynge ij Knoppys on the foote; St. Margaret Pattens (1526)—and in the fote of it iij half mones otherwise called Knappes; York (1520-1)—cum duobus frangnabs. “M that iij fete of one of the chalices was broken and carried away betwene the priste and the clarke withen xv monethes of the fyrst inventory made.” Inventory of Bishampton, Worc. *temp.* Edw. VI. Probably this tendency to break off also led to their final abolition. Several of the chalices of type *Fb* have had one or more of the knobs restored, but the West Drayton and Leominster chalices have had them all cut off—much to the loss in appearance.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century a new form of chalice is found.

Of this TYPE G four examples remain.

1. St. Sampson's, Guernsey.
 2. Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1507-8).
 3. Leyland, Lancashire (1518-19).
 4. Jurby, Isle of Man (1521-2).
- } by the
} same maker.

The bowl has now a tendency to become shallower, and more square at the bottom. The stem and knot are as before, except that in the two latest examples the traceried openings are not found. The form of the foot is quite different, the mullet with or without knops being replaced by a sexfoil—a form of course destitute of points of any kind—which in three instances has the lowest part quite flat, upon which the spread descends with an ogee curvature and a circular plan. The edge is vertical and treated as in type F. The former remarks as to the crucifix still hold good. The Jurby chalice, shewn in Plate IV., has been selected as an illustration of this type.

Bishop Fox's famous gold chalice at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, retains the conical bowl and the ordinary spread of foot. The compartments are filled with enamels and the stem has cabled edges.

Of TYPE H only three examples remain.

1. *penes* Lord Hatherton, from Pillaton Hall, Staffordshire.
2. Wylve, Wilts (1525-6).
3. Trinity College, Oxford (1527-8).

The bowl is still shallow, and broad at the bottom, and in each case inscribed with a legend, as is the foot.

The stem of the Oxford example has beautiful open quatrefoil tracery throughout its length and is strengthened by cables at the angles. The other two have plain unpierced stems, but the Pillaton chalice is buttressed, and that at Wylve cabled at the angles.

The knot is somewhat flatter than before, though of similar type, but the traceried openings are no longer found.

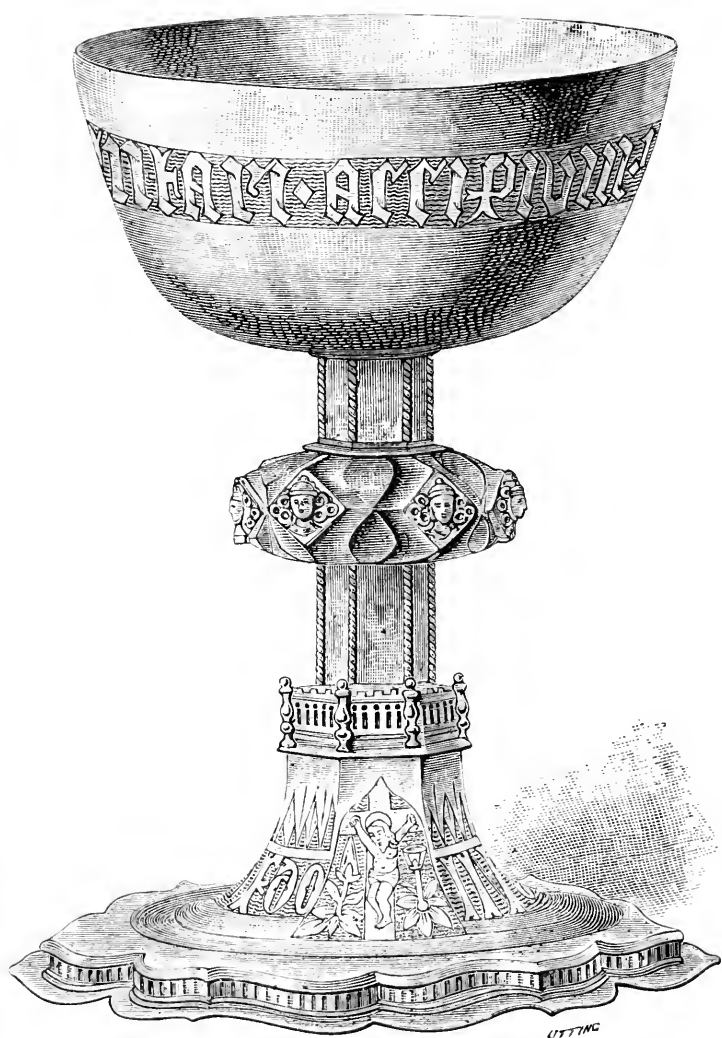
The junction of foot and stem is concealed by a sort of pierced crown or parapet, which is part of the foot and has a bottle-shaped buttress at each angle.

The shape of the foot is again varied. The spread follows type G, but the plan of the lowest member is quite different in two cases, being what may be called a wavy-sided hexagon. The Pillaton chalice has however a sexfoil foot, but no crucifix.



CHALICE.—TYPE G.
JURBY, ISLE OF MAN.
1521.22.
($\frac{1}{2}$ full size).





CHALICH.—TYPE H.

WYLYE, WILTS.

1525-26.

($\frac{2}{3}$ full size).

The edge of the foot is vertical and treated as before. Plate V represents the Wylve chalice of this type.

And now as to patens.

The existing examples which have come under our notice are 77 in number, and except for an approximate gap of some fifty years or rather more, about the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, they form a fairly complete series from *circa* 1180 to the middle of the sixteenth century, a series sufficiently complete, indeed, to enable us to trace the various characteristics of the paten throughout.

It is of course hardly necessary to say, that during this entire period the paten was a circular plate of precious metal, and that it was so made as to form a cover to the chalice, being often described as such in inventories and other contemporary documents. It might, however, be of one of two Forms. In Form I. the paten is sunk with a plain circular depression, this first depression being followed by a second, which is multifoil in outline. In Form II. there is but one depression, which is either circular or multifoil. These two Forms of paten comprise seven classes or Types which are described at length further on.

In the centre of every paten, with but a single exception, there is engraved a sacred device which varies. In one or two cases the circle in which it is enclosed is slightly sunk from the field of the paten; in a few of the others the device is enamelled on a separate piece of metal, which is let in from the back of the paten. There is no rule as to the device, but patens of earlier date shew a preference for the *Manus Dei*, or Hand of God in the act of blessing, while in later patens the preference is certainly for the Vernicle, or Face of Our Lord, more than half of the existing patens having this as their central device. Other subjects occur, such as the Holy Trinity, the Holy Lamb, the Sacred Monogram, etc. They are described later, and in the lists in the appendices.

After a very careful analysis of the various features of each of the patens, we have been able to classify them according to seven types. The types, however, are not altogether so consecutive as to date as the types of the chalices seem in the main to be. For instance, type C

contains patens mostly of the fourteenth century, but one example is certainly much later. Again, type D is probably in a measure concurrent as to date with type C, and is certainly so with type E, while types F and G are elaborations of D and E, and some of the later patens of type D are contemporary with some of type F.

From this it will be gathered that because a paten is of a particular type, this is not of itself a sufficiently certain or exact indication of its date, and other corroborative points must be sought before it is assumed, that because it belongs to a certain type that it is therefore of the same date as the majority of the other patens of that type. Types A and B alone seem to be sure guides as to date. In fact the dating of some of the patens is a matter of difficulty owing to the lack of a clear indication one way or the other as to date. It is not until quite late that we obtain help in the matter from hall-marks. Only a few, moreover, of the patens bear hall-marks, and of the few which bear them, some of the date letters are so much obliterated as to be of no help, while with some of the rest, it is more or less a matter of doubt to which alphabet the date letter belongs, and thus the uncertainty is rather increased than diminished. One of the most useful of the hall-marked patens for dating purposes is that which now belongs to the Rev. T. Staniforth, and of which an illustration is given, as it is thoroughly representative of a considerable number of the short-rayed patens of type D. Its date letter, fortunately, cannot be mistaken, and it gives us without any doubt the year 1517-8 as that in which this paten was made.

With the caution just given as to the use of the types of paten for dating purposes, we may proceed to arrange them in their most convenient and chronological sequence of order as follow :—

TYPE A. (Form I) Lower depression quatrefoil ; central device various. Date *circa* 1180 to *circa* 1260.

TYPE B. (Form I or II). Lower depression, or single depression, octofoil or multiple ; central device, usually the *Mamus Dei*. Date *circa* 1260 to *circa* 1300.

TYPE C. (Form I). Lower depression sexfoil with plain spandrels. Central device, usually the *Mamus Dei*. Date *circa* 1300 to *circa* 1350, and later.

· TYPE D. (Form I). Lower depression sexfoil, but spandrels filled with a rayed leaf ornament. Central device most frequently the Vernicle, with in many cases an encircling glory of short rays. Examples occur from *circa* 1430 to *circa* 1530. Some of the later examples of this type have an engraved legend round the rim.

TYPE E. (Form II). Single circular depression, with more generally *ih̄s* or *ih̄c* as the central device. Date *circa* 1510.

TYPE F (Form I). An elaboration of type D, which it resembles in general form, but the central device has a glory of long rays filling the field of the paten, and the rim bears an engraved legend. Central device various. Date *circa* 1525.

TYPE G (Form II). An elaboration of type E. Single circular depression, with central device surrounded by a glory of long rays. The rim bears an engraved legend. The only two examples extant of this type both have the Vernicle as the central device. Date *circa* 1520 to *circa* 1535.

We may now proceed to a fuller examination of the patens of these types in order.

Of patens of TYPE A there are four examples. The earliest is at Chichester cathedral church, where it was found in 1825 in the grave of a bishop. Its date may be put at *circa* 1180. It is five inches in diameter, and in the centre within a circle nearly two inches in diameter is a bold but rude engraving of the holy Lamb, round which is the legend in uncial letters:

✠ AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIS PECATA MUNDI MISERERE NOBIS.

Another is at Lincoln Minster; it has the figure of a bishop vested, the right hand raised in the act of blessing, the left holding a crozier. This is from the grave of bishop Grostête, which fixes the date as probably between 1230 and 1253, in which latter year he died.

At York Minster is a third paten of this type; both depressions are shallow, and the chief peculiarity is that there is no central device at all; the date is probably *circa* 1250. These three patens just described have the spandrels quite plain.

At Worcester cathedral church there is a fine paten of type A, which was found a few years ago in the grave of Bishop Walter Cantelupe, who died in 1266. See Plate VI fig. 1. In the centre is a plain circle which contains an excellent treatment of the *Manus Dei*; this is on a cruciform nimbus, the limbs of which as well as the spandrels formed by the quatrefoil depression are filled with well executed foliated scroll ornament.

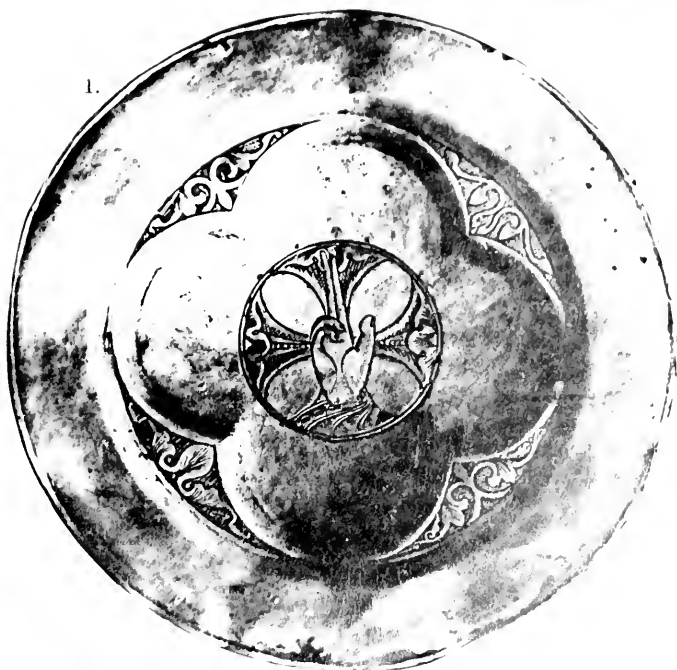
Of type B there are five examples. By far the most remarkable of these, and indeed of the whole series of medieval patens, is that still in use in Wyke church, near Winchester. An illustration is here given (Plate VII), which will convey a better conception of the paten than a verbal description can. It is silver parcel-gilt, $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, and of Form I. The first depression is circular, the second octofoil, and the circle with the central device is again slightly depressed from the field of the paten. It is undoubtedly the most ancient piece of church plate known to be in use in any church in this country. There are no hall-marks, it is indeed of too early a date to bear any, but the lettering of the legend round the rim gives a definite clue to its age, which cannot be much, if at all, later than *circa* 1280. This very interesting paten was exhibited at the Winchester meeting of the Institute in 1845, but its existence seems to have been strangely forgotten since then, and it was only unearthed again during the progress of our enquiries.

The other patens of type B are from the graves of bishops. There is one at Lincoln Minster from the grave of bishop Gravesend (1258—1279); it is of Form II, with a single depression only in the form of a square and a quatrefoil combined. In the centre within a feathered circle is the *Manus Dei*.

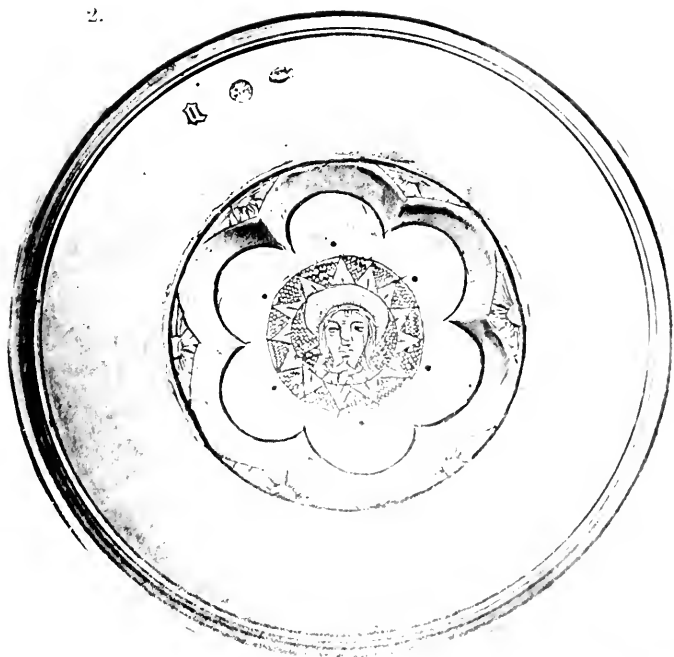
A third paten of type B is at York Minster, of a date probably *circa* 1280. It is of Form I, so far as possessing a double depression is concerned, but it is remarkable in having the first depression of ten foils, followed by a plain circular depression, thus reversing the usual order, and it is the only example extant of a paten which has the first and not the second depression multifoil.

In Drake's *Eboracum* p. 486 this and the other York chalices and patens are figured, and in the centre of this

1.



2.



1. PATEN.—TYPE A. WORCESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
2. PATEN.—TYPE D. REV. T. STANIFORTH. 1517-18.



Paten—Type B.

WYKE, NEAR WINCHESTER.

($\frac{2}{3}$ full size.)

paten is shewn a flying bird. Unfortunately the middle portion of the paten has since been lost, and Drake's picture is too vague to admit of our saying with any degree of certainty what the bird was, or what it meant.

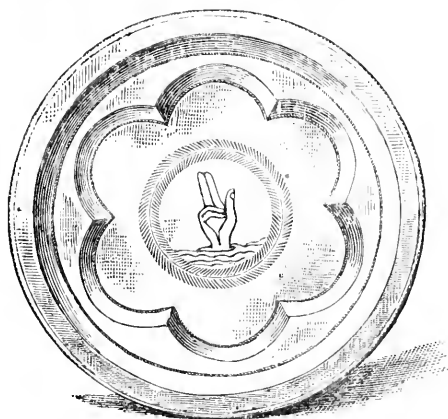
At the cathedral churches of Chichester and Salisbury, there are two other patens of type B, both apparently of much the same date (*circa* 1290 to *circa* 1300). The Chichester paten is of Form II, with but one, an octofoil depression; that at Salisbury is of Form I, with the second depression octofoil. In each case the central device is the *Manus Dei*.

This brings us to TYPE C, of which the special features are that the second depression is sexfoil, and the spandrels are plain.

Six of the patens of this type form a group, and belong to the first half of the fourteenth century, but the seventh is evidently later, and this makes it difficult to give a definite limit of date after which a paten of type C would be an impossibility.

The earliest of the seven patens of this type is at Exeter cathedral church, and was found in the grave of bishop Thomas de Bitton (1292—1307). Although in the main it belongs to type C, yet it differs a little, in that it has but one actual depression, which is circular, but within this depression is engraved a sexfoil, and within this again a double circle with the *Manus Dei*.

Another example is at York Minster; this has two



PATEN.—TYPE C.
HAMSTALL RIDWARE, STAFFORDSHIRE.
($\frac{1}{2}$ full size.)

shallow depressions, and in the centre is a circle with the *Manus Dei* on a cruciform nimbus.

A paten at Hamstall Ridware of type C has an abnormally narrow rim, and the outer edge of the cusps of the sexfoils does not touch the lower edge of the first depression, there is thus left a slight connection between each of the spandrels. In the centre is the *Manus Dei* within a feathered circle.

At Bishop's Sutton in Hampshire there is a very graceful paten of type C with both depressions well developed and in the centre within a double circle of dotted rays are the letters *ihc*.

The remaining patens of this type are at Beighton, Cromer and Foxley, all in Norfolk; each has the *Manus Dei* as the central device. The Cromer paten is of much later date than the others; it is a large and thickly made piece, and is over 6 inches in diameter. The *Manus Dei* is of an unusual character; the Hand, which emerges obliquely from the folds of a sleeve, is not fully opened, although it is in the act of blessing, and the entire space within the circle surrounding the hand, is filled with pointed rays of glory. This circular space is itself surrounded by a band of short shaded rays, similar to some which occur in a few of the later patens of type D, and it is rather difficult to fix definitely the date of this paten, and consequently to give a closing date for patens of this type.

We now come to TYPE D, which includes more than half of all the existing patens. The characteristics are similar to those of type C, except that the spandrels, instead of being plain, are filled with a rayed leaf device. In more than half the patens of this type the central device is the Vernicle; this is often with a band of short rays surrounding the circle containing it. Several other devices occur which are described later. In type D we first meet too with patens bearing hall marks. The well-known Nettlecombe paten is a good example of the general features of a paten of this type, but it is enriched by having the Vernicle enamelled, on a separate plate which is endorsed with the letters *ihc*, and let in from behind. An example of this treatment will be found recorded in the Winchester

College inventories:—*Item j calix de argento deaurato cum patena et vernaculum in patena et J. H. S. sculpt' in posteriori parte.*¹

In other respects, however, the Nettlecombe paten affords a good general idea of a paten of type D. It bears the hall-marks assigned to the year 1479-80, but the earliest probably of the existing patens of this type is the Vernicle paten at Hanworth in Norfolk, which is perhaps of the date of *circa* 1450 or even a little earlier. It is perhaps worth noting here that the earliest mention of a vernicle paten, which we have been able to discover, is in the will of John of Gaunt:—*Item jeo devise al monstier de nostre Dame de Nicole ma tierce calice d'or fait à Burdeux q'ad un crucifix grave desuis la pie, et en la patens un vernicle grave.*²

It is of course impossible to say that this paten was of our type D., though it may have been; under any circumstance it would be excluded from our list as not being English. It is, however, an interesting record of a Vernicle paten, which in later times we find from existing examples, no less than from inventories and wills, to have been so common. Of existing Vernicle patens, and of patens of type D, none are earlier, or at any rate much earlier than *circa* 1450, and of these the Hanworth paten is probably the earliest; it is fully described in Appendix. Another of the earlier patens of type D is at Merton in Norfolk; in this case the central device is the Holy Lamb, but the paten does not seem to be much later than that at Hanworth.

A third of the earlier patens of this type is perhaps that at Beeston Regis, also in Norfolk, although it has some features which may be taken as indicative of a later date. It is, however, worthy of special attention on account of the excellent engraving of the Vernicle in its centre; this is contained in a large circle the diameter of which is one third that of the entire paten. It is fully described in the appendix, and it is certainly the boldest, and one of the best designed of the Vernicles. It is impossible to enter here into the many varying details of the patens of type D, as each is described

¹ Archaeological Journal x. 235 quoted in Appendix.

² Test. Ebor i. 228 (Surtees Soc.) also quoted in Appendix.

in its place in the appendix ; it is noticeable, however, that about half of the patens of this type have a band of short rays surrounding the central device, a feature which also occurs in four of the patens of type C, and in one of type E. Among those of type D which have this short-rayed device and are hall-marked, are those of Shirley in Derbyshire (1493-4), Cossey in Norfolk (1496-7), and the paten belonging to Mr. Staniforth (1517-8). The short-rayed central device is however evidently of far wider range as to date than these dates would imply. The Hamsterley paten, which is hall-marked, is shewn on Plate VIII, and Mr. Staniforth's paten on Plate VI, Fig. 2.

In addition to the Vernicle and the Holy Lamb occurring on patens of type D, we find the following devices in existing patens of the type, viz :—

(1) The patron saint (St. Margaret) at Felbrigge in Norfolk ; this is a beautiful enamel on a separate plate let in from behind.

(2) The sacred monogram in Lombardic characters at Runton in Norfolk.

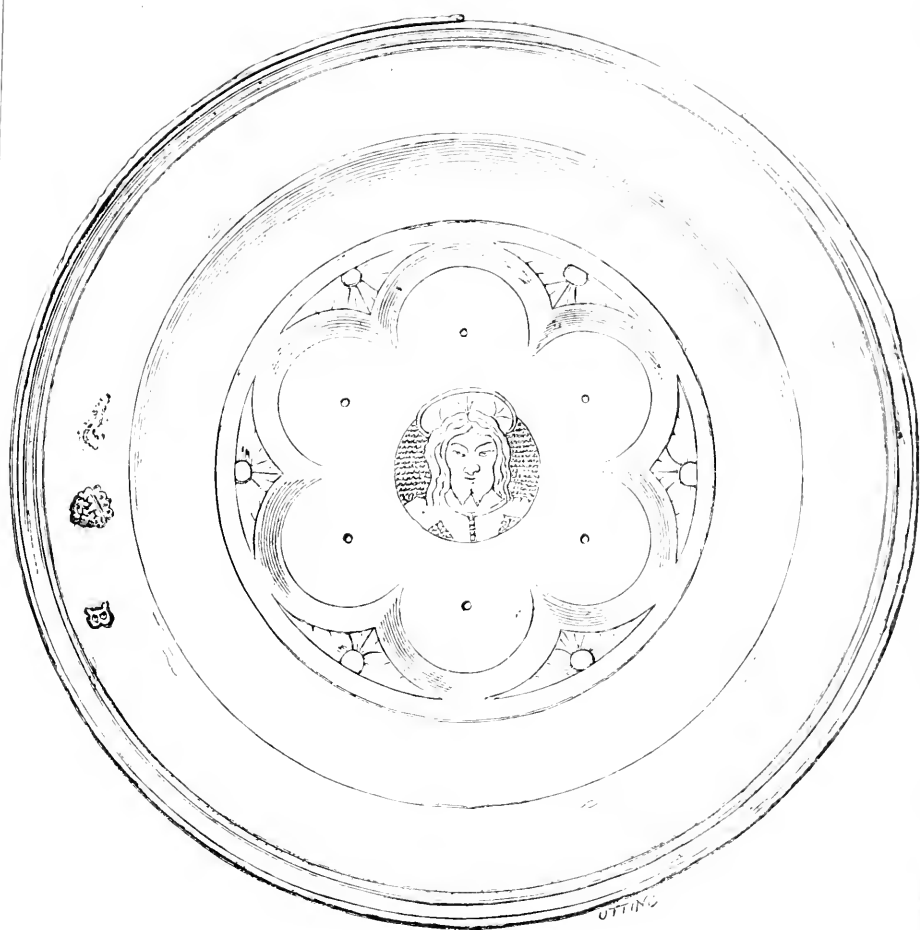
(3) The sacred monogram in small black letter characters at Tuttington and Beeston-next-Mileham, both in Norfolk, also in the Pillaton paten belonging to Lord Hatherton, and in another at All Saints' church, Bristol. The Tuttington paten is excellently designed, and is one of the most pleasing of all the patens. That at Bristol is peculiar ; we have classed it in type D, as its main features are common to the other patens of that type, but by a freak probably of the designer, the second depression is of seven, instead of six foils, and the circle containing the *ih̄s* is somewhat depressed from the field of the paten.

(4) At Castle Bromwich, near Birmingham, we have a solitary instance in type D of the *Manus Dei*.

(5) At Earl's Colne, in Essex, is a paten with the full figure of our Lord standing, the right hand raised in the act of blessing, and the left holding the orb and cross.

At Chewton Mendip, in Somerset, we meet with a late example among the patens of type D of the Holy Lamb ; in this instance with the addition of the legend round the device :—*Ecce Agnus Dei Jesus*.

A paten at Gissing, in Norfolk, ought to be specially mentioned. It has the Vernicle in its centre, but it is the



PATEN.—TYPE D.
HAMSTERLEY, DURHAM.

1519-20.

(Full size.)

See *Journal* v. xxxix p. 410.

(The position of the Vernicle is not correctly shewn in the engraving.)



1.



2.



1. PATEN.—TYPE E. PASTON, NORFOLK.
2. PATEN.—TYPE G. SALISBURY, ST. EDMUND, WILTS, 1533-4.

only instance in which the central device is not surrounded by a circle or circular band. The Gissing paten is hall-marked, but the date letter is illegible ; the maker's mark, however, is well known, and it exists on various pieces of plate *circa* 1515.

At Happisburg, in Norfolk, is a Vernicle paten which has once been enamelled ; it has the hall-marks for 1504-5, and round the rim is a legend pricked in black letter characters. At Pilton, in Somerset, there is another Vernicle paten of type D, with an engraved legend round the rim. With this we must bring our notice of the patens of type D to a close. All of them are fully described in the appendix.

Of TYPE E we have eight patens ; they are the simplest of all, being of Form II, with only a plain circular depression. In some of them there is a simple concave depression, like that of a soup plate ; in others it is more angular, and the field of the paten is nearly flat. Our examples of type E range in date apparently from *circa* 1459, which seems to be about the date of the earliest, to 1507-8, which latter is the date of the only hall-marked paten of the type, and this paten is also apparently one of the latest of them all.

The earliest would appear to be the paten at Paston, in Norfolk ; it is of stout make, and the depression is concave. In the centre is a large and boldly cut device of the *Manus Dei* ; this is surrounded by a band of short shaded rays. Another, but later paten of type E, also with the *Manus Dei*, is at Preston, in Rutland ; the device in this case is within a wreathed circle, and the depression is angular. See Plate IX, Fig. 1. A third paten of this type, at Hinderwell, in Yorkshire, has the Holy Lamb well designed and delicately engraved in the centre.

The most important, however, of the examples of this type is the gold paten belonging to bishop Fox's magnificent chalice at Corpus Christi College, Oxford : it is very thin, and quite plain, and the depression is concave. In the centre is a circle enclosing an engraving of the Vernicle, and on the part of the plain rim directly over the central device is another circle containing a cross. This is a feature which occurs on the Earls Colne paten of type D, and on some of the other patens whose rims bear engraved legends. It seems to be intended to mark the

place where the priest would kiss the paten. The four remaining patens of type E have the sacred monogram—*ihc* or *ih̄s*. That at Walmer, in Kent, has the centre of the paten bossed up as a six petalled rose, suggesting a doubt whether it is, properly speaking, a paten after all. Another at Sall, in Norfolk, which has been much damaged, appears to have been originally depressed from the inside edge of the rim to the circle containing the *ih̄s*, a very unusual and strange treatment.

TYPE F may be described as an elaboration of type D; the central device is surrounded by long rays of glory, and the rim of the paten bears an engraved legend. There are four examples of this type. One of them, at Cliffe church in Kent, is fairly well known; in the centre is the Holy Trinity enamelled, which is encircled by long straight-sided rays of glory filling the field of the paten. Round the rim in black letter characters, is a favourite legend:

Benedicamus patrem et filium cum spiritu sancto.

Another example is at Kirk-Malew in the Isle of Man; this has the Vernicle in the centre, surrounded by long straight-sided rays of glory. Round the rim is engraved in black letter:—

Sancte lupc ora pro nobis.

St. Lupus being the patron saint of the church. The name Ma-lew signifies in Manx, St. Lew or Lupus.

At the Roman Catholic church at Claughton in Lancashire there is another paten of type F. It has most unfortunately been beaten inside out in order to form a cover for a ciborium, and a plain upright Latin cross has been fixed on the centre of the central device, which in this instance was once enamelled, and is the Majesty, or Christ seated on the rainbow. This is surrounded by long straight-sided rays, and round the rim is in black letter characters:

Saluum me fac domine in nomine tuo.

The paten at Trinity College, Oxford, is of type F. It has the Vernicle in the centre surrounded by long rays, and around the rim, engraved in capital letters of the sixteenth century, the legend:—

+ CALICIM SALUTARIS ACCIPIAM ET NOMINE DOMINE
IN VOCABO.

It is hall-marked for 1527-8.



PATEN—TYPE F.
TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1527-8.
($\frac{1}{2}$ full size.)

This brings us to our last TYPE, of which we have but two examples. Type G is an elaboration of type E; both the existing examples have the Vernicle, and also the legend round the rim, *Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu*. Both also are hall-marked.

The one, that at Great Waltham, in Essex, is of the year 1521-2, and has the same maker's mark as the Leyland and Jurby chalices. Round the Vernicle are long rays and flames of glory, which fill the field of the paten.

The other paten of type G is at St. Edmund's church, Salisbury. (Plate IX, fig. 2.) It is of the year 1533-4, and is generally similar to that at Great Waltham, but the legend on the rim has been badly spaced in designing the paten, and the important word *spiritu* is omitted for want of room.

With this our series of patens ends.

(To be continued.)

NOTES FROM AN OLD CITY ACCOUNT BOOK.¹

By J. C. L. STAHLSCHEIMDT.

To-day I have to bring under your notice a rather curious old book—the property of the Worshipful Company of Founders, of which ancient Corporation I have the honour to be a Past Master. But before describing the book itself, I should like to say a few words about the City Companies generally. We all know of their existence—some of us have doubtless partaken of their hospitality—few of us however, I think, are cognisant of the good they do ; these, however, are points upon which I do not deem it necessary to enlarge. I only want to deal with one question, and that a purely archaeological one, and that is—How these Companies came to exist. Well, they developed, *Ex uno disce omnes*, and the development which I can show in the case of the Founders, no doubt obtained with most of the rest—certainly with all the older ones—those which we can trace back to pre-Reformation times.

I find then three distinct stages of development, and the first stage is the Religious Guild, Fraternity, or Brotherhood. These mediæval institutions are well known, and although their origin is somewhat obscure, their existence can be traced prior to the Norman conquest.

In the case of the Founders the Guild was dedicated to St. Clement. When it was first instituted it is impossible to say, but it was certainly a Guild for special religious and (probably) social purposes only—membership was doubtless voluntary—and the only means it had of enforcing its rules were purely spiritual or moral. It had no *legal* existence. That had to come in the next stage of its development.

Accordingly we find, in the year 1365, the “good men of the Mistery or Trade of Founders” petitioning the Mayor and Aldermen of the City for “Ordinances” or regulations for their trade, which said Ordinances were approved, and are still extant in the civic records. They are too long to give here, but they embrace such regulations for the trade as were then considered necessary, and Wardens were appointed to see to the observance of such regulations. What did the Founders’ Guild gain by this ? They gained a legal status, and so the power of enforcing their rules. They could and did have up recalcitrant members before the Mayor and Aldermen and get them punished. But their status was only a quasi-legal one—they were unknown to the King’s Courts—they could not sue or be sued except in the city. They did not become a Corporation, *i.e.* they had no Common Seal, and they could not hold

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, April 1st, 1886.

lands; that was to come in the third stage, to which I shall allude presently. But the old religious brotherhood still continued, incorporated, so to speak, in the new Craft Guild. It is true that it is not specifically mentioned in our annals until as late as 1515, in which year amended ordinances were granted, one of which relates to "St. Clement's Brotherhood," but in the year 1497, in an inventory of the goods of the craft, we find—"Item, a table for an altar with an ymage of St. Clement," and in 1513 "payd for makyng of Sen Clements tabull for the brethered. ij^s" So that it was certainly in existence earlier, and from other indirect evidence, too long to quote here, there is no doubt the Brotherhood had been continued from long before 1365. Of course it was suppressed at the Reformation. During this, the second stage of its existence (the "Craft Guild"), the association appears to have been called "the Craft of Founders," and I take it that that was its proper designation. As early as 1508, however, in the City books the title "Company" is given, and from that date onwards it is indifferently called the "Craft," the "Fellowship," or the "Company." In our own book, however, the last expression "Company" is not used until 1552, and thenceforward it is used regularly. In all these cases the expression, strictly speaking, is incorrect, as it was not a Corporation.

In the year 1614 the third and final stage was reached, and the craft was incorporated by Royal Charter by the name of the "Master Wardens and Cominaltie of the Misterie of Founders of the Cittie of London." With license to hold lands not exceeding £40 per ann. To be able to plead and be impleaded, and to have for ever a Common Seal.

And this is the charter under which we still exist.

I have mentioned this matter because Mr. Loftie, in his very charming and able History of London, has fallen into what I cannot but call a strange delusion on the subject. And in this connection I should like just to note one or two mistakes which he has made. In vol. i, p. 198 (2nd ed.), he states that there can be no doubt that the word *Mistry* applied to these city bodies originates in "Master"—or as we now pronounce it "Mister"—not in mystery. Of course we all know it does not come from "Mystery," and so far he is right. But his affirmative proposition, positive as it is, is I am equally positive, incorrect. The city word *Mistry* comes from the French "*Mestier*," a trade. And I think I could, with very little difficulty, put my hand upon a MS. book of the fifteenth century (written mainly in Norman French) in which these bodies, Guilds, or Companies, are actually called "*Mestiers*."

Again at p. 221 he says—apropos of his opinion that the old Guilds and the comparatively modern Companies are not identifiable or identical—that an example of the confusion of Guilds and Companies is afforded by the History of the Skinners, as given in Strype's Stow, where we are told that Edward III addressed them as the "Guild, or Fraternity of the Skinners of London." And he adds that their then Charter really runs "To the King's beloved men of the City of London called Skinners." Well, that is perfectly correct. But they were only a Guild for all that. And the confirmatory Charter of 16 Ric. II clearly recognises the "Guild of Corpus Christi" as existing prior to the date of the said charter (Herbert ii, 376). And it was only in the 16th of Henry VII that they became a *Company* at all, with a Common Seal and power to hold lands and to plead and be impleaded. And curiously enough, they were incor-

porated by this Charter as "the Master and Wardens of the Guild, or Fraternity of the Body of Christ of the Skinners of London."

Then at p. 225, he says that there is no necessary connection between the old Guilds and the new Companies, and that the burden of proof lies upon those who assert their identity.

Now I unhesitatingly affirm their identity; and I have here a note of the charters of some of them, which to my mind, go a very long way to prove that the Companies were and are really developments of earlier Guilds.

DRAPERS.—First (Quasi) Charter 38 Edw. III. ; Second and Incorporating Charter 17 Hen. VI. By this they are allowed to erect themselves into one Guild or Fraternity by the name of the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary the Virgin of the Drapers of London.

MERCHANT TAYLORS.—Incorporated 9 Hen. IV as "The Fraternity of Taylors and Linen Armourers of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist." There are earlier quasi-charters which all mention this same Fraternity.

HABERDASHERS.—"Ordinances" granted in 1372. In 1381 it is mentioned in the *Bishop of London's* Registers as the Fraternity of St. Katharine. Incorporated 26 Hen. VI by the style of "The Fraternity of St. Katharine the Virgin of the Haberdashers of the City of London."

CLOTHWORKERS.—First charter 20 Ed. IV, as the "Fraternity of the Assumption of the B.V.M. of Shermen of the City of London."

ARMOURERS.—Incorporated 1423 as "The Master and Wardens of the Fraternity or Guild of St. George of the men of the Mistry of Armourers of the City of London."

PARISH CLERKS.—Incorporated (?) 17 Hen. III, 1233, as "The Fraternity of St. Nicholas," and known as such until 1611 when it was re-incorporated or rather more probably fully chartered.

PLASTERERS.—Constituted a Fraternity by Letters Patent 16 Hen. VII. Confirmed by charter 19 Charles II by the appellation of "The Master and Wardens of the Guild or Fraternity of the Blessed Mary of Plasterers of London."

These last three entries are from Maitland and may not be absolutely exact. But the others are, I think, clear and unmistakeable evidence in favour of my assertion.

Let me give another piece of evidence. There are actually at the present day some so called Companies, which are not Companies at all, *i.e.*, they have *never* been incorporated, but are still in the Craft Guild stage. They are called Companies by prescription; among them are the Fletchers and Woolmen, who take respectively the 39th and 42nd places in the city list of precedence, and are therefore most certainly not far from five centuries old; the Founders which dates from 1365 as a Craft Guild, being No. 33. There are also the Basket Makers, Longbow String Makers and Pavours, all of them I believe, pre-reformation Guilds.

One more proof, which, I think, clenches the nail, and establishes absolute identity of Craft Guild and Company. In 1530, the Founders, being then a Craft Guild, bought (as we shall see presently) the land for their hall and built the said hall thereupon. Eighty-four years after, when they really became a Company, no formal transfer of the property was made. The body only changed its status, not its identity.

Pardon me this little digression and now let me proceed to make a few remarks upon the book on the table.—

It is as you may see, a sturdy quarto volume, in its original binding, “not very handsome and not very young,” but worth very much of the scamped jerry work of modern binders. It has originally had a strap and buckle, the latter of which has disappeared. I am a little in doubt as to whether the binding is as early as 1497, the date of the first entry. The watermark on the paper of the earliest and rather larger half of the book is a foolscap, that on the remainder from 1552 onwards, and on the two leaves at the beginning is a gloved hand with a five pointed Star or “Mullet” above it. There is a strip of parchment inserted before the leaf commencing 1552 and the pages prior to this contain miscellaneous entries, such as are commonly found at the *ends* of similar books. I think then we may conclude that the binding is probably of the date 1552.

As to its written contents. It is mainly a book of receipts and expenditure, what we should call now-a-days a Cash Book; but interspersed here and there are other entries, more or less interesting. It commences for instance with an Inventory of the possessions of the Craft in the year 1497, as follows :

I h c.

The Inuentarie of the goodes of the Crafte of flounders of london at Cristmas in the yere of o^r lord mⁱ cccc lxxxx vij^o 1497.

ffirst a maser w^t a boos of the gifte of a widowe called ———

			weiyng viij oñz iij pt.
Itm a maser w ^t a boos of the gifte of John Badcok			
weiyng	...	...	xv oñz iij pt.
Itm a maser w ^t a boos and an hert of silu' ou' gilted of			
the gifte of Robt. Reynolds	weiyng	...	ix oñz
Itm a maser w ^t a boos of the gifte of henry pendlowe			
weiyng	...	...	vj oñz di qrt.
Itm a maser w ^t a boos of the gifte of John Seykyn			
weiyng	...	...	...iv onz di and di pt.
It a double cuppe w ^t an handill ou' gilted of the			
gifte of Johan the wife of Robt Reynolds afore-			
seid	weiyng	...	xviij oñz.
Itm a standyng cuppe w ^t a cou' yng w ^t an hawke on			
the same gilt of the gifte of Richard Hawke			
weiyng	...	...	xxxiiij oñz.
Itm vj spones of siluer w ^t Round Knoppes of the gifte			
of John Belwyne	weiyng	...	vij oñz pt di.
Itm viij spones of siluer of the gifte of Willm			
Chambleyn thelder	weiyng	...	vij onz iij pt.

These two Entries are crossed out in the book.

Itm a nutte cou'ed harnesssed w ^t silver gilt weig ^d			xxviij oñz. scant.
of the gifte of John Blowbell	...	...
Itm a grete maser harnesssed w ^t siluer gilt of the gifte			
of John Betenden otherwise called Wayte	weiyng	...	xvj oñz pt.
Itm a gret maser harnesssed w ^t siluer gylt of the			
gifte of John Pynehebek	wyng	...	xj onz.
Itm a spoyn of y ^e gifte of John Peyrs	weiyng	of	
Syllu'	...	...	xij greyns

It a maser of y^e gifte of some unkown wydow wayng
 It a standyng goblet pcell gilte w^t a caner w^t a gommer
 on y^e couer
 Itm a fyne table cloth diapre of the gifte of Alice
 Clauer cont' x yardys
 Itm a towell diapre of the gifte of the same Alice
 cont' xxv yardys & a qtyr
 Itm of redy money givin by the same Alice ... xls
 Itm a table cloth diapre of the gifte of the wife of
 John Belwyn aforenamed conteynyng ... off vj yardys & a hf
 Itm a table cloth diapre of the gift of Thomas Swetyng
 cont' off xj yardys & a half
 Itm a table for an awter w^t an ymage of Seint Clement
 of the gifte of John Blowhelle ...
 Itm ij baecys and ij Ewers of laton of the gifte of the wife of John Agas.
 Mⁿ Itm Herry Jurdan citezen and flisshemong' of london biquethid in
 his testament xiijs iii^d yerely to be distributid among poer house-
 holders freemen and women w^{yn} the crafte of ffounders of london
 that is to say that the same xiijs iii^d shalbe bistowed in charcolis
 yerely at such price as men may bie & so to be distributid the colis
 as is aboveseid.

The following are clearly later additions being in other hands.

It a tabylcloth pleyne of y^e charge of the craft so bowt be the handys
 of Thomas Swetyng conteynyth—x yardys and a halfe.

It a tabylcloth of dyaper conteynyth vj yardys & alfe.

It a towell of pleyne cotynyth x yardys & a halfe.

It a tabylcloth of dyapyr old conty vij yardys.

It ij pleyne waychyng towells conteynyth xj yardys Both.

It a cofer payne old.

It the pewter wescells ij C & liij li weyte.

sic It after ij^d the li *dracept* ij^{li} ix^s.

sic Itm your standyng cop w^t the hawk and standyng *Neyte* lythe w^t
 omfrey Walkar for the sūn of xff

Itm a dos nackyns fore

ffor nape

Itm delyu'd to M^r bregewater

 Itm iiij dyap tabyll clorts

 Itm ij dyap towells

 Itm on pleyne tabyll clor^d

 Itm ix napkynis

Of y^e gyft of Thomas Sutton ij tabyll clothys dyep

Of y^e gyft of Wyllm Knyght on tabyll cloth dyep

Of y^e gyft of Jone Hamond a towell of dyeper

It a pane w^t ij crys ij andyrens & a sypte

It a potell pote

Of y^e gyft of mys gryshy wydow a basyn of pewter & a charger a wyne
 quart pote & a towell of dyeper

sic It a grete *synnygoke* of y^e gyft of John bere

It a potell pot of gyft of Robert frost a gret lamp tornyd thorow

Itm M^d that we layd to pleche to m^r Sutton a Noyt with a cofer glyte
 weyng xxviiij ounces and a q^{tr} prys the owncce iijs viij^d the sūn ys iiij ll
 vs and iiijd.

Itm layd to pleche to John Hamond & John Beyrs a Masar w^t a Boyssse pryntyd and Graveyn weyng xv ounces pris the ownee ij s ij d sm ys xxxij s xd. payd.

Item layd to pleche to Thomas Rayllton & John Seytcoll a masar w^t a holow boyss pryntyd w^t a hewar weyng xvj ounces halfe pris the ownee ij s ij d y^d sm̃ xxxvs ix d.

Itm layd to pleche to m^r Swetyng a Masar wyth a holow Boyss pryntyd w^t a coke weyng xvj ounces saue halfe a pt pris the ownee ij s ij d sm̃ xxxiij s.

Itm layd to pleche to thomas paxton a dobull cop w^t a cofur weyng x ounces of Syllu' sm̃ ys xxxvj s viij d.

Itm layd to pleche to m^r Grybby a Masar w^t a byss pryntyd w^t a colombyn flowyr weyng viij ounces and a spoyn weyng a ownee & di qr sm̃ xx s x d.

Itm layd to pleche to Edward Collyngwod a Masar w^t a Boys weyng ix & a halfe pris ijs ijd sm̃ xxs jd.

Itm layd to pleche to Wyllm Weeks a Masar weyng vj ounces & a q^r pris the ownee ijs ijd sm̃ xiijs viij d.

Itm layd to pleche to Jayms sewyn a Masar w^t a harte in the boyss inanyll weyng ix ounces q^{tr} pris the ownee ijs ijd sm̃ xxs.

Here follows another Inventory, mainly a recapitulation, and of later date.

And then comes a yearly account, which as a specimen of the principal remaining contents of the book I now give.

This is thaccompte of Robt Setcole Edmond Bird, John Parker otherwise callid John Sena Wardeyns of the Crafte of ffoundours of the Citee of london of theire Receipts and payments by them for the seid Crafte had made and done from the fest of Seint Clement the (*) and martir in the xiiijth yere of the Reigne of Kyng Henry the vijth vnto the same fest in the xiiijth yere of the same Kyng that is by oon hoolle yere as foloweth that is to sey

first the seid accomptantz accompten and charge
themselves w^t the money by them Receyued at
theire entrie into theire office of John Sponer
to the some of xvj li xvij^s ij^d

Receyued for fynes.

first of maister Chambleyne¹ of london for a fyne
lost by Robt Wells for somanuce² ... ij^d

Itm for a fyne lost by Robt lawen for the same ... ij^d

Itm for a fyne lost by Thomas Berys ... ij^d

Itm for a fyne lost by John Blowebold ... ij^d

Itm for a fyne lost by Henry Strader ... j^d

and of the same Herry Robt Chambleyn and John
Botland ech of hem ijd. sm̃ vjd that is ijd to
the Chambre & ijd to vs which was delyu'd to
the yoman ijd & to the Clerk jd.

Itm John piers p^d for a fyne vjd for Revilyng a
brother of the which vjd the Clerk had ijd &
the yoman iiij d.

* Word (of course "pope") erased.

¹ The City Chamberlain.

² Summons.

Itm R ^l of m̃ Chambleyn for a fyne lost by John Downehm̃ for troubling of John Banys contrarie to our ordina ^l ...	viiij ^d
Itm for a fyne lost by R. Banerofte for werkyng by nyght & setting to werk a child vnbound & vnablid ¹ ijs vjd. therof p ^d to the yoman for his labor in diu'se tymes somonyng viij ^d . so Rest	xxij ^d
Itm for a fyne lost by John Stone for eggyng of an other mannes app'tice frō his maist xxd therof delyu'ed to the yoman for somonyng diu'se tymes vjd. so Rest	xiiiij ^d
Itm for a fyne lost by Philip Richard and Robt lawen for Revilyng either of hē that other	x ^d
Itm for a fyne lost by John Cokk ^l ...	ij ^d
Item for a fyne lost by Jamys Waren for revilyg Herry Stroder xd delyu'ed to the yoman: iiiij ^d . Rest	vj ^d
Item for a fyne lost by Willm̃ Birchwold for setting to werke a child vnabld & vnbound	x ^d
Itm for a fyne lost by John Banys for cityng his Wardeyn to the Spūall Court	xij ^d
Itm for a fyne lost by Robt Well ^l ...	iiij ^d
Itm for a fyne lost by Thomas Olifax	iiij ^d
Itm for a fyne lost by philip Richard	iiij ^d
Itm for a fyne lost by Robt Bancrofte for werkyng by nygh the same Robt p ^d to the Chambre iij ^s iiiij ^d and to vs wardeyns for the tyme beyng xij ^d accordyng to our ordi ⁿ nce therof made	

Siñ Receyued for fynes—viij^s vjd

Receyved of Brether admittid & taken into the lyu'ey² this yere.

first of Richard Cole	vj ^s viij ^d
Itm of Thomas pkenson	vj ^s viij ^d
Itm of Robt Bancrofte	vj ^s viij ^d
Itm of Willm̃ fforde	vj ^s viij ^d
Itm of Willm̃ Birchwold	vj ^s viij ^d
Itm of John Walthm̃	vj ^s viij ^d
Itm of Willm̃ p ^r trich	vj ^s viij ^d
Itm of Davy Milys	vj ^s viij ^d
Itm of John gony	vj ^s viij ^d

Siñ iij li.

R^l of Brethern for qrtage³ & the masse.⁴

of Robt Setcole	xij ^d	
of Edmond Birde	xij ^d	
of Joh̃ pker als sena	xij ^d	
of John Blewbell	xij ^d	for masse ij ^d

25 others, among them "maistres Hawke" at

12^d & 2^d evidently the "Livery."

¹ Unabled=unapprenticed.

² Livery.

³ Quarterage—the annual payment of each member—so called, because paid quarterly.

⁴ The annual payment to Clement's Brotherhood. The Wardens apparently were exempt.

Davy Mylis viij^d j^d
 and 48 others, some at 4^d & 1^d—but most 8^d & 1^d—these were the
 freemen or “yeomanry,” one of them Richard flouler pays nothing.
 John Palmer again is noted as “forgevyn by the masteres.”

S^m of the masse money vij^s viij^d

S^m of these quart^{ag} l^s

ffor Ablyng and admission of App^{ntic}el

ffirst of Willm Awdry for his app^{ntice} Robt

Robottom

iijs iiij^d

(9 similar entries)

S^m R^{el} for these App^{ntic}el

xxxiijs iiij^d

Itm R^{el} of Robt pynchbek of almes money¹

vjs viij^d S^m

xl^s

Restyng in his hands

Itm at dyn^r for Sondag and Monday of the l^yu^{ey} R^{el} xlix^s

Item for Monday of them out of the l^yu^{ey} R^{el} xvij^s x^d

S^m R^{el} for the Dyn^r of both daies.

iiij li vj s x d

Itm R^{el} for the Barge hire at both tymes xix^s iiij^d

S^m to^l Receyued (Blank)

Payments made by the seid Accomptaunts.

ffirst paide to the Steynour for iiij baners stuffe &
 werkmanship

xxxiijs iiij^d

Item for Cofyn & a rolyng pyn for the same Ban^s

xx^d

Itm p^d to Ric Magson for entryng of the Juells and
 goods belongyng to the Crafte into this Boke

viiij^d

Itm p^d to the same Ric for a writyng sealid by the
 hoole Compeigny

xvj^d

Itm paid to the same Richard for a bill delyu^{ed} to
 the mair for goyng to flayres

ij^d

Itm p^d at Bruers halle for ij daies assemblyng

viiij^d

Itm p^d at Armourers halle likewise for ij daies

viiij^d

Itm p^d to m^r Pagenh^m for mendyng and reformyng
 an Article of our ordiⁿnces

viiij^d

Itm p^d to Gilis Clerke in the maires Court for writyng
 of the same Article into our Boke

iiij^d

Itm p^d to Willm Meriell Clerk for his wags by the yere

xvj^s

viiij^d

Itm p^d to hym toward his gowne

xiijs

iiij^d

Itm delyu^d to our brethern not dynyng w^t the Shirefs

vjs

viiij^d

Itm to our brethern not dynyng w^t the maire likewise

vjs

viiij^d

Itm p^d to Hugh yeoman of the Chambre for bryngyng
 John Banys to the Compto^r fro the Compto^r to my
 lord the maire & fro thens to Newgate & fro New-
 gate to the guyldhalle

vj^d

Itm p^d to Robt Horn yeoman of the Chambre for
 bryngyng of Willm app^{ntice} w^t the good wif
 Sweting into Newgate and fro Newgate to Guyld-
 halle

viiij^d

Itm p^d to the Waxchaundeler for ij torchetts weiyng
 iiij quarters di

vj^d

¹ The old poor box or alms box is still in existence.

Itm for x square ^{xx} tapres made ageinst Seint laurence Day ^h weying ^{iiij} xj ^{lb} and for vj lb di of newe wax ¹ put therto	^{iiij} s ^{iiij} d
Itm wastid in tryng of the wax of the old tapres ij lb price	^{ij} s
Itm for ij torehetts ageinst our lady Day thassumption weying di lb	^{iiij} d
Itm p ^d for the wyndyng shete for Edward Jurdans wife	^{viiij} d
Itm p ^d to moder campion on mighelmas day toward hir house Rent	^{xij} d
Itm p ^d to Willm pirry wekely fro mydsom' day vnto seint Martyns day that is xxj weks eu'y weke j d sm̄ xxjd & ij weks folowyng ^{iiij} d sm̄	^{ij} s ^j d
Itm p ^d to Ric flouler on Seint Martyns day & Sunday next after	^{viiij} d
Itm p ^d for barge hire w ^t the Shirefs and the Maire	^{xvj} s ^{iiij} d
Itm for Russhes & drynkyng money to the Barge men at both tymes	^{xvj} d
Itm p ^d for our masse ij decons ^{viiij} d to Robt Holme & his childer ^{iiij} s ^{iiij} d Itm to the ij pisshe clerks ^{iiij} d Itm to the Sexteyn for attyndyng our light by the yere & for Ryngyng ^{xij} d sm̄	^v s ^{iiij} d
Itm p ^d for our dyn' on both daies as appereth bfore in this boke pticularly	^{viiij} h ^{viiij} d
Itm to Ric Magson for writyng into this boke certeyn Articles of our ordināes and our dyn' pticularly and also for writig & makyng this accompte	^{ij} s ^{iiij} d
This accompte was Receyued and allowed so that there rested cler in the box	^{xiiij} h ^{vj} s ^{viiij} d
Whereof was delyu'ed afore the Compeigny to Randolf Austyne ^{iiij} li and to Thom̄s Halifax ^{iiij} li sm̄	^{vj} li

This is a fair specimen of a year's accounts. Later years are given, some in fuller detail, some quite shortly, only the total receipts and expenditure being noted. Some years are missing altogether, especially towards the middle of the century. I propose to go through the book and pick out here and there a few entries which are of interest.

And first comes the following entry, giving a detailed account of the provision made for the annual feed in the 15-16th year of Henry VII.

Paid for our souper.

flirst for breed	^{iiij} s ^{ij} d
Itm for ij bz meile & bultyng thereof	^{xx} d
„ for ale barell & a Kynderkyn	^{vj} s
„ for ij quarters of coles	^{viiij} d
„ a quartern of flagotes	^x d
„ xxx shuldres of moton	^{vij} s ^{vj} d
„ xxxij conyes	^v s ^{iiij} d
„ x dos pegions	^{vij} s ^{vj} d
„ for a buk	^v s ^{viiij} d
„ for C eggs	^{ix} d

¹ The religious observances at this time were held at St. Laurence Jewry.

„ v disshes of butt'	iiij ^s
„ vj galons of wyne	vij ^d ob
„ iij galons of creme	xiij ^d
„ for spices pep jlb ij ^s ij vnes of cloues & mace ix ^d	
iij lb of sugre ix ^d , di vne of saffron v ^d , ij lb of	
dats vij ^d , ij lb of Reisons of Co ^r , iiij ^d . Sin	iiij ^s ix ^d
„ p ^d to the butler	xi ^d
„ to the mynstrells	jx ^d
„ to the cook & labourers	v ^s jx ^d
„ to the waterberer	ii ^d
„ for oynons & herbes	ij ^d
„ salt vinegre mustard candell & tappes	vij ^d
„ for iiij C of peres	xvj ^d
„ to the porter	iiij ^d
„ for wasshing of clothes	xx ^d
„ for hire of the halle	iijs iiij ^d
Sin p ^d for the Souper	iiij iijjs ix ^d ob.

In 1506-7 the Master and Wardens got into hot water, as appears from the following entry:—

M^d the xxj^{te} yere of the Reygne of Kyng Henr' the vijth than being wardens Randolffe Austen mast' Edmond Birde & Robrt Setcoll in the tyme of ther yer' own Thomas Basset presentid them In to the Checker for takyn of hyme a fynne of iijjs iiij^d for the whiche summe thes persons be for named wer condemnped on the Kyng In xl ff for the whiche sm^a they solde the plate & w^t the mony that they toke for the Juells & the mony that was In the boxe they went & payd it vn to the tresorer & so ther they wer clerly dischargid ayenst ouer Son' ayng lord the Kyng.

And than mediatly suying nest in the xxij^{de} yere of the Kyng Thomas olifax John Botland Thomas Swetyng John Barker Wyllm Knyzte & John Preston w^t mony other thus seing the goods goon & loste by reson of the takyn of p'sumcion of the mynd of the forsaid Randolffe Austen the sayd fynne of iijjs iiij^d w^t owte onny consell of any of the feleshepe of the crafte the forsaid men Thomas & John w^t all Insui^{ng} toke consell and so causid hime to be callid be fore my lord chanceler In to the ster chamber & be psese of the lawe causid the sayd Randolffe w^t the other too to make & bryng forthe all the goods plate Redy mony and other thyng that be longyd vn to the Crafte as good as eu' it was be fore the sute to the gertte coost & damage of all the suters befor named & to ther grett hyndranse they beryng the costs of all the hool mat' vppon ther owne goods.

In the 22nd of Henry VII it was agreed to have the ordinances and rules altered. One of the craft, however, John Sandeford by name, seems to have objected, and a suit ensued which was tried at "Seynt Martyns grante"—the decision being in favour of the Wardens.

In 1510 occurs the following. M^d that thes same Robert Wellys John Payne and Davy Mylys In ther tyme being Wards opou the Sonday next afr the Concepcyon off ower lady In y^r yere off o^r lord god m^l v^{ex} and In the secound yere off the Reigne of K. H. viijth they gave new clothing blew and mayd a Dyn' and here aft' followith the pporeyn ther for

The fyrst covrse

In ps brawne & mustard stokdoves in serap goose capon & fryans

The second covrse

Creame off almonds Rost coney plouers small byrds & custard

Another "bell of fere" in 1519

Item to the fyrste corss schodyrs of moton and backe conys and pycke to
y^e second corss peyonys¹ rostyd and gret costerds w^t peyers & wyn

A long account follows of the various Items purchased.

In 1521 Robt. Wells is fined ij^d for "gowyn to Maydston feyer wn
scherchyd." And a further ij^d for "lackyng of prossessys at pollys."

This last rather enigmatical. Probably the Guilds had been summoned
to attend some function at St. Paul's, and Mr. Robert Wells absented
himself without due cause from the procession.

In 1525 a casual entry contains, I think, the earliest mention of a
word whose first appearance is generally put at more than a century
later.

Itm payd to the Bochsar for a greyt serlyn xvj^d

The Dinner this year (on August 26th) consisted of—

First course—Itm capon bullyd Rost gooss cony backe & greyt pycks

Second course—peyon gret costard & fryss samond

In 1528-9 occurs a curious entry—

Itm spent a pone the strange franchemen at the Halle & at the tauc^{rn}
the xxiiij day of february iij^s iiij^d

This is comprehensible from the following entry a few pages further on
Here begynythe the names of franche men

bylleter leyn	Hewe Howyll
Hownysdyche	Peter balde
long Sothwark	Peter Potter
battell brege	Mathew tetw
barmosegat stret	Nyckles pagyn
	Wyllm bollen
sant Thoms ospytall	Symond porstell
sant my overys	John fynar
	John Pykard
	Deryk Richardson
tempull bar	John Bowyer
	Antony florence
	Newell Gillet
	gyelem Lodwek
	suplese Duproni

These are clearly outsiders (Frenchman or foreigner = non-Londoner)
paying quarterage in return for certain privileges, but not members of the
Craft. The second, Pierre Bawde, is a historic character. He was
probably at this time working at the Owen's gun foundry in Houndsditch
(the site of which is still marked by "Gun Yard"). Some 20 years
later he migrated into Sussex, and there in connection with one Hogge
or Hoggett cast the first *Iron* ordnance. There is a curious triple
cannon by him at the Tower of London.

In or about 1530 they determined to provide a Hall for themselves,
which hitherto they had not possessed, meetings being held at the Halls

¹ Pigeons.

of other Companies, at Austin Friars and at private houses, and so we find—

Thes be the namys of them y^t wyll giue toward y^e Hall

Mr Knyght	xx ^s
„ brygewater	xx ^s
„ grygby	xx ^s
„ grayn	xx ^s
„ paxton	xx ^s
„ lowrence	xx ^s
„ Setecoll	vj ^s viij ^d
„ Rayllton	xij ^s iij ^d
„ Hammond	vj ^s viij ^d
„ fynche	xx ^s
„ goter	
„ colygwod	v ^s
„ Sewen	ij ^s iij ^d
„ wyght	ij ^s iij ^d
John Chambers	vj ^s viij ^d
Wyllm Adams	ij ^s iij ^d
Wyllm beford	ij ^s iij ^d
Roger Taylor	ij ^s iij ^d

The ground for the site of the Hall, in Broad Court, Lothbury, now known as Founder's Court, was purchased from the Grocers' Company. It was part of some property left to them by Sir Henry Kebyll, Lord Mayor some twenty years before. The statement in one of the old chroniclers (Stow, I think,) that it had formed part of the garden or burial ground of the Austin Friars is quite erroneous. The purchase was apparently completed (subject to a quit rent of 20s. yearly) in 1534, when we find the following:—

It. Rsuyd of m^r grayn by the hands of m^r paxton & m^r berys v wrytyngs y^t ys y^e deds of y^e howsse y^t ys our hall w^t all ther to belongyng y^e vj day of february.

The following entries in 1540, refer, I take it to some City pageant or watch setting.

pd to ij men at mydesumer y ^t bare y ^e cressets & one y ^t	
bare y ^e lyghts	ij ^s
It to ij men y ^t bare howys	xvij ^d
pd for creset lyghts y ^e stone ijd ob.	ij ^s xj ^d
It iij straw hats	iiij ^d

(There is a similar entry for 1538-9.)

Here we have traces (in 1538) of the dissolution of the monastic houses &c.

It p ^d for stons at bedleme ¹	ix ^s ij ^d
p ^d for stons & charyeng from garlyke hythe	ij ^s
p ^d for stonys from y ^e wardropp	iiij ^s ij ^d
p ^d for stonys from y ^e tower hyll ²	vj ^s viij ^d

Here we have an entry relating to a historical event—it is undated and the accounts about this period are much confused—but it, no doubt,

¹ The Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem.

² Probably from the Abbey of Grace.

belongs to 1540, and it is I think the only record that has yet come to light of any pageantry in connection with Queen Katharine Howard.

Thes be y^e chargys of y^e barge at y^e tryoumffe of quene Kateryn.
It for a grene ffysshe a goyle of salt sawmond & for a

haberdynel ¹	ij ^s	viii ^d
It for brede		vj ^d
It for bere ale & fagot		vj ^d ob
It for buter		ij ^d
It for hyere of y ^e barge	xiiij ^s	iii ^d
It p ^d for Rowers & sterys man	x ^s	
It p ^d for y ^e hyer of an yensterment		xx ^d
It p ^d for cord & pakthrede		j ^d
It for oysters		j ^d
It p ^d in drynkyng mony to y ^e Rowyers		iii ^d
It p ^d to y ^e clarke for playeng of y ^e yensterment		iii ^d

In 1541-2 there are long entries, totalling £4 9s. 6½d. for "chargys layde owte for y^e sute of y^e acte for metayll at y^e plamente." Further similar payments in the following year and again in 1548-9 which see.

The hand-writing which has for about 12 years been execrable now changes. Adam Wood the new Clerk appointed in 1544 is evidently a skilled scribe.

In this year (1543-4) first occur entries of two men whom the craft had to provide, whether for the King's service or for the City trained bands, I am not sure.

These be the chargs of the ffyrst soygears p^d be m^r here m^r of y^e craft.

Itm for harnes for too men	xviii ^s	
„ for mendyng y ^e same harnes w ^t buccle lether and naylles therto belongyng		xij ^d
„ for fyve yards of ffushtyayne for dowbletts	ij ^s	iii ^d
„ for an ell of canvas		vj ^d
„ for iiiij yards of lynyng	ij ^s	
„ for makyng of y ^e dowbletts	ij ^s	
„ for iiiij yards of hoose cloth & ij yards lynyng	vij ^s	
„ for ij bylls	ij ^s	viii ^d
„ for cloth and lynyng for too cootts	vij ^s	vij ^d
„ for canvas & makyng of ther hoose	ij ^s	j ^d
„ for ij hatts		xvj ^d
„ for ij suerds & dagars	vj ^s	
„ for poynts		j ^d
„ for iiij quarters of yallow carsey for hose		xv ^d
„ for a yard D of yallow cloth for to gard y ^e cotts		xiii ^d
„ for new translatyng ther garments	ij ^s	vii ^d
„ paid to y ^e sogears toward ther costs	ij ^s	

These be the chargs of the last sogears paid be m^r here

Itm for harnes for ij men	xix ^s	vj ^d
„ for one byll		x ^d
„ for ij dagars	ij ^s	
„ for makyng of ij cotts		xiiij ^d
„ for ij payre of bowtts	vj ^s	

¹ Qy. A salted Cod fish. "Aberdaan" in modern Dutch. V. Wardrobe Accounts, 28 Ed. I. Ed. J. Nichols, p. 118.

Payments of the said M^r hawys (younger warden)

Itm paid to the fyrst soygears comandyd be proclamacon xiiij^d

The chargs of y^e last soygears p^d be m^r hawis

sic Itm paid for vij of ifryes iiij^s viij^d

„ paid for ij swerds v^s vj^d

„ paid for prest monye ij^s

„ paid for ij swerd gyrdles & poynts xj^d

The Clerk winds up the year's account with the following:—

Nunc finem feci da michi q merui an^o dni 1544

1544-5 Rsuid for playing in the Hall from Seynt

Nycholas day tyll after chrystmas xxj^s viij^d

(This would be from the “Fraternity of St. Nicholas,” or Parish Clerks' Company).

Payments again for “Sogears”

Itm paid vnto ou^r sou'eigne lord y^e King in
the name of benevolens

xxiiij^s

1548-9 p^d for the chargs of the sute vnto the plyment

for the statute for carrying mettle overseye iiij^{li} xiiij^s

This was an act prohibiting the exportation of bell metal of which there were large accumulations owing to the dissolution of the Monasteries & Chantries, and Royal and other robberies from parish churches.

1549-50 R^e for torches solde to the company & old
peynted clothes sold to W^m pendred

xxj^s iiij^d

Significant of the final disappearance of the Brotherhood of St. Clement.

Payments in this year for the purchase of the
Quit rent on the Hall, and entries of plate
pledged to the sum of £16 15s. 6d., probably
to raise the purchase money.

1552-3 Itm paid for the chargs of o^r frame at y^e
coronaton of quene marye

xxiiij^s ix^d

1553-4 Itm p^d to ij Stravnge min to go agayenste m^r
Wyat

xiiij^s iiij^d

(payments for their equipment)

This refers doubtless to Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising against the Spanish Match.

1555-6 payde to the clarke for the masse kept for the
masters festivall daye and for all other
chargs therto belonging

iiij^s j^d

1556-7 Reseuide at the offringe at the masse

iiij^s v^d

payde vnto to the preste for syngynge masse

xvj^d

payde to the clark for his paynes

iiij^s iiij^d

payde to the chandler for waste of y^e waxe

viiij^d

payde for drynk for the clarks

ix^d

Symptoms of the reaction under Queen Mary.

1558-9 Many payments at the Queen's entry into the
City, barge hire, setting up the stand, &c.
“caryng the instruments and home ageyne”
“the syngynge men in the barge” “staves
for wyflers”

1559-60 Dinner payments in detail reappear—

payde for a surloyne of beffe

v^s iiij^d

- The mass payments of course disappear, in their stead we have
 paide vnto master verone for preaching v^s
- 1560-1 payde ffor iij staves ffor wefflers when the quyne went a prograc and com throw the Citie iij^d
- 1562-3 payd ffor a torkey hene ij^s
- 1564 Among the chargis of the masters dynner 17 Sepr 1564
- Item Im^pmis.
 mys payde to the precher v^s
- N.B.—A similar sum is paid to the cook
- 1564-5 Itm payd to Mr Champens & to Mr Avele Aldermen the come mony w^b is v^{li}
- Provision in case of famine. A certain stock of corn was compelled to be kept, and the City Guilds had each to contribute either corn or money. The granaries were on London Bridge.
- 1567-8 Itm payde to the lottery xl^s
 Probably some compulsory benefaction to Royal necessities.
- 1568-9 Itm p^d to Jeames marst of a winmle to stan in the chimney in parlare xij^d
 This wants explaining. Q^y a ventilator into the chimney.
 There is a curious mixture of Roman and Arabic numerals in the accounts for this year, *e.g.*
- Reseid in p^mis for the gayns of the metle 4^{li} xiijs 4^d
 Evidently the Court had been speculating in bell metal.
- 1570-1 R^ç for the buryall cloth of m^r peke xvjd^d
 „ for hyryng of the buryall cloth xij^d

This was solemnly ordered to be burnt as superstitious in 1645. Some of the City Companies still possess their palls. The Fishmongers' is the most elaborate.

The book ends with the accounts for the year 1576, so that it embraces exactly 80 years' records. I may mention that I have by no means, in the above extracts, given all that are of interest. I could easily have expanded this paper to twice its length, but what I have given is I think very fairly representative of the whole, and to do more would have risked being tedious.

Original Documents.

WARW:

Memorandum quod ad generalem quarterialem Sessionem pacis domini Regis tentam apud Warwicum in et pro comitatu predicto die martis proximo post festum sancte Trinitatis Scilicet vicesimo septimo die maii anno regni domini Caroli secundi dei gratia Anglie Scotie Francie et Hibernie Regis fidei defensoris etc, vicesimo quinto coram custodibus pacis dicti domini Regis necnon justiciariis suis ad diversas felonias transgressiones et alia malefacta in comitatu predicto perpetrata Audendum et terminandum assignatis inter horas novam et duodecimam ante meridiem ejusdem diei———Prehonorabilis Basilius Comes Denbigh Custos rotulorum comitatus Warwici predicti et lete . . . personaliter comparuit et protulit quandam certificationem de sua receptione sacramenti cene dominice juxta usum Anglice the usuage ecclesie Anglicane sub manibus Ministrorum et ecclesie gardiani parochie de Monkes Kirby in comitatu Warwici predicto ubi sacramentum predictum sit ut prefertur per ipsum receptum fuit et fecit probationem veritatis inde per duos credibiles testes in curia predicta tunc debita juratos et super inde examinatos Ac etiam prestitit sacramentum renunciationis omnimodi jurisdictionis forinsee Anglice vocatum the oath of supremacy necnon quoddam aliud sacramentum ligeancie Anglice the oath of allegiance. Quod quidem sacramentum ligeancie continetur in quodam statuto anno regni domini Jacobi nuper Regis Anglie tertio. . . . edito et. . . stabilito Neenon ad tunc et ibidem fecit et subscripsit declarationem subsequentem Scilicet I doe declare that I doe believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper or in the elements of bread and wine at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever juxta formam tenorem effectam et exegentiam ejusdem Actus Parliamenti in hac parte nuper edito et proviso Scilicet anno regni dicti domini Caroli secundi vicesimo quinto supra mentionata Intitulatus An act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants prout patet per recordum inde factum et in curia predicta debito modo affilato et ibidem remanente Per curiam Willielmus Challoner clericus pacis ibidem.

MEMORANDUM.

The Memorandum here given, proceeding from the general Court of Quarter Sessions for the County of Warwick, and signed by the Clerk of the Peace, bears date on the Tuesday next after the feast of the Holy Trinity, 25 Charles II., A.D. 1673. It declares that Basil Earl of Denbigh, Custos Rotulorum of the County, had produced a certificate of his reception

of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England, at the hands of the Ministers and Guardians of the parish Church of Monk's Kirby, and made proof of the same before the Court by two sworn credible witnesses. Also that the Earl accepted the oath of supremacy and that of allegiance as contained in the Statute of the third of King James, and subscribed the subsequent declaration against the doctrines of Transubstantiation as set forth in the Act of the 25th of Charles IInd, entitled 'An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants.'

The oath of supremacy was enacted in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, and acknowledged the King as the temporal Head of the Church of England. The oath of allegiance was enacted in the 3^d of James I., c. 4, 1606; it was an oath of submission and obedience to the King as the acknowledged and independent sovereign of the realm. The enactment under which the Earl of Denbigh was called upon to certify was at that time of very recent date. Charles the second's declaration of toleration, known to proceed from the Duke of York and his party, was regarded with extreme distrust, and the Presbyterians were not disposed to accept a boon which included the Roman Catholics. This distrust took the form of a Bill to which Charles was forced to agree, and which passed the House of Lords 15 March, 25 C. II, or about two months only before the meeting of the Court of Quarter Sessions. The Act was specially directed against the Roman Catholics, and directs all official persons to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Usage of the Church of England. The Memorandum is probably one of the earliest instances of the actual application of the new statute.

Challoner, the Clerk of the Peace, came from Stratford-on-Avon. In that Church are stones to Thomas Challoner, d. 18 July 1697 and to William Challoner, d. 13 May 1719, aged 49.

Basil, Earl of Denbigh, whose orthodoxy and loyalty are the subject of the Memorandum, was the second Earl. He was born before 1608: as Viscount Feilding was named Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Denbigh and Flint in 1642: succeeded his father in the Earldom 8th April 1643: was named Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire 12 June following; and Custos Rotulorum for the same County in 1660. He died 28 Nov. 1675, two and a half years after the date of the Memorandum. Monk's Kirby, before the Ministers of which the oaths had been taken, was the Earl's parish, and contained his residence of Newnham Paddox, still occupied by his descendant, the 8th Earl.

G. T. CLARK.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 4, 1886.

R. P. PULLAN, ESQ., F.S.A. V.P., in the Chair.

In accordance with the General Rules of the Institute, the following new Bye Laws, which had been duly approved of by the Council, were brought before the meeting, read by Mr. Gosselin, and carried unanimously :—

ROYAL ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BYE-LAWS.

I. “Members shall be elected on the personal recommendation of one member of the Council, or on the written recommendation of two other members of the Institute in the form or manner provided by the Council for that purpose.

II. “Every member shall within one month after election, pay an entrance fee of Two Guineas and a subscription of One Guinea for the then current year, subject to the following exceptions, namely :—Members elected at the Annual Local Meeting or between the 1st day of October and the 31st day of December shall not be charged a subscription for the remainder of the then current year, but shall pay the entrance fee immediately after election. In default of any such payments the Council may, after notice in writing to the member so elected declare his or her election void and cancel the same accordingly.

III. “In accordance with Clause 19 of the Articles of Association the Annual Subscription becomes due on the 1st of January in each year.

IV. “With reference to Clause 17 of the Articles of Association, the Council may at their discretion remove from the list of members the names of any of those whose subscriptions are in arrear for more than twelve calendar months.

V. “Subject to the Articles of Association and to the foregoing regulations, life and annual members are entitled to have the *Journal* gratuitously and to the privilege of borrowing such books from the library of the Institute as the Council may permit for the space of one calendar month, but the member borrowing the same shall be held responsible for any loss or damage that may arise thereto. Life and annual members are also entitled to the privilege of introducing friends to the ordinary meetings.

VI. “Members elected at the Annual Local Meeting, or between the

1st day of October and the 31st day of December, having paid their entrance fee, may exercise all the privileges of members, and are entitled to have gratuitously such quarterly parts of the *Journal* as may appertain to the period of their membership, but not to any back part or arrears, if any, of the publication.

VII. "Back parts of the *Journal* and other publications of the Institute will be supplied to members on the terms from time to time printed by authority of the Council on the wrappers of the *Journal*."

VIII. "Every gentleman taking part in the excursions of the Annual Local Meeting shall previously pay one guinea for his meeting ticket, and every lady taking part in the same shall previously pay half-a-guinea for her meeting ticket, whether or not such gentleman or lady is a member of the Institute, either by annual subscription or composition, a member of the Local Society, or a visitor introduced for the week; but the Council has power to grant free tickets to such persons as it may deem advisable. No person will be allowed to take part in any of the driving excursions unless previously provided with a proper carriage ticket."

The Rev. J. R. BOYLE read a paper on "The Crypt of St. Wilfrid's Church, Repton," detailing the Saxon history of the place from the time of Peada, setting aside the statement of "Ingulph" that the Danes destroyed the monastery, and contending that the crypt and chancel are of early Saxon date. Mr. Boyle gave a lengthy architectural description of the buildings, in the course of which he dealt critically with certain of the usually considered distinctive features of Saxon work.

In the course of the discussion which followed, Mr. T. M. Rickman, upon whom the mantle of his distinguished father has apparently fallen in large measure, said that he had twice visited the building, the second time taking Mr. Irvine's paper with him. When he first saw it (not remembering its history at the moment) in the dim light, the most striking object in the crypt was the Elizabethan knight's figure on a brick foundation, and the curious shafts with an entasis and diminished as well as spiral in form, and his first idea was that the building was a chapel of Renaissance date. The look of the south side of the chancel gave the idea that the pilaster strips were the remains of jambs of a wide window, blocked up, but the similarity of the facing between them to that of the rest of the walling dispelled that notion.

The pilasters, Mr. Rickman continued, proved it to be Saxon work. Mr. Irvine's idea was that the columns and arches are Norman insertions. Mr. Boyle thought they were very early. The speaker's father (Gothic Architecture, 4th edition, p. 304) wrote:—

"The East-end of the Church of Repton, in Derbyshire.

"Here the long and short appearances are very small, only two ribs by the side of the chancel window, which is an insertion; but there is a crypt which is more like Roman work in some parts than Norman; and there are early Norman portions in the Church, and all these portions are so blended with later work, that it is very difficult to say when one ends and the other begins; but I have no doubt that some part of this church is of Saxon date."

Even after the light which has been now thrown upon the building

these remarks seem very apposite. The square internal responds with pannelled sides and semicircular heads have a very classic look.

Mr. Irvine had pointed out the batter inwards of the interior of the crypt. The overhanging shewn in the drawings exhibited might be attributed to the battening and wainscoting. It would be of interest to find how much of the interior of the crypt was plastered and how the masonry of the pilasters and of the vaulting is bonded to the outer walls.

If the crypt were part of a more complicated building, or of the original abbey as suggested, there would be signs of arches outside, but though Mr. Irvine had pointed to marks of roofs outside, the speaker could only see cracks or settlements, perhaps caused by the insertion of the present door and windows, and he thought the lines of roof too indistinct for identification.

The arches across the crypt had the springers next the walls in large stones with a horizontal top bed really forming corbels for the remainder of the arch to spring from, and the responds were made of large stones and all not apparently coursing with the rubble of the walls.

Referring to the two passages running westward from the crypt, one of them is said to have been open to the north aisle within memory. Neither Mr. Boyle's nor Mr. Irvine's plan shewed the outline of the east end of the nave and its returns up to the east ends of the aisles in connection with these passages, a point yet to be cleared up in connection with the marks reported by Mr. Irvine and alleged to be caused by the ends of the timbers of the ancient construction.

The levels of the string course below the springing of the crypt arches must be carefully examined with a view to determine the relative dates of the masonry, and the levels and mitring of the string course high up outside as determining the relative date of the chancel and the east gable of the nave. In conclusion Mr. Rickman said that the springing stones at the top of the pilasters next the eaves pointed either to a lowering of the side walls, or they might be portions of late masonry inserted when the gable coping of the chancel (late work) was executed.

The doubts as to whether the walls of the chancel are coeval with those of the crypt, the question, indeed which formed the chief feature in the discussion, are, it appears, shortly likely to be settled by a further examination, implying, it may be supposed, something akin to the senseless and dreaded process of "restoration."

Mr. J. PARK HARRISON gave a description of a remarkable find of "sun-beads" at Minster, and explained the method of their formation. In the discussion which followed, the resemblance of these ornaments to the prized aggrs beads of Ashantee brought up the consideration of the possible Roman origin of such objects, and the consequent, though somewhat wide question whether all such beads might not derive from the same civilizing centre.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Boyle and Mr. Harrison.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the REV. J. R. BOYLE.—Drawings, plans, and engravings in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. J. PARK HARRISON.—Sun beads from Minster.

By Mr. J. SAUNDERS, through Mr. HARTSHORNE.—A picture on

canvas, 24in. by 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., of the east side of the cloisters at Westminster, showing, with much excellence of drawing and handling, the walled up entrance to the Chapter House as it appeared about 1750.

In a letter to Mr. Gosselin, Mr. Hartshorne sent the following remarks :—"This picture shows the entrances to the Chapter House as I remember them before they were opened out, and, I think, showing rather more of the actual *closing* than was visible thirty years ago. It is a good picture and is painted with considerable art, which is, however, quite kept in the back ground. The figures consist of an ecclesiastic in gown, surplice, and bands, and wearing a full-bottomed wig, pointing out the beauty of the portal to a civilian in a brown suit, white stockings, a heavy cocked hat and a tie wig; a young man in much the same costume as the last but wearing his own long brown hair, and a wide-brimmed flat black hat, stands apart from the others and reads a book. Two other figures, a gentleman and a chorister, are seen in the doorway of the abbey. The figures are more delicate than the architecture which latter is painted in a bold sketchy way with a full brush, and it is, I think, sketchy, not so much because the man could not paint details, but because he did not care to take the trouble. Anyone who has tried to draw the details of the singularly beautiful portal of Henry the Third's "*capitulum incomparabile*" can understand why the artist was willing to let those matters alone, and trouble himself more particularly about the figures which I take to be in the costume of the latter part of the reign of George II."

With further regard to the figures in the picture they appear to be of some interest inasmuch as the principle one in all probability represents that distinguished Dean of Westminster, Joseph Wilcocks, through whose energy Sir Christopher Wren's western towers of the Abbey, in which the Dean took so just a pride, were finished in 1739, and so much other work done which had perhaps better have been left alone. It will be remembered that the towers appear on Dean Wilcocks' monument in the Abbey, in his portrait in the deanery, and in the picture of the Abbey painted specially for the Dean by Canaletti. This picture was bequeathed to the deanery by the Dean's son, also an admirable man, in 1793 and one is willing to stretch a point and believe that the studious youth in the cloisters may be the Dean's son, "the blessed heretic," and friend of Pope Clement XIII. As to the painter of the picture it has hardly the crispness of Canaletti, but it may be taken at least as the work of a Venetian, if only an assistant of Canaletti himself.

By Mr. R. READY.—A large picture of Chester in the early part of the last century, taken from the racecourse, and of considerable local interest as showing the enormous changes which have since been brought about in that ancient city.

By Mrs. KERR.—Drawings of rude stone monuments in Servia, possibly of pre-historic date. These accurate representations were made by a geologist who accompanied the Baron von Hammer in his travels through Turkey in Europe.

March 4, 1886.

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. J. BAIN read a paper on "The Grahams, or Grames of the Debateable Land." This is printed at p. 116.

Mr. G. WARDLE read a paper on "The Ancient Buildings of the Charter House." A discussion followed in which the Chairman, Mr. St. John Hope, and Mr. Walford took part, speaking in high terms of the admirable manner in which Mr. Wardle had dealt with his subject. The paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Bain and Mr. Wardle.

Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN sent a paper on "Roman Inscriptions found in Britain in 1885." This paper, Mr. Watkin's thirteenth supplement to Dr. Hübner's work, and his Tenth Annual List will appear in due course in the *Journal*.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. G. WARDLE.—Plans, views, and casts in illustration of his paper.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,
and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton. By the late ROBERT WILLIS,
M.A., F.R.S. Edited by J. WILLIS CLARK, M.A. London : C. J. Clay and
Son, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

This long looked for History has at length appeared in four sumptuous volumes, rendered doubly attractive by the complete sets of maps and admirable illustrations which enrich the text. The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, have with great public spirit sanctioned the printing of the work at their Press, and have published with unbounded liberality the most important addition to archæological literature which this generation has seen.

Professor Willis died eleven years ago, leaving behind him a large mass of materials for his proposed work, and a scheme of the general arrangement of the whole history drawn up for his own use ; but in too many cases his essays were so incomplete that an unusual amount of labour and responsibility was cast on his executor, Mr. J. W. Clark, before a continuous narrative could be constructed out of very fragmentary matter. It is impossible to speak too highly of the spirit in which Mr. Clark has fulfilled his task ; and there are few pages of the book which do not contain evidence of his careful and conscientious research.

The first volume opens with an Introduction which treats, among other matters, of "The Mediæval conception of a University and a College," of "Foundations which preceded Colleges," and gives an "Historical sketch of the foundation of Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge." Nothing is said respecting the origin of Universities, nor does the subject come strictly within the scope of an architectural history ; for though it is obvious that Universities preceded the foundation of the earliest College by a considerable interval, they did not concern themselves with the way in which students were fed and housed.

The students sent by Monasteries and Chapters from the earliest times to the Universities, had to find lodgings for themselves, and the inconveniences of this system led ultimately to the collegiate arrangement which is the special subject of this history. "As the arrangement of collegiate buildings was made with reference to the collegiate system, it is as impossible to understand their architectural history without some examination of this system, as it would be to attempt the architectural history of a Benedictine or a Cistercian monastery without reference to the rules of life, for the carrying out of which the entire system of the edifices was invented. The collegiate life, like the monastic life, is a common and a regular life, and it is a most interesting investigation to trace the

gradual development of the collegiate system, and the accompanying contrivance of the group of buildings which is called a College," vol. i, iv.

The discomforts of the lodging-houses, led to the establishment of Hostels, at Cambridge, and to Halls, at Oxford, apparently by voluntary action on the part of the students themselves. No particulars have been preserved of the structural arrangements of these Hostels "or literary inns." They appear to have consisted of one or more dwelling-houses, under the charge of a Principal, who gave the landlord security for the payment of his rent; and they were probably used without any structural alteration. Bernard's Hostel at Cambridge seems, however, to have had a hall, chapel, library, and gallery, and must have resembled a small College, as Physwick's hostel did. In the thirteenth century, when the collegiate system had become established, many of these hostels attached themselves to Colleges for the sake of the protection which such a position afforded, and were regulated in part by the Colleges to which they belonged.

Fuller enumerates thirty-four hostels at Cambridge whose sites have been identified with considerable accuracy.

"The hostels were occupied by students who could support themselves. A College on the other hand in its primitive form was a 'foundation,' erected and endowed by private munificence solely for the lodging and maintenance of deserving students, whose lack of means rendered them unable to pursue the University course without some extraneous assistance." Vol. i., xiv.

Each college contained within its walls the necessary buildings for the lodging and food of its members and of their servants. Each was governed by its own code of statutes. The students attended the public lectures of the University, and the older ones had to assist the younger ones in their private studies.

Bequests for practical assistance to learning were made both at Cambridge and Oxford in the early part of the 13th Century; but the Collegiate system was really begun by Walter de Merton, Lord High Chancellor of England, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester, who died in 1277. He devoted more than twelve years to the elaboration of plans for his college at Oxford, and his final intention was to secure for the secular priesthood the academical privileges then largely enjoyed by the religious orders.

The Bishop of Rochester's foundation attracted the attention of Hugh de Balsam, Bishop of Ely, who desired to give the University of Cambridge the benefits of the system so happily established at Oxford twenty years previously. He attempted "to introduce into the dwelling-place of the secular brethren of his Hospital of S. John studious scholars living according to the rule of the scholars of Oxford called of Merton."

These two founders established the new or Collegiate system at their respective Universities, and prepared the way for the foundation of the colleges whose growth is discussed at great length by Professor Willis in the first and second volumes of the work to which our remarks refer.

"It appears from the notes left by the Professor," (as we are told by his Editor) "that he originally intended to have developed" his introduction into a complete historical sketch of the special motives of the different founders of Colleges; but this intention was never com-

pleted ; and we have only brief notices of William of Durham's bequest to Oxford, of the beginnings of Balliol, and of Giffard's institution in 1283 of "a nursery and mansion place" for thirteen student monks of the Benedictine Abbey of S. Peter at Gloucester.

In 1291 John Giffard enlarged his grant of land to admit of the erection of a general monastic College at Oxford for all the Benedictine Abbeys in England ; and according to Dugdale three parts of the "abbies and priories in England of this Order resorted hither, and the remainder went to Cambridge," to Buckingham College. Of this latter College, refounded as Magdalen College in 1542, we have an interesting memoir ; but of John Giffard's foundation, which still survives as Worcester College ; of "Stapeldon Halle" which, in spite of the founder's injunctions, soon came to be called Exeter Hall, and subsequently Exeter College provokingly little is said. The short digression on the subject of monastic Colleges, towards the establishment of which a great step was made during the reign of King Edward III, is so valuable that everyone must regret that it has not been extended to the whole subject of monastic education.

A chapter on the establishment of S. Bernard's College afterwards S. John's College Oxford, for Cistercians, in 1436 by Archbishop Chichele would have been a welcome insertion in the records of Cambridge treasures ; but the Professor's interest in the Oxford movement is almost exclusively given to those great works of William of Wykeham which cast into the shade all the experimental essays of his predecessors. The Colleges which Merton and his immediate imitators built, rose slowly and piece-meal and were never completed during the life-time of their founder ; but William of Wykeham possessed great practical knowledge of architecture, as well as perfect familiarity with the intention and practice of earlier founders, and his college was conceived upon a large and comprehensive system which served more or less as a model for all succeeding foundations.

As Walter de Merton was the first, not to conceive a college, but actually to build one, so William of Wykeham was the first to build the English Public School which had suggested itself to Walter de Merton. Walter de Merton's first idea was the establishment of a school, 50 miles from Oxford, for his eight nephews, who might follow out their studies at Oxford or any other University ; and this original conception is obviously the germ of the twin foundations of Winchester School and New College, which we owe to William of Wykeham.

The Bishop laid the first stone of New College in March, 1379-80 ; in six years the work of construction was complete, and "for the first time the Chapel, the Hall, the Library, the Treasury, and the Warden's Lodgings, sufficient ranges of chambers, the cloister, and the various domestic offices, are provided for and erected without change of plan ;" Vol. iii, 258. The preparatory college at Winchester was begun in 1387, and, like the college at Oxford, was finished in six years.

The history of the Royal Colleges of Eton and King's, which were more or less suggested to Henry VI. by the colleges of Winchester and Oxford, is worked out most admirably by Professor Willis, and we are strongly inclined to think that it is the most valuable memoir in the first volume ; but the accounts of the transformation of the old nunnery at Barnwell into Jesus College by Bishop Alcock ; of the foundation of



North Oriel of the Hall, and the Master's Rooms at Corpus Christi College.



Gate of Virtue, from Cain's Court.



Corpus Christi College by the brethren of two local guilds; of the absorption of two early colleges into Trinity College; and the instructive and curious history of changes at Clare College, are so full of curious and unexpected information that we hesitate to assign pre-eminence to any one of them.

The third volume of the History will probably be more attractive than either the first or the second to general readers, as it contains eleven "Essays on the component parts of a College," which are emancipated, from the considerations of contracts and the details of conveyances. The first of these Essays "On the Collegiate Plan," is one of those masterly productions which none but Professor Willis could have written. From this we learn that the collegiate quadrangle was not adopted in either University until after the middle of the 14th century.

At Cambridge the first closed quadrangle containing all the buildings required for the collegiate life was that of Pembroke College, begun immediately after the foundation in 1346. At Oxford the same arrangement was first employed by William of Wykeham in 1379: Vol. iii, 266-7. "The favourite type of a quadrangle at Cambridge has the hall parallel to and remote from the street of entrance, and therefore on the opposite side to the gateway. The buttery shows its window in the quadrangle, prolonging the hall; and the kitchen, extending in the same direction beyond the buttery, is usually in the corner of the quadrangle, so as to show no windows inwards. The Master's lodge is in contact with the opposite extremity of the hall." Vol. iii, 267.

At Oxford, with three exceptions, no hall is placed on the side opposite to the entrance. At Cambridge the entrance is generally not placed in the exact centre of the side of the quadrangle. At Oxford, on the contrary, the later colleges have their entrances in the middle of one side, the only unsymmetrical examples being Balliol College, Merton College, Oriel College, Queen's College, and New College.

"The chapel, when it enters into the quadrangle, is usually at Cambridge, on the north side. . . . It is always set, if possible, so as to leave the east gable free for a great window, which will of course shew itself in the street, or at one corner of the College, according to circumstances. . . . At Oxford, Wykeham set the example of a blank east wall to his chapel.

"The transeptal antechapel introduced by Wykeham, was employed in Oxford at All Souls College, Magdalen College, Wadham College, and the transepts added by Waynflete to the chapel of Eton College were probably suggested by Wykeham's work. Transepts were also added to the old chapel of Queen's College in 1518. At Cambridge there is no example of a transeptal antechapel;" Vol. iii, 268-9.

The transept of the chapel of Jesus College is part of the Nuns' church which preceded the College.

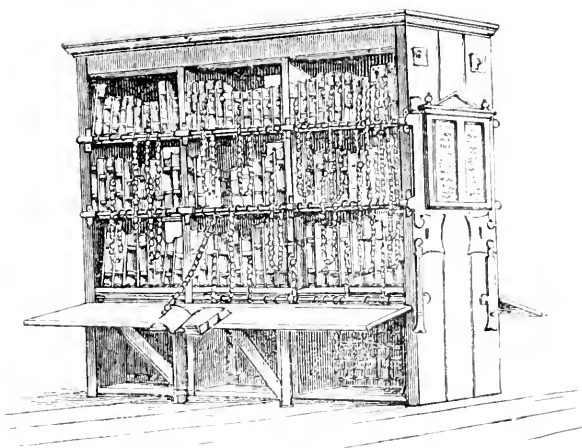
The first additional court built at Cambridge after the Reformation was that which Dr. Caius erected on the south side of Gonville Hall in 1565. In building this court he introduced the new principle that the south side should be open, "lest for lack of free ventilation the air should become foul." This innovation of the physician was not approved at Oxford, for while it was generally approved at Cambridge, eight completely closed quadrangles were being built there.

Every page of the essays on "The Hall," "The Combination Room,"

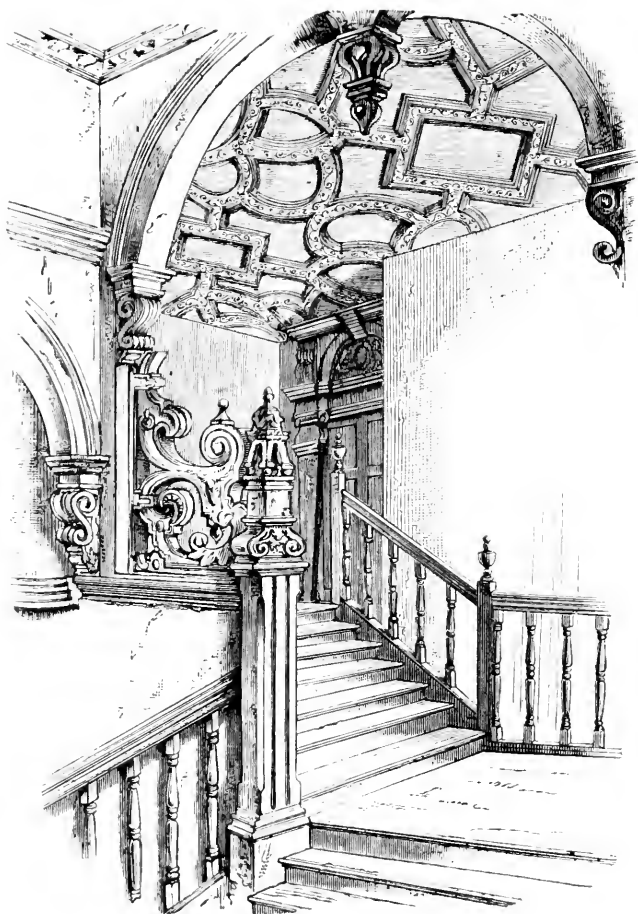
and "The Master's Rooms" shews the tenacity with which monastic regulations lingered in academic life, almost to our own day. A portion of the Bible was read aloud by one of the scholars during dinner; silence was observed during the meal, or if speech could not be avoided, remarks were to be made in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or at least French. The statutes of Merton College prescribe that if scholars wish to converse in their chambers they are to use Latin; and at New College the use of the Latin language was directed not only in the Hall, but in all other parts of the College, cloister and gardens. The chapter on "The Chambers and Studies" present us with pictures of Elizabethan society which are singularly suggestive. The Chambers of the early Colleges, with the exception of King's College were built on two floors, without garrets which were added subsequently. The windows of the Chambers were unglazed and closed with wooden shutters, their floors were either of clay or tiled, their walls and ceiling were unplastered and they rarely had fire places. In 1539-40 a wooden floor was laid down in one of the rooms of Queen's College, and the first entry in the College accounts relating to the transaction is a charge for removing the clay with which it had been previously floored. A history of Corpus Christi College, written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, contains a general statement that though the Master's Lodge, and the Fellows' Chambers were at that time glazed and panelled, no work of the kind had been executed in any part of the College before the beginning of the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

Each chamber, with few exceptions, was occupied by several persons, who dwelt, slept, and pursued their studies therein. Each occupant had a separate bed, and one, of more mature age than the others, was to take care of the rest. The studies were little cabinets, or cupboards, enclosed at the corners of rooms, not necessarily parts of the structure, but rather of the nature of fixtures which could be set up and removed at pleasure. The Perse buildings at Caius' College, lately destroyed, had three studies in each chamber. The beds must all have been placed in the great room, privacy being sought only in the study. The entire furniture of a chamber was extremely simple—A standing bedstead, a trundle bedstead, which, when not wanted for use, would be placed under the former, a leaden water-cistern, with a trough of the same material to wash in, a plain wooden table, a few stools, a desk, and one or more shelves, were considered to be all that was required. These small cells for study were distinctly derived from monastic arrangements, and retained all their austere simplicity. The "interior of one of the garrets in the Legge building at Gonville and Caius College, from a sketch by Professor Willis," is one of the illustrations of this delightful essay; and it ought to have had a companion "interior" of a Fellow's or Undergraduate's room in this year, 1886, enriched with all the resources of civilization that contribute to the academic dissipation of the May Term.

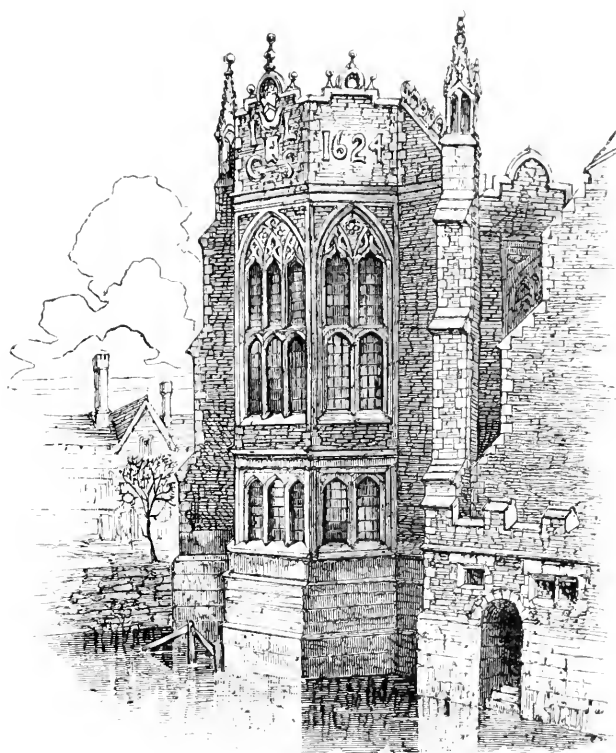
The chapter on "The Library" has been written almost entirely by the Editor from a few notes left by the Professor, and explains, at great length, the curious system of chaining books to book cases, which prevailed in some cases, even into the eighteenth century. The inconvenience of having to consult books fixed to one particular spot in a chamber with no more protection against extremes of temperature than thick walls and stout flooring can hardly be realised by the modern



One of the original Bookcases in the Library of Hereford Cathedral.



Part of the Staircase to the Library, St. John's College.



West end of the Library, St. John's College.



student who is seated at his ease with piles of folios within easy reach ; yet these were the conditions under which our forefathers worked. There is no difficulty in suggesting reasons why books of value should be secured from thieves by some machinery of this kind : but the marvel is that students bore the physical strain of literary pursuits carried on under such drawbacks. How many "readers" in the British Museum would survive if they were confronted by the shackled folios of a mediæval library !

We wish we could indulge in extracts from the accounts of College gardens, bowling greens, summer houses, and galleries which give such interest to these volumes, but there is no way of enjoying the stores of information contained in these essays except reading them in their complete forms.

Professor Willis contemplated writing a chapter on the introduction and gradual development of what is known as the Renaissance style at Oxford and Cambridge during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries ; but he completed no more than a few small portions which show what a valuable treasure it would have been. These fragments have been printed, and are combined with short notices of architects mentioned by name who were employed upon the buildings erected at Cambridge and Oxford during this period.

The first architect mentioned in connection with collegiate buildings is Theodore Haveus, of Cleves, who was employed by Dr. Caius to erect a sundial of peculiar construction, in the court of which the foundation was laid in 1565. His employer calls him an "eminent architect," but there is no ground for assuming that he designed any part of Caius College, except the dial. Twenty years after Dr. Caius had commenced his buildings we meet with the name of Ralph Symons, a native of Berkhamstead, who, after the completion of his first work, the building of Emmanuel College—begun about 1584—was next employed at Trinity College, and it was under his direction that the great court was set out and completed about 1600. If he was the architect of the hall, he resumed work at Trinity College in 1604. He built the new College of Sidney-Sussex, (1596-98) as far as it was carried in the first instance. Between 1598 and 1602 he executed his principal original work, the second court of S. John's College, and it has been suggested by Professor Willis that he may have designed Nevile's court at Trinity College. These two courts have fortunately been preserved ; but not without alterations. At Oxford, John Acroide of Halifax appears as the architect of the new buildings at Merton College in 1609, of the Bodleian, and probably of some part of New College. The brick building at Emmanuel College, Cambridge is the work of one John Westley, 1632-33, who probably built the range at S. Catharine's Hall on the west side of Dr. Gostlin's court and began the rebuilding of Clare Hall in 1638. Thomas and Robert Grumbold who came originally from Raunds in Northamptonshire, were employed at most of the Colleges at Cambridge. Oxford had two amateur architects, Henry Aldrich, *b.d.*, and George Clarke, *LL.D.*, who were contemporaries of Wren, Hawkesmoore, and Gibbs ; and Cambridge, Sir James Burrough, Master of Caius College, who executed a variety of works in the truest Italian style and without the slightest feeling for ancient arrangements. James Essex who was almost as universally employed as the Grumbolds upon the College buildings,

was the son of a Cambridge builder. It was he that rebuilt Nevile's Court and swept away the florid Jacobean decoration and the picturesque gables of Ralph Symons.

In a brief notice like this it is difficult to do more than hint at the various stores of information which these delightful volumes contain. The history is no doubt mainly an architectural one; but at the same time it is an essay on the social life of the middle ages, full of attraction for that class of archaeological students who are not wedded to the exclusive departments of masonry and wood-work.

The specimens of the illustrations which we give show how admirably the text is interpreted by the engraver. The Fountain, which stands in the great court of Trinity College, is one of the works of Dr. Nevile, who became Master of the College in 1593, and gave it the court still known by his name. It was rebuilt by Robert Grumbold, in 1715-16, and several of its original details left out; but it is nevertheless a remarkable feature of the court in which Dr. Nevile placed it.

The President's Lodge at Queen's College occupies the "gallery" of the College. The interior fittings belong to the time of Elizabeth or James I, and are most valuable examples of domestic architecture.

The church of S. Benedict, still structurally connected with Corpus Christi College, is one of the oldest in England, but it has been so much altered by additions that the tower is the only part of the original building which remains.

THE REGISTER OF EDMUND STAFFORD, an Abstract and Index of its Contents, by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON-RANDOLPH, M.A., Prebendary of Exeter. London: Bell & Sons.

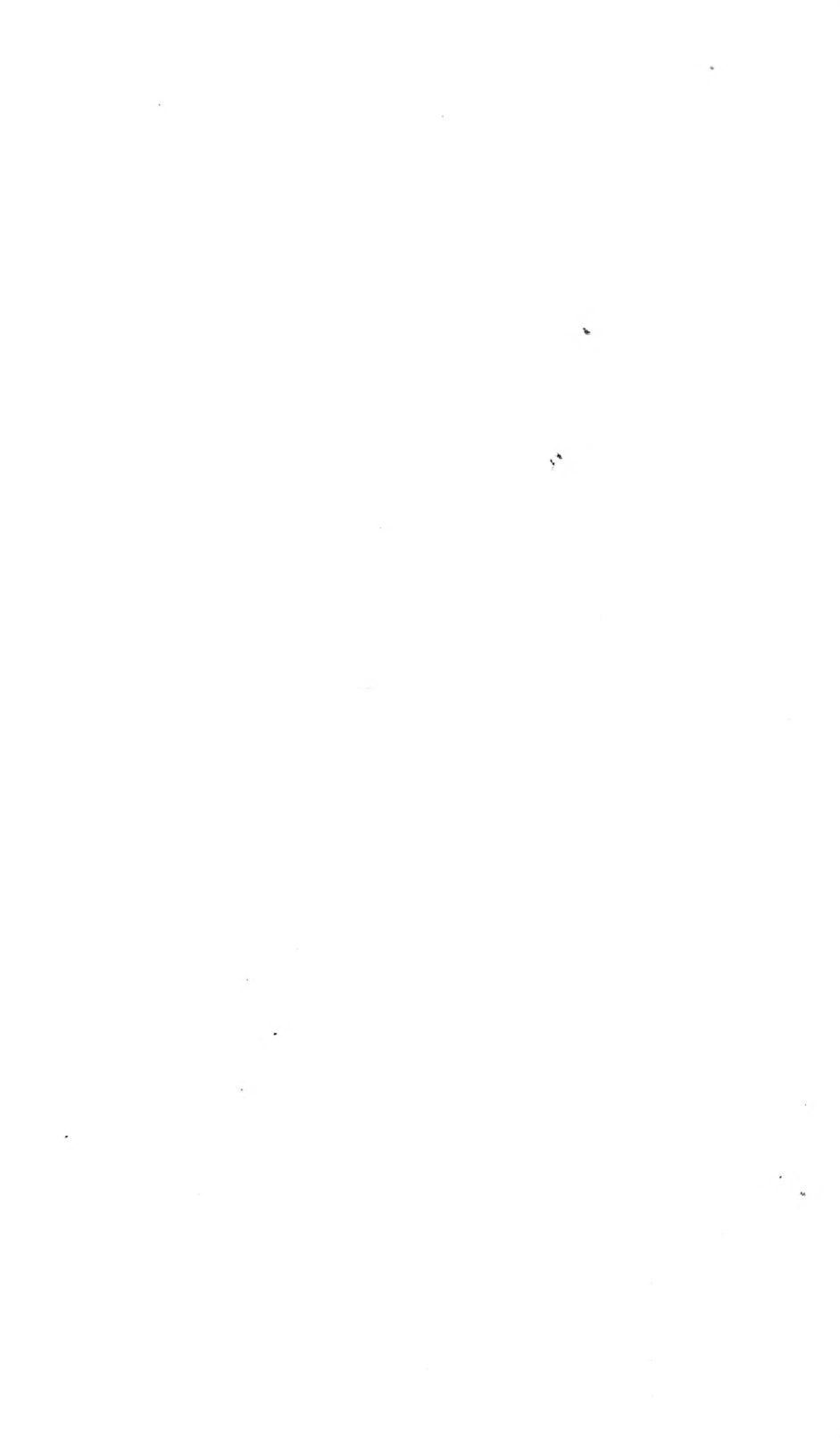
Edmund Stafford was Bishop of Exeter from 1395 to 1419, and his register begins with a notice of his consecration and ends with his death, for he died in harness, having instituted two men to benefices that same day. The greater part of Mr. Hingeston-Randolph's book is an index to the two volumes of manuscript, all the names, whether of persons or places mentioned therein, being set down in alphabetical order. Then certain wills are indexed separately, and then the ordinations. And the book ends with an itinerary of the bishop during his whole episcopate, and a short appendix. A good deal in a work of this sort is necessarily of only local value and appears as a dry list of names. But there is also a good deal of more general interest, and the abstract, which Mr. Hingeston-Randolph gives of this as it occurs, makes the book anything but dull reading to one who wishes to get a first-hand idea of the state of society in the diocese of Exeter at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Like many other prelates of the middle ages Stafford was a statesman, and held office under the Crown, and some years passed after his consecration before he entered his diocese, the business of which was meanwhile carried on by a succession of vicars general, and the necessary episcopal acts done by a suffragan, in this case as in many others an Irishman. For in those days absentee Irish and Scotch bishops seem to have been turned to account in much the same way as returned Colonial and missionary bishops are now.

After 1403 Stafford lived constantly in his diocese, and worked hard until old age prevented him from moving about in it as much as he had

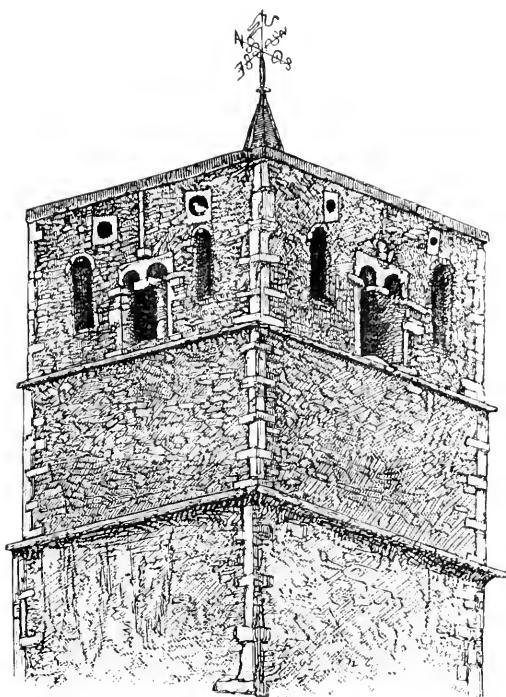


Fountain in the Great Court of Trinity College, begun 1601—2.





South side of the President's Lodge, Queen's College.



B.P. PHOLPS DEL.

Upper stages of Tower, St. Benedict's Church.

formerly done. The business which he had to do, and which is recorded in his register, was of the most miscellaneous kind, and much of it what now we should think rather secular than ecclesiastical. But all this adds to the interest of the book, and anyone who will read it carefully cannot fail to get some new light as to how folk lived when the register was written.

There are "ordinations" defining the respective rights and duties of rectors, vicars, and parishioners, probates of wills, indulgences, excommunications, licences, and dispensations of all kinds. In one place (p. 39) the bishop admits a lady to the vow of perpetual widowhood. In another (p. 66) he gives his consent to the retirement of a rector "notoriously infirm and quite unfit for work," with a pension to be paid out of the living. And many times he has to make enquiries as to alleged pollution of a church or graveyard by the shedding of blood. These last so often end in a report that no pollution has taken place as to suggest that the aggrieved or worsted party in a brawl used to bring this charge by way of revenge,

For these and many other matters we refer our readers to Mr. Hingston-Randolph's book. His abstracts are made with much judgment, and his notes, though few, are good. We have only noticed one mistake. On page 423 it is suggested that *quaternum de organis* means a quire of *organ music*. It should be a quire of *part song*.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY: Being a Classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. Edited by GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.: ARCHÆOLOGY, Part I and Part II. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1886.

We have on more than one occasion called attention to volumes of this very useful series. The fourth volume, "English Traditional Lore," which also contained an interesting collection of articles upon "Customs of Foreign Countries," came out about a year ago and concluded the four Folk-lore volumes. Since then the industry of Mr. Gomme and his helpers has given us two goodly volumes upon Archaeology; Part I, which appeared in March, and Part II, just issued.

We have now reached a subject with which our Society is more specially concerned, and Mr. Gomme prefaces Part I with a good general Introduction, from which we gather at the outset that we have to bear in mind, in considering these scattered papers on prehistoric and early historic archaeology, that many of the contributors are far enough from meeting the requirements of modern science. We hear a good deal of the Druids, that handy safety-valve of early archaeological speculators, but we can bear with that, for it is well to ascertain, as the editor points out—though this is not exactly what the early explorers intended—the condition of well known monuments at particular dates, and what the unscientific antiquaries did in the way of plundering or injuring them. Mr. Gomme speaks of the difficulty in classifying upon a satisfactory basis all the papers reprinted in the volume before us. It could not be otherwise. There is a vast mass of material to deal with, and many of the early contributors have but a hazy idea of what they are talking about. But the modern scientific enquirer, while he is grateful to Mr. Gomme for the able and sensible manner in which he has arranged the

papers, will easily gauge for himself the value of the material collected for him.

The editor reminds his readers that whereas in the Folk-lore volumes the important papers are culled from Mr. Urban's early issues, the contributions of value on Archaeology are to be found in the later ones. The reason of course is that the early writers on folk-lore were in numerous cases actual witnesses of what they described, and their plain descriptions of proceedings which have long been abandoned are consequently almost as valuable to us as if we ourselves had been present. We know how to value the other early contributors' wild imaginings about the Druids. With further regard to archaeology generally, the communications upon it of value are rare in the early magazines, and it is interesting to notice how, as they increase in number in the progress of time, their value increases with them, until we find ourselves face to face with the reliable papers from our own friends.

Mr. Gomme begins with *Geologic and Pre-historic Remains*. This section includes such things as fossil vegetation, extinct animals, fossil animals; then come *Early Historic Remains*, in which the articles treat chiefly of ancient boats,—a matter to which attention has been lately more particularly called by the discovery at Brigg,—and flint and bronze implements. The editor takes the opportunity of giving us in his preface some useful tables showing the date and locality of the flint and bronze finds, and where mentioned in Dr. Evans's "*Ancient Stone Implements*," and "*Ancient Bronze Implements*."

We next have *Sepulchral Remains*, the best known and perhaps the best treated of all early archaeological studies. Such men as Colt Hoare, Bateman, Greenwell, Rolleston, and Thurnam have successively brought together a mass of information which "enables the student to proceed from the 'digging' and 'discovery' stage to that of classification and systematic study." These papers show the gradual rise of the science, and include some good articles on the Yorkshire tumuli.

The section of *Encampments, Earthwork, &c.*, follows and opens with much propriety with "*Traces of our Remote Ancestors*," an excellent paper by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, and which we are very glad to see again. In this section Mr. Gomme tells us that he includes "those archaeological remains which, either from their size, peculiarity of construction, or great extent in number or area, afford evidence, not only upon the burials, but as to the settlement of the early races of this island." A mere glance at the contents of this part of the book is sufficient to indicate the value of the collection. A series of notes, which are not to be lightly set aside as "notes" usually are, and a good Index, bring Part I to an end.

Part II treats first of *Stones and Stone Circles*, and the editor takes occasion in his introduction to speak of what has already been recorded of these remarkable monuments, "because, under the guidance of Mr. Lukis, the Society of Antiquaries has wisely devoted some of its funds to an investigation of these monuments of early Britain." We have already alluded to the value of the papers in the *Gentleman's Magazine* as showing what alterations have been made to ancient remains, and it appears that the great monuments of Long Meg and Carlotts are special cases in point. The articles on Stonehenge and Avebury record also various changes in those monuments, and, as Stonehenge in par-

ticular seems to have been long thought a fair subject for everyone to speculate upon, Mr. Gomme says, truly enough, that erroneous ideas, when once they have been popularized, are the hardest to abolish. We go still further and say that when a false conclusion about so conspicuous a structure has once been *put into print*, it will never be eradicated. There is moreover such a peculiar fascination about the word "Druid," and Stonehenge is to the many so utterly mysterious, that we can never hope to separate the two. No doubt we shall long continue to accumulate information about large stone monuments from other parts of the world, and in this way eventually some simple settlement may be arrived at.

Passing the section of Miscellaneous Antiquities: British Period, which includes some curious articles, we come at once to Anglo Saxon Antiquities, the editor giving good reason for breaking strict chronological order, and leaving out the Romans for the present. The section treating of the important Saxon period consists of Early Remains, Local Antiquities and Ornaments, and we can safely say that no more interesting matter will be found in the entire series of these collections. The volume concludes with Scandinavian Antiquities, principally relating to Orkney; there are further useful notes as before, and, as usual, a good index.

Archæological Intelligence.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND OF THE HISTORY OF THE FINE ARTS. —It is within living memory that a large proportion of our transatlantic consins who came to Europe were looked upon by the intelligent foreigners as eager and restless travellers going to and fro at high pressure, simply for the sake of seeing, or fancying that they had seen, everything that was worth a visit in the old cities and towns of the old continent and the old country. We have understood that the name these tourists gave themselves was "globe trotters," and in our earlier days we have often marvelled at the amount of time, money, and energy they spent and wasted in such unsatisfactory travel, however much we have enjoyed the genial company and quaint humour of our rapid-travelling friends.

Our experience of only a week's excursion with an Archæological Society, during which time castle, cathedral, "tower and town and cottage" pass in rapid succession, not to mention addresses inaugural and opening, papers and discussions in somewhat bewildering number—our experience we say is that we leave off at the end of the week, some succumb earlier in the fray, with our bodies wearied and our minds somewhat confused. Later on, when quiet comes, a good deal of what we have seen and heard unfolds itself again to us, but much has fallen quite dead on our senses, and, in fact, we almost regard ourselves sometimes as temporary "globe trotters," and feel that we have in our short excursion attempted too much.

But what must have been the state of the mind of many a travelled American who returned to the Land of Freedom after a six months' tour in Europe, say, thirty years ago? As he extricated himself from the "rude spirits of the seething outer strife," and crossed the melancholy ocean, pacing the reeling deck, how often the thought must have arisen, not how much he had seen and carried away in pleasant memories, but how hard he had worked and how much he had utterly forgotten.

That all this is quite altered is now certain, but if anyone still has doubts upon the matter we may refer him to "The American Journal of Archæology," giving the contents of Vol. I, 1885, and the programme for Vol. II, 1886. There is very little "globe-trotting" in these days, for during the last quarter of a century, and more particularly within the last few years, a great change has been silently taking place, and assuredly now not the least intelligent workers of all the visitors to the famous places in the old world are the Americans. It is interesting and instructive to see on what sound and catholic lines the

contributors to the Journal under consideration have set to work. We have, in Vol. I, for instance, from C. Waldstein, *The Panathenaic festival and the central slab of the Parthenon frieze*; from A. L. Frothingham, Jr., *The Revival of Sculpture in the XIII Century*; from A. R. Marsh, *Ancient crude brick construction*; from E. Muntz, *The Lost Mosaics of Ravenna*; from C. C Perkins, *The Abbey of Jumièges and the legend of the Enervés*; from A. Emerson, *Two modern Antiques*; from E. Babylon, *La Numismatique Grecque et Romaine*.

It appears that some of the papers in Vol. I., as well as others in prospect, are from the pens of men who are something more than temporary visitors to the old world, and it may be gathered from the programme that a large number of American archaeologists are diligently, and what is more to the point, systematically, at work, assisted by distinguished antiquaries of European note. We are to expect further contributions from the Troad, Arabia, Phœnicia, Babylonia, Athens, Rome, and India.

We are casually reminded, and not without a pang, of the now far-off resting places of objects of antique art by the mention of forthcoming papers on "Etruscan Sarcophagi at Boston," and on "Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders in New York." In a more special field of American archaeology many contributions are expected: this is just as it should be, for while Egyptian and classical antiquities are the priceless heritage of the civilized world, American Ethnology is a proper study for Americans.

We shall expect to see, as time advances, that the volumes of this American Journal of Archaeology will, in the natural sequence of history, come down into later periods, and occasionally treat of subjects and places within the range of historic times within our own shores. We had a passing thought, from certain indications in our own Journal, namely, the occasional appearance of papers upon subjects of a very early date, as well as of a time not far removed from our own, that the study of the arts and monuments of the Middle Ages was somewhat tending to the appearance of being worked out. Perhaps our American friends, while following in the general and unalterable archaeological lines which we have laid down, might carry us to fresh points of view, and considering the keen perception and caution with which these accomplished citizens are endowed, papers by them would be doubly welcome to us.

RECONSTITUTION OF THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ROME.—It is very desirable at the present day, when so much new work is being carried out in Rome, that this society should continue upon a really solid basis. It has now existed for twenty years, and may claim to have done some service in the elucidation of the antiquities of Rome, and in facilitating their study by the British and American visitors to the Eternal City.

Its foundation was due to the initiation and exertions of Mr. Drury Fortnum F.S.A. At a meeting held by the consent of the British Consul, Mr. Joseph Severn, in the rooms of the Consulate at Rome on the 5th of April 1865, Lord Talbot de Malahide, Mr. Odo Russell, the Baron de Reumont, Mr. R. R. Holmes, F.S.A., Mr. J. H. Parker, F.S.A., Mr. Shakspeare Wood, Mr. Charles C. Perkins and others being present, resolutions were passed for founding the Society, a committee was appointed, and Lord Talbot de Malahide was chosen the first President.

For several years (from 1871 to 1875) the late Mr. J. H. Parker took the most active part in the management of the Society; and although many of his theories were not accepted by archaeologists, he promoted a knowledge of Roman antiquities by his active explorations, by the important series of photographs made under his direction, and by the zeal with which he laboured to communicate to others the interest that he felt in the remains of ancient Rome. A Roman Exploration Fund raised in connection with this Society was the means, among other things, of revealing the site and remains of the ancient Porta Capena.

For some years the Society has continued its operations with varying success, depending for material support upon a fluctuating body of associates, and for contributions to its proceedings upon the assistance of such British and American archaeologists as might chance to be in Rome, and willing to devote to it some portion of their time. After some feeble seasons, the members who were in Rome in the spring of 1884 had to face the question, whether the Society should be allowed to drop, or whether an effort should be made to sustain it, and to place it upon a better and safer footing. Other foreign nations are represented in Rome by Scientific Institutions supported by their respective Governments. The Germans especially have their Institute of Archaeological Correspondence which has won for itself a high position among the learned societies of Europe; and the French Government maintains an Academy of Archæology in Rome, which has a suite of rooms set apart for its use in the residence of the French Embassy at the Palazzo Farnese.

The efforts which are being made to establish a British Academy at Athens naturally suggest the question, whether such a school is not as much needed at Rome, and whether the same Institution might not undertake the direction of both. Without entering upon this question, it appeared to the few gentlemen who found themselves called upon to decide what ought to be done with reference to this Society, that an Association having for its object to concentrate and assist the researches of English and American antiquaries in Rome, and at the same time to furnish information and means of study to visitors who are induced by the influence of the place to interest themselves in archæology, was one for which, if it did not exist, the need would soon be felt; and that, as the existing Society possesses a collection of books, photographs and drawings of considerable value, which with slight additions might form the nucleus of an adequate archæological library, it would be a subject of regret if some effort was not made to sustain and strengthen it.

With this view the following measures were adopted. The rules of the Society were submitted to a Committee for revision; and the revised rules have since been approved by a general meeting of the Society. In this revision one of the main objects has been to provide against the uncertain character of the membership of the Society, which has hitherto been practically constituted afresh every year from among the British and American visitors passing the season in Rome. According to the new rules, the Society is to consist of members and associates; the former being its permanent constituents, the latter enrolled for the season only. And into the former class it has been decided to elect only those persons who have some claim to the name of archaeologists, and who may be capable, whether present in person or not, of furthering the objects of the Society.

Earl Percy, President of the Archæological Institute, was elected to the office of President of the Society, vacant by the death of Lord Talbot de Malahide; and to the list of Vice-Presidents the names of the British Ambassador and the American Minister were added.

The Society, as reconstituted under the new Rules, will, it is hoped, acquire a solidity which it has hitherto wanted, and will be secured in the receipt of a more certain income; which is necessary for the maintenance of its library and for the publication of its proceedings. In order to place the Society in a position more adequately to represent British and American Archæology in Rome, it is the wish of the Council to enrol among its members those antiquaries of either nationality who have made a study of classical antiquities. At the same time it has been thought advisable to raise, by donations, a small fund to enable the Institution to fulfil at an earlier period one of the main objects of its existence, that of providing an adequate archæological library for the use of British and American students and visitors.

With a view to carry out the above objects, a circular of which the above is a reproduction, has been addressed to members of kindred Societies in Great Britain and America. Those desirous of becoming members of the Archæological Society of Rome, or willing to assist it by donations of books, or by subscriptions to the Library Fund, are requested to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, the Cav. Arthur Strutt, 81 Via della Croce, or with the Treasurer, I. C. Hooker Esq. (Maquay, Hooker and Co. Bankers) 20 Piazza di Spagna, Rome. Mr. Pullan has kindly consented to receive on behalf of the Society any books which it may be more convenient to send to his address in England. (R. P. Pullan Esq. 8, Melbury Road, Kensington, W.) The yearly subscriptions for Members and Associates is 25 francs, or £1 sterling.

THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.—The eighth Report of this Society informs us that the Council have been endeavouring to prepare the way for some important work which the Society ought to undertake, and they think that if sufficient support is given this work may be satisfactorily accomplished. The many indications that the study and collection of Folk-lore is now engaging the attention of most countries in Europe, make it necessary that this Society, being the first to introduce a systematic study of Folk-lore, should as far as possible work in unison and confederation with similar organizations abroad, and should draw within its membership foreign scholars and students. The last annual Report mentioned one or two efforts which had been made in this direction, particularly that of the appointment of Local Secretaries. The result of this action, though necessarily not very extensive at present, satisfactorily indicates that much might be hoped for in the future. Mr. Stewart Lockhart, who was appointed Local Secretary for China, has procured a valuable collection of birth, marriage, and burial ceremonies, collected from the natives of Hong Kong by Mr. Mitchell Innes, and has placed the MS. in the hands of the Society for printing. Mr. Lockhart has also translated the papers on the Science of Folk-lore which appeared in the *Folk-lore Journal* for 1885 into Chinese, and has prefaced them by a few notes, for the purpose of placing them, as a kind of guide-book, in the hands of native Chinese students who would help him in his researches. It is thought that such results as these are encouraging, and point the direction to which the future efforts of the Council should tend.

A second very important work which the Council are of opinion the Society should undertake at once is the issue of an authoritative exposition of the scope and aim of the science of Folk-lore, accompanied by questions which may be used by travellers and collectors. During the year the Council were asked by the Council of the Palestine Exploration Fund to assist them in drawing up a set of questions for the use of collectors in Palestine. That Society had secured the services of some native workers, under the direction of Dr. Post, and they wished to be informed of the best means of employing this valuable help. The Council at once assented to the proposition, and appointed a Committee to consider the best means of assisting the object of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The Committee reported that they considered the time had come when the Society should issue an authorised Handbook to the Science of Folk-lore, similar to the *Anthropological Notes and Queries* issued by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Council concurred in this report, re-appointing the Committee to consider and draw up a scheme and code of questions. The Committee consisted of Messrs. Edward Clodd, H. B. Wheatley, Nutt, Gomme, Stuart-Glennie, Captain Temple, Dr. Richard Morris, and Miss Busk, and they are still considering this important subject. They have adopted, as a basis, the plan of dividing the subject into the heads suggested in the *Folk-Lore Journal* for January 1885, and they propose that Members of the Society and their friends should be asked to undertake certain sections, and send in a code of questions to the Committee, who will then arrange and prepare them for ultimate publication. We may direct attention to the importance of the work which the Folk-lore Society have in hand, and to the able manner in which their publications have been carried out. The Society had lately had to deplore the death of their founder, the erudite Mr. W. J. Thoms, but there can be no doubt of their firm establishment and future prosperity.

THE EIGHT-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMPLETION OF DOMESDAY.—We called attention in the preceding Journal to this important historical celebration. We are now able to furnish the contents of a circular which has been issued by the Committee appointed by the Royal Historical Society. This will sufficiently show in how thorough and sensible a manner the Committee is going to work :—

“It has been decided to commemorate, in October of the present year, the 800th Anniversary of the completion of the Domesday Survey of England. The Commemoration will take the form partly of a series of meetings for the reading of papers and the publication of a volume of Domesday Studies, and partly of an exhibition of manuscripts at the Public Record Office and the British Museum. It is proposed that the papers shall, as far as possible, deal with Domesday Book as a whole, but without excluding local inquiries which may lead by inference and comparison to results of wider application. Later surveys and censuses may also be discussed, if they are in any way illustrative of Domesday Book. The following subjects for papers have been proposed ; and the Committee will be glad to receive the names of persons who will undertake to read papers on these or any other analogous subjects :—The History of the MSS. of Domesday and their Custody ; the Purpose, Occasion, and Objects of the Survey ; the Order of the Compilation ; Omissions from Domesday ; Geographical Limit of the Survey, and the

cause of the Omission of certain districts ; Ancient Domesne ; the Boroughs and Cities ; Changes in the Extent and Names of Shires and Hundreds ; the Distribution of Socage Tenure throughout the Country ; the Lands laid waste in the North ; Industrial condition of England ; Population ; the Church in Domesday ; the Magnates of Domesday ; the Juxtaposition of Personal Names in Domesday ; the Classes of Tenants ; the Danegeld and the Fiscal System of Domesday generally ; Legal forms in Domesday ; the Clamores, Occupations, and Invasiones ; Courts and Jurisdictions ; the Measures of Land ; Comparison of the Domesday Survey and other Surveys, such as Exon Domesday, Winton Domesdays, Gheld Inquest, Gloucestershire Fragment, Inquisitio Eliensis, Liber Niger of Peterborough, Survey of Lindsey, Boldon Book.

"The Exhibition at the Public Record Office will comprise the manuscript of Domesday Book (2 vols.), the Abbreviatio, the Breviate, a copy of the Boldon Book, the Red and Black Books of the Exchequer, the two volumes entitled "*Testa de Nevil*," early Hundred Rolls, Book of Aids of Edward III, &c., &c.

"The Exhibition at the British Museum will comprise the Survey of Lindsey, Monastic Cartularies containing surveys, *Inquisitio Eliensis*, the transcript of the original Domesday return for Cambridge, printed editions of the Surveys and Translations, and (it is hoped) loan contributions from other libraries.

"It is very desirable to make this exhibition as complete as possible, and the Committee hope that the owners of all manuscripts bearing on the subject of Domesday will lend them for the purpose. The Committee have much pleasure in announcing that the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury have already promised to do so. The Principal Librarian of the British Museum has kindly consented to take charge of any documents that may be sent to him. The Committee will be glad to receive any suggestions that you may be pleased to make with regard to the objects and scope of the exhibition.

"As a permanent record of this commemoration, it is proposed to compile a list of existing works relating to Domesday Book. In this it is proposed to include :—1. Brief descriptions of the various Domesday MSS. with references to their places of deposit. 2. The titles of all separate works dealing with any portions of Domesday Book. 3. The titles of all papers and pamphlets on the subject. The following scheme for collecting and arranging the materials for this work has been suggested :—1. That application should be made to librarians at home and abroad for a list of the titles of all the works on Domesday in their custody. 2. That the secretaries of Archaeological Societies at home and abroad should be asked to furnish titles of, and references to, all papers on Domesday appearing in the various "*Transactions*" of their societies. 3. That the county histories should be examined for translations of any portions of the Survey. 4. That the principal antiquaries in every county should be asked to revise and make any additions to the lists so compiled."

In order to defray the cost of printing the Bibliography and the volume of Domesday Studies, the committee have resolved to make a charge of one guinea for subscriber's ticket. The ticket will entitle the subscriber to one copy of the committee's publications, and will admit the subscriber and a lady to the meetings for the reading of papers

and to the exhibitions of manuscripts. As the number and amount of the committee's publications will depend entirely on the amount of the subscriptions, it is hoped that the number of subscribers will be large. Subscriptions can be received by the Treasurer, Mr. W. Herbage, Treas. R. Hist. S., London and South-Western Bank, 7, Fenchurch-street, E.C. ; or by the Hon- Secretary, Mr. P. Edward Dove, 23, Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.

HASTED'S HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF KENT, being a History of the hundred of Blackheath.—There is, probably, no more toilsome literary task than the compilation of a county history. If it only approaches to being at all well done, or even if it is done at all, by one man, it must be the sole work of that man's lifetime, and we are by no means without instances of such undertakings being not only thankless works but generally profitless and occasionally ruinous. Within the last fifty years such a vast amount of information has been gathered up for the general history of every county, so much documentary evidence has been extended and made available for use, so much Roman, architectural, heraldic, and biographical history has been intelligently sifted and set forth by Antiquarian and Archaeological Societies, both local and general, that we may the more truly say now that the compass of one man's lifetime is insufficient to write, or even to re-write upon the old lines, a history of any ordinarily sized county that shall be up to, and, as it ought to be, a little beyond the general knowledge of the day. This being the case, we are not surprized to learn that the new History of Kent, has already been nearly a hundred years in hand. The prospectus now before us shall speak for itself as it is an apt illustration of what we have said:—

"So long ago as the year 1836, the late Reverend Thomas Streatfeild, of Charts Edge, issued a circular announcing his intention of publishing a History of Kent, to the accumulation of materials for which he, for nearly half a century, devoted the energies of his life. Mr. Streatfeild secured the co-operation in his task of his friend the late Rev. Lambert B. Larking, Vicar of Ryarsh, who was himself a well-known collector of information connected with the County of Kent.

"The two friends pursued, with untiring energy, the task they had undertaken, and their joint investigations resulted in the acquisition of a vast amount of information which they fondly hoped to embody in their History, and submit to the public. The death, however, of Mr. Streatfeild in 1848, and of Mr. Larking in 1868, prevented the realisation of their hopes, and at the latter date their collections fell into the hands of Mr. John Wingfield Larking, of The Firs, Lee, who determined to perpetuate the memory of his brother, and of his friend Mr. Streatfeild, by utilising the materials which they had gathered together, and giving to the county of Kent the result of their labours. Several years, however, elapsed before he succeeded in finding a competent editor for the contemplated Work. Fortunately, he eventually obtained the services of Dr. Henry Holman Drake, who undertook the onerous duty ; and after a lengthened period, and the expenditure of editorial labour which can only be appreciated by the initiated, Mr. Larking is able to present to the gentlemen of Kent the History of the Blackheath Hundred of the county as a work complete in itself, but designed to constitute a part of the History of the entire County."

Men of such patriotism as Mr. J. W. Larking are wanting, but are

hardly likely to be found, in other counties, for it is obvious that all the old County Histories must be re-written. As regards Dr. Drake, if sufficient encouragement is forthcoming to justify it, he is willing to undertake the further prosecution of the History of Kent on a scheme similar to that on which the History of the Hundred of Blackheath is based, namely, upon the text of "Hasted" revised, recast, and enlarged, with the information acquired by Messrs. Streatfeild and Larking, and additional notes by himself.

Dr. Drake has set his hand to an honourable and laborious task, he is encouraged by the special patronage of the Queen, and we heartily wish him the strength and support necessary to enable him to carry his labours to a successful end. Subscriptions for the Hundred of Blackheath, £5, may be sent to J. W. Larking, Esq., The Firs, Lee, Kent.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE HON. ROGER NORTH.—Those who have read that delightful book "The Lives of the North,"—and what educated man has not,—will welcome the Autobiography of its author and the more so since the work will pass through the able editorial hands of Dr. Jessop, himself the author of another well-known Norfolk volume "One Generation of a Norfolk House." We gather from the prospectus that the Hon. Roger North purchased the estate of Rougham, in Norfolk, in 1690; for forty years after that date he employed himself more or less in literary pursuits, yet, until lately, it was generally believed that he left no literary remains behind him, or, if he did that they had long ago perished. When the library of the late James Crossley came to be sold in 1884, not only a considerable fragment of Roger North's Autobiography, but a large mass of his correspondence was found to have been in Mr. Crossley's possession for many years, and the more valuable portions of the collections were bought by the Trustees of the British Museum at the sale.

The Autobiography is almost a necessary appendix to the author's lives of his brothers and the correspondence will be of unusual interest, covering, as it does, a period of more than sixty years, from 1670 to 1733. Roger North's own letters give a refreshing picture of the private life of a man of high birth, abilities and accomplishments, and it is proposed to issue the Autobiography, a selection of the letters, and some few Essays which have never yet seen the light, the whole being prefaced by an introductory narrative. Subscriptions £1 1s. 0d., may be sent to Mr. D. Nutt, 270 Strand, London. A limited number of copies will be printed on large paper.—Price £3 3s. 0d.

AN INVENTORY OF THE CHURCH PLATE OF LEICESTERSHIRE.—The Rev. A. Trollope announces the publication of this work by subscription, illustrated by woodcuts and photo-lithographs of more than 200 pieces of plate, drawn to scale. The communion plate belonging to each church in the county has been carefully examined by the author himself, and the measurements, hall marks, and weight of each piece will be given, as well as biographical accounts of the numerous donors whose names have been brought to light. The work will also include the description of communion plate in private chapels in the county, as well as classified tables of hall marks &c. The price to subscribers will be £1 10s 0d.; names should be sent to Messrs. Clarke & Hodgson, 5, Gallowtree Gate, Leicester.

WARWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' AND ARCHÆOLOGISTS' FIELD CLUB.—

The summer meeting of this Society took place on July 28th. The members, among whom were several Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, started from Coventry and made a long excursion through the famed Forest of Arden, under the leadership of their President, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, upon whose shoulders the weight of eighty-one summers seems a surprisingly light burden. Among the places visited, the most important was Astley church, which has a history of "dissolution" destruction, and extraordinary rebuilding that somewhat recalls the vicissitudes of the beautiful Cistercian Abbey of Dore. When, at last, one has realized the strange doings which went on at Astley church, one can understand the alterations to the chantry stalls which Sir Thomas Astley set up in 1338. The chantry was subsequently enlarged into a collegiate foundation, and, long after, namely in 1624, the great painted figures of Saints and Doctors were depicted under the stall canopies, as well as the sentences of scripture on the walls, taken from the "Bishops' Bible," and comprised within excellent Renaissance scroll work borders. Here are also fine effigies, *temp.* Henry VII., a real helmet of the same period set up over a wooden targe, long exterior cornices filled with heraldry, and many other things which deserved leisurely examination. The moated castle, probably the work of the Dissolution grantee Henry Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and father of Lady Jane Grey, stands upon an older site. This picturesque and still inhabited, though as to the interior, much altered fortified house, is famous as the scene of the betrayal of the Duke of Suffolk. Interest of another and a milder kind attaches to Birchley Place, the quaint old house said to be the spot described by George Elliot as Mrs. Poyser's farm. The Fillongley earthworks, which were inspected under the guidance of Mr. T. W. Whitley, carried the thoughts back to the unsettled times of Stephen, and the remains of the castle recalled the license to crenellate it granted to John de Hastings in 1301.

SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.—This is a most excellent and painstaking Society, which well deserves the sympathy not only of the Archæological Institute, but of all Antiquarian and Architectural Societies throughout the kingdom. For the last forty years the members of the Institute may have been fully aware of the mischief that has been going on, for it has been constantly pointed out in the *Journal*; but the world at large has not even yet quite realised what a grievous wrong has been wrought by the present generation through the villainous process of "restoration." Local history, architecture, and genealogy, are but a few of the matters that have succumbed to the restorer, and the most extraordinary thing is that the evil still goes on, and, to speak merely of churches, in a somewhat modified form only, as we think, because nearly every church has been restored. To save the remnant has been the object of this Society; there was no time to lose, and we appreciate the admirable persistency with which it goes to work. We ascertain from the ninth annual report, now before us, that public opinion is changing, and there is the more cheering and tangible sign that custodians of ancient buildings are beginning not only to ask for the advice of the Society, but also, occasionally, to follow it, though we have observed that this line of action with church restorers in general is not necessarily in logical sequence. The report before us is so very interesting that we wish it could be widely dis-

tributed. We have not the space to deal with it here at the length it deserves, but we may mention the success that has attended the efforts of the Society in the important cases of the York churches and the Charterhouse. Some of the instances of "restoration" are so grotesque that if the matter were not so serious they would be quite amusing.

There has lately been a ridiculous flourish of trumpets about a proposed "restoration of Waltham Cross," a building that has "suffered," not indeed three times, like the Cross at Northampton, but at least once, in 1833. What the Waltham Cross seems really to require now is protection from the weather, from vicious mutilation, and from the new danger of its modern "restoring" friends, truly the natural enemies of any building of historical interest.

The list of buildings for the preservation of which the Society has worked during the past year comprises nearly two hundred and fifty cases, and we are glad to think that in many of them its intervention has been successful; its labours are not confined to our own country, for the Society is catholic in its aims.

No doubt a body, which has already done so much and will do much more towards directing public opinion in matters of taste as well as sense, has a considerable future before it, and we are disposed to look a little forward, and to have sanguine expectations that if it continues its useful work it may eventually have the satisfaction of passing into other lines and leading a general crusade against the monstrous and incongruous vulgarities that have within our time been deemed fitting accessories for the House of God. We cannot recall—would that we could!—the countless human records which have been so wickedly turned out from old churches and destroyed, and we cannot bring back the buildings with the evidences of their gradual growth and the hallowed stamp of time upon them; these things, alas! have gone from us for ever. But our successors—for the change we have in view can hardly come in our own time—may abolish much that ought never to have been put into the ancient places: those discordant abominations, the stained and varnished deal roofs, the gaudy organs, the sticky pitch-pine seats—beloved of quantity surveyors and builders, the fretful and distressing tile pavings, and acres upon acres of painted glass arranged in so many suffering old churches with a view to that special kind of harmony which causes each window to quarrel with its neighbour. With these will also go that most common, inappropriate, and cumbersome of all church furniture the stone pulpit of the "art manufacturer," and in its wake must follow much heavy impedimenta of strangely coarse iron and brass work. Of modern reredoses, small and large, the particularly favourite scars and blots in so many old churches and cathedrals, the focus, in fact, of all the other horrors, there will be a great array, and no doubt these wretched Bath-stone productions with their stained and blotched alabaster saints and angels will linger longest. It will be a pleasing sight, indeed, when all this tawdry lumber is cast out.

There has been no scruple in the rough handling that old churches and their contents have received—we know the loving touch of modern workmen—let us hope that at least as much vigour will be employed in the evictions which we have ventured to foreshadow, and that the Society to which we already owe so much, may continue to help us by its intelligent labours to the fuller cultivation of a better and a purer taste.

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR PRESERVING THE MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD.—This is another Society which the vagaries of "restoration" have brought into being. Exasperated by the ruthless manner in which monuments and inscriptions, which told us so much, were being swept away to make room for tile pavings which told us nothing, save what a very lucrative trade that of the tile maker must be, a body of sensible men, hoping, like the members of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, to save the residue, undertook their difficult task five years ago. The good work that has since been done has amply justified the formation of the Society. But its scope is so large that it is in a more difficult position than the body to which we have just alluded. For while the mischief to be encountered in respect to ancient buildings, though large in the aggregate, was only, so to speak, intermittent, and here and there, the evil with which the National Society had to cope was at once everywhere, and the difficulty was increased tenfold by the fact that every inscription turned out of a church was fast perishing. A name, a word, one letter, or one figure less upon a memorial makes all the difference to its value as a historical record, or as legal evidence, and we are glad to know that the methodical way in which the society set to its task, with its small means, has been fruitful of good results.

Efforts have been made, and not without success, to replace in churches the mural monuments that have been turned out. We may therefore hope that by the teaching of the Society, and better still, by the example which the clergy should set, that many a wall monument, and many a great ledger stone of the eighteenth and nineteenth century may be fetched home again. We believe if the people could be taught to see their real value historically, and more particularly legally—for the average Briton at least appreciates the legal value of a thing—the fantastic pavements would soon be flecked with the tombstones of the forefathers. We recommend education of this kind to the consideration of the School Boards.

There is no more melancholy sight than the closed burial grounds of great cities. Outside the rusty railings, the strife and race for existence; within, the mouldering and grass-grown stones, but,

"Ev'n from the tomb the voice of Nature cries."

They are not pleasant places to look upon, but they have a higher interest than many other things and places about which people concern themselves a great deal, and the National Society also undertakes to preserve this considerable class of perishing and dishonoured memorials. With such work in hand we are not surprised to find that funds are much wanted. The tooth of time, aided by neglect, is so rapidly destructive that we have no hesitation in insisting that money would be well laid out now in copying such monumental inscriptions before the records themselves are no more. The National Society has lately been encouraged in its uphill work by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries and by the Archaeological Institute. The address of the Secretary is Mr. Vincent, Belle Vue Rise, Helleston Road, Norwich, to whom all communications should be sent.

ROMAN CHESHIRE.—Mr. W. Thompson Watkin's work on this subject has just been issued, price £1 5s. 0d. It is in demy 4to, illustrated with large plans and maps, and more than 160 woodcuts. Intending subscribers should communicate with the author 242, West Derby Road, Liverpool.

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF LANGRES AND BESANÇON.

BY BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued.)

Besançon, in ancient times Vesontio, is the capital of Franche-Comté, which corresponds with the Sequani. This tribe occupied a most important military position, commanding two of the chief approaches into Gaul. Strabo acutely remarks that the Sequani made the Germans great by their alliance, and little by their desertion.¹ They had control of the gap (trouée) of Belfort so often mentioned during the Franco-Prussian war, and of the Fort de l'Écluse, the narrow pass between the Jura and the Rhone. Thus they were to the rest of Gaul what Afghanistan is now to British India. But of all places in the district the capital offered the greatest advantages to a commander-in-chief, as a basis of operations. Its pre-eminence was fully appreciated by Julius Cæsar, for he tells us that he advanced thither by forced marches, day and night, in order to anticipate the German chieftain Ariovistus, who was moving in the same direction.² His

¹ Lib. iv, c. iii, § 2, p. 192. 'Οι Σηκοανοὶ ...κοινωνοῦντες αὐτοῖς (Γερμανοῖ) ἐποιοῦν μεγάλους, καὶ ἀφιστάμενοι μικροῦς.

² The name of the city takes various forms,—Vesontio in Cæsar, Bisontii (like Besançon) in Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv. cap. 11, § 11, edit. Eyssenhardt; Dio xxxviii, 34, has 'Ουεσσοντιῶν, and Ptolemy 'Ουισόντιον: Jacobi Bailey Auctarium, printed as a Supplement to Foreellini's Lexicon. Reimar, note on Dio, loc. citat., reads Βεσσοντιῶνα, and derives it from the animal, *bison*. The Itin. Antonin., edit. Parthey and Pinder, has Visoutione p. 348 Wess., but Vesontione p. 386 Wess.;

Ammianus xx. 10, 3, says per Besantionem Viennam hiematurus abscessit, approximating more closely to the modern name; Ptolemy mentions Vesontio, lib. ii, cap. 9, § 10, C. Müller's note contains many references, edit. Didot. In the Tabula Peutingeriana segm. ii. A., we find Vesontine, which is incorrect.

Bell. Gall. i, 38 s.f., Hue Cæsar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit. The frequent use of the verb *contendo* (to stretch, strain, exert oneself) by this author is worthy of attention. Cæsar, like Napoleon, gained victories by the rapidity of his movements.

description is so accurate that it deserves to be quoted. The Dubis, as if drawn round with a pair of compasses, almost encloses the town; a hill extends for a space of not more than 600 feet to the river on either side, and thus fills up the interval left by the stream.¹

Langres and Besançon differ widely in situation, the former being on the top of a hill, the latter in a plain surrounded by lofty heights. In both places the most remarkable monument of Roman times is an archway, but here again the contrast is very striking: the *Porte Gallo-Romaine* at Langres exhibits great simplicity of design and very scanty ornamentation: the *Porte Noire* or *Arche-Triomphe*, at Besançon, is overloaded with decorative details to an unparalleled extent. We may account for the discrepancy by the motive of construction; one was intended primarily for a city-gate, but the other for a triumphal arch.

The monument we are now considering deserves notice, because it is unique, and that too in three respects. Its architecture presents two storeys, while every other ancient building of the same class has only one surmounted by an attic;² a broad band of bas-reliefs is carried round the vault representing marine deities or giants; and the shafts of the columns are entirely covered with sculptures.

In structures of this kind at Rome inscriptions still remain to indicate the personages in whose honour they were erected; but here this evidence is wanting, and it is only tantalizing to be told that as late as the early part of the present century some stones in the frieze showed holes where bronze letters were formerly affixed.³ As their

¹ Caesar, *loc. citat.* flumen Dubis, ut circino circumductum, pæne totum oppidum cingit.

² For this subject the best authority is Luigi Rossini's *Archi Trionfali*, but it treats only of Italian monuments; in restorations and details repeated on a large scale it far surpasses the older work of Jo. Petr. Bellori, *Veteres Arcus Augustorum triumphis insignes*, &c., Rome, 1690, which is often inaccurate. Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, Tome. iv, and *Supplément*, Tome. iv, are illustrated by engravings of gates and arches; unfortunately in many cases their inferior execution makes them very unfit to accompany the learned text.

Examples of archways with columns in

a single storey might easily be multiplied, but it is sufficient to cite those of Trajan at Ancona, of Drusus and Aurelius at Rome.

³ This circumstance reminds one of the famous inscription on the arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum, where the holes indicate the name Geta effaced by his brother Caracalla: Nibby, *Roma Antica*, vol. i, p. 478 *sq.* Facendo una studio sulla posizione de perni primitivi può la iscrizione originale ristabilirsi così, che in luogo di

P.P.
OPTIMISQVE. FORTISSIMISQVE
PRINCIPIBVS.

leggevasi ET
P. SEPTIMIO. L. FIL. GETAE.
NOBILISS. CAESARI.



TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT BESANÇON AS IT WAS BEFORE RESTORATION.

From Clerc's *Franche-Comté*

decay threatened the security of the building, they were removed during the re-construction finished in 1826, and replaced by others with a perfectly plain surface. Under these circumstances it is difficult to ascertain the date, and we can only hope to solve the problem by arguments derived from art and history. M. Castan, the best local antiquary, remarks that the Arch of Titus offers the earliest example of composite capitals and bas-reliefs inside the piers, and that the Porte Noire, resembling it in these features, must therefore be subsequent. On the other hand he places the arch at Besançon before that of Septimius Severus at Rome, because the former has columns, slightly engaged as supports to the entablature, while the latter has in their place pilasters, which he says were not used for such a purpose previously to this emperor, but constantly afterwards. Having thus fixed a limit of time within which the monument was built, he proceeds in search of an emperor whose achievements it might fitly commemorate. This condition he thinks is satisfied by the life of Marcus Aurelius.¹ Finding in the biography by Capitolinus, chap. xxii, the words *Res etiam in Sequanis turbatas censura et auctoritate repressit* (he checked a disturbance among the Sequani by strict discipline and authority,) he concludes that the wars of this sovereign are figured upon the arch. Such are M. Castan's views, which I have endeavoured to represent fairly. But an independent judgment should be formed, and we ought not to abandon the duties of reason and inquiry in deference to authority, howsoever distinguished.

No one acquainted with Græco-Roman architecture will doubt that this arch is subsequent to that of Titus; but M. Castan's second proposition is not so certain, for the presence of pilasters cannot be considered an unfailing sign of a period as late as, or later than, Septimius Severus.

Another explanation is required in the case of the Panathenæic Frieze: Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, vol. i, p. 196, figs 37-41 &c. The bridles of the horses in many of the slabs...as well as some other ornaments, were originally of gilded bronze, as may be seen by the holes left in the marble. C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler Part I*, Pl. XXV, No. 118, Die Löcher, welche zur Befestigung der Zügel dienten, sind nach den Originalen angemerkt.

¹ Besançon et ses Environs par Auguste Castan, 1881; Arc de Triomphe, pp. 60-64; a note on the bibliography of the subject is appended to this article; the most important publication is M. Castan's *Considérations sur Porte-Noire* (1866) dans les *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, 4ème Série, vol. 2, pp. 420-429. It is out of print, and I was unable to procure a copy even at Besançon.

We see them supporting the entablature in the Arco di Bara, or of Sura, a general under Trajan, which probably is not posterior to Hadrian, as is shown by the inscription EX TESTAMENTO.....SVRAE CONSACRATVM.¹ Again, we may remark that the arguments in this inquiry are derived from two sources, historical and artistic. The evidence from the former in favour of Marcus Aurelius is very slight. This emperor had so little to do with the Sequani, that his visit to their country is not even mentioned by the ordinary historians of the Roman empire, and the brief passage in Capitolinus above quoted does not record any campaigns or victories that would correspond with the sculptures.² The only other point of contact between Aurelius and Besançon that I know is the fact that he was born and reared on the Mons Cælius at Rome, and that the hill above Besançon, on which the citadel stands, was called by the same name.³

¹ My Paper on Tarragona, sect. vi, Archæol. Journ. vol. xxxvii, pp. 23-26 : in the foot-notes I have quoted passages which indicate the period when Sura flourished : Hübner, Insec. Hispaniæ Latinae, s.v. Tarræo, Sect. IX, No. 4282, p. 576 ; cf. No. 4508, where the remarks of Borghesi are appended.

² It should be particularly observed that the presence of M. Aurelius amongst the Sequani is inferred *only* from the passages above quoted ; accordingly we find no mention of the fact in Merivale's History of Rome or Dr. Wm. Smith's Biographical Dictionary. M. Chabouillet says, "Ces mots (censura et auctoritate, v. sup.) n'impliquent pas nécessairement le voyage de l'empereur en Franche-Comté" ap. Castan, *Vesontio Colonie Romaine*, p. 17.

For the meaning of *censura*, as used by Capitolinus and other late writers, see the notes of Casaubon and Salmassius *in loco*.

We must be on our guard against the tendency of local antiquaries to exaggerate the reputation of the city in which they were born or resided. In this case they were tempted to connect Besançon with "the great heathen Emperor and philosopher," as Archbishop Tillotson calls him, Sermon xxxiii. Of forgiveness of Injuries and against Revenge, Works, vol. i, p. 312, ed. fol. MDCCXXXV.

³ In an Epistle to Fronto (ii. 2) Aurelius says *Mons Cælius meus*. This reference I owe to M. Castan's Memoir

on the Porte Noire quoted above, but I have not had the means of verifying it. Cf. Julii Capitolini M. Antonius Philo-sophus, cap. i. Natus est Marcus Romæ sexto Cal. Maias in monte Celio in hortis, avo suo iterum et Augure Coss Educatus est in eo loco in quo natus est, et in domo avi sui Veri juxta aedes Laterani.

Mons Cælius is marked in the map accompanying "Joan. Jac. Chiffletii Patricii, Consularis, et Archiatri Vesontini Vesontio." Lugduni MDCXVIII, opposite p. 36, cap. viii, Vesontionis forma, situs, Portæ, temperies, horti, aedificia, Bibliothecæ. This map, and two engravings in the same work, viz., the Porte-Noire as it was in 1614, and a restoration of it, have been republished separately. See also Ed. Clerc, La Franche-Comté à l'Époque Romaine, représentée par ses ruines, 1853, p. 19, Plan des Grands Monumens Romains de Besançon, au pied du Mont Cælius.

Chifflet argues strenuously in favour of the derivation of Vesontio from the *bison*, cap. xi, pp. 43-49. Vesontio et Bisontium a Bisonte dicta. He says that some explain the word as a compound of βῆσος, a valley (βῆσσα is the usual form, but v. βῆσας in Stephens' Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae) and ἵωνες ; while others think that the first syllable comes from the Celtic *Vesus*, a distinguished man. At the conclusion of his chapter, Chifflet seems afraid that some of the inhabitants might be offended at their city being

On the other hand, if we look to events occurring in the neighbourhood, we find that some of the later emperors and their generals had close relations with the east of Gaul. Among them Constantius Chlorus,¹ Valentinian and Jovinus occur, but Julian the Apostate stands out prominently. He resided at Paris, τὴν φιλήν Λευκετίαν—the Roman palace there, amphitheatre, baths, aqueduct and Campus Martius, probably belong to this epoch.² He promoted the welfare of the people, and paid special attention to the administration of justice. But it is more to our present purpose to remark that Ammianus Marcellinus relates his acts in places not remote from Besançon. He was at Autun, Reims and Sens; in the last city he was besieged. He conducted two campaigns in Gaul; thrice he crossed the Rhine; and at Strasburg (Argentoratum) he defeated the Germans with great slaughter. When we consider his numerous victories and his restoration of the Gallic towns, it seems most natural that a grateful people should honour him with a triumphal arch in a locality near the German frontier, the scene of his most glorious achievements.³ Moreover, we learn from Ammianus that

named after a beast, so he endeavours to console them by the examples of Alba Longa, so-called from a white sow, and Mediolanum from an animal of the same kind that was both bristly and woolly: Claudian, *In Nuptiis Honorii et Mariae*, Carm. x, v. 183, ed. Delphin,———
lanigeri suis ostentantia pellem Pervenit.

¹ The residence and activity of Constantius Chlorus in this region have been mentioned above in the account of the Porte Gallo-Romaine at Langres; Gibbon, chap. xiii, vol. ii, p. 75, ed. Smith; chap. xiv, note 2, *ibid.*, p. 106.

Many theories about the origin of the Porte-Noire will be found in ed. Clerc, *op. citat.*, p. 26, note 2. "Aucun monument en Franche-Comté n'a donné lieu a des conjectures plus contradictoires." He enumerates five personages to whom the arch has been attributed; and, besides these, Denis Fage described it as representing the victory of Julius Cæsar over Ariovistus. The same absurd notion has been entertained with reference to the Porta-Martis et Reims: My paper on that city, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xli, p. 111. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 343, says that the arch at Besançon "shows so complete a transition from the Roman style that it is difficult to believe that it does not belong to the

renaissance." From this remark I should infer that the author has not seen the monument in question.

² Gibbon, chap. xix, vol. ii, p. 425; chap. xxii, vol. iii, p. 107, note 7. The remains of the palace are still visible, adjoining the Hôtel Cluny: Galignani's Paris Guide, pp. 410-412, Palais des Thermes. These ruins are probably part of the building which Ammianus calls *palatium* and *regia* (xx, 4, 14 and 21), in the passage where he relates that the legions proclaimed Julian emperor at Paris, Augustum Julianum horrendis clamoribus concerepabant.

The article *Lutetia* in Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, 1857, contains a brief and unsatisfactory notice of the Roman antiquities there. It was written by an eminent scholar, the late Mr. George Long, but in this contribution as well as in others he has shown himself little acquainted with the monographs published by French antiquaries. Moreover, many important additions have been made to our knowledge within the last thirty years.

³ Ammianus, edit. Eysenhardt. *Index Capitulorum*, xvi, 2, Alamannos adurit, cædit, capit et fugat; *ibid.*, 4, apud Senonas oppidum ab Alamannis obsidetur; *ibid.* 12, barbaros apud Argentoratum

Julian ordered his army to assemble and wait for him at Vesontio, A.D. 356, and that he passed through it on his way to winter-quarters at Vienne, three years later.¹ In his letter to the philosopher, Maximus, he describes its former magnificence and ruined condition, and with rhetorical exaggeration likens the citadel to a lofty rock in the sea, almost inaccessible, even to birds.²

From these historical facts I am inclined to assign the Porte Noire to the Emperor Julian, and I think the artistic evidence points in the same direction. Any one who has studied monuments of this class must at first sight feel that extravagant profusion of ornament is the leading characteristic here; this is the impression that overpowers all others, and I need hardly add that such a style belongs to a late period. If we compare the arch at Besançon with that of Aurelius at Rome, we can hardly believe that they belong to the same reign. In the latter case there was only one bas-relief on each side of the vault; and, as in earlier examples, the ornamented parts received due prominence by being framed, so to speak, in smooth surfaces.³ It has been said on the other hand that some of the figures are too good for Julian's age; we might admit the statement, and reply that they may have been removed from some earlier building, as was the case with the Arch

acie fundit; xviii, 1, transito Rheno Alamannorum vias diripit et incendit; xviii, 1, Gallorum commodis consulit, et ubique ab omnibus jus servandum curat.

¹ Ammianus, xx, 10, 3, quoted in a preceding note on Vesontio.

² J. J. Chifflet, *op. citat.*, p. 189, gives a long extract from a letter of Julian to Maximus Epirota, "sumum quondam ad omnem impietatem paedagogum." The following words are a part of it, 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τὸν Βικοντίωνα πολίχνιον δὲ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀνεilahμένη, πάλαι δὲ μεγάλη τε ἦν, καὶ πολυτελέσιν ἱεροῖς ἐκεκδμήματο, τέχεις καρπερῶ καὶ προσέτι τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου, περιθεὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ ὁ Δοῦρις ποταμὸς, ἥδε ὥσπερ, ἐν θαλάττῃ πετρώδης ἄκσα ἀνέστηκεν ἄβατος ὀλίγου δὲ φάναι καὶ αὐτοῖς ὄντισι πλὴν ὅσα ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτὴν περιβρέων, ὥσπερ τινας ἀργαλοὺς ἔχει προκειμένους.

³ Consult for this subject Luigi Rossini, *Archi Trionfali*, Travole xlvii-xlix. T^A xlvii, Arco di Portogallo, ma di Marco Aurelio già in Roma esistente nella Via Flaminia, oggi il Corso, demolito da Alessandro vii per ampliare la via nel 1662. T^A xlviii Ristaurato. T^A xlix

Bassirilievi dell' arco di Marco Aurelio; these are on a large scale; there were eight in all, internal and external; seven have been preserved. Li quattro bassirilievi furono trovati nel 1600 entro la Chiesa di S. Luca nel foro Romano, e poscia trasportati e restaurati sulle scale della Pinacoteca Capitolina. Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl. Supplément*, vol. iv, Pl. XXXI, p. 70 *sq.*; Nibby, *Roma Antica*, vol. i, pp. 471-476, Pl. opposite p. 471. According to Rossini, the inscription in the entablature ends with the words, Optimo et indulgentissimo Principi pueri et puellae Alimentari. For notices of the Faustian orphans v. Merivale *History of the Romans under the Empire*, edit. 8vo., vol. vii, pp. 512, 592, 603; comp. Smith's *Dict. of Antt.* s.v. Alimentari, &c., where copious references will be found to authors, both ancient and modern.

Any two Roman arches more unlike than the Porte-Noire at Besançon and that of Aurelius at Rome can hardly be imagined.

of Constantine at Rome, so that they would supply no evidence of the time when the Porte Noire was erected.¹

It is very difficult, nay even impossible, to give a satisfactory account of the sculptures on the Arch, but it is certain that the chief design was to commemorate military exploits, and that many of the reliefs are mythological. The former subjects prevail on the piers; the latter on the fronts, both that towards the town and that looking away from it. These latter would suit for the Emperor Julian, because he endeavoured to restore paganism after the establishment of Christianity as a state religion. Chifflet in his book on Vesontio, which contains two engravings of the Arch, assigns it to Aurelian, and explains the sculptures with reference to this Emperor.² The uppermost of the large statues between the columns, according to him, represents Hercules or Apollo, the middle Tetricus led by a soldier, the lowest Zenobia accompanied by her sons. But his opinion does not seem to rest on any solid foundation, and the details of his plate do not agree with that inserted in Clerc's Franche Comté, which M. Castan assured me was the most accurate that had been published.³

I have rejected Chifflet's theory, and adopted another, but I do not profess to account for all the details. In the console the Emperor appears, as in the Arch of Titus, perhaps with *hasta pura* in hand;⁴ between the two

¹ The immense superiority of Trajan's sculptures as compared with Constantine's is well shown in Rossini's engravings of the triumphal arch erected in honour of the latter emperor. One plate exhibits both periods of art in juxtaposition: we see above, *Gran Bassorilievo di Trajano diviso in quattro parti ai tempi di Costantino e poste nel suo Arco trionfale in Roma, e da noi per la prima volta tutto unito pubblicato*; and below, *Bassirilievi dell'Epoca di Costantino*; the respective positions of these six reliefs are explained. Those who have not access to Rossini's great work may consult with advantage Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, tome iv, part i, Pls. LXIX, LXX à la 114 page; *ibid.*, Pl. CX, p. 171; *Supplément*, tome iv, Pl. XXX, pp. 68, 70; English Translation by David Humphreys, vol. iv, Pl. at p. 168; Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, p. 5 *sq.*, 1854.

² Chaps. xli-xliii, esp. xlii, Arcus

Aureliano positi singule partes explicantur, et ejus triumpho aptantur. The twenty-eight paragraphs of the description correspond with the numbers marked on the subjects delineated in the imaginary Restoration.

³ Clerc's engraving, p. 17, is entitled *Are de Porte-Noire, tel qu'il était avant sa restauration*. "Ce fut alors (en 1820) que l'architecte Lapret entreprit, aux frais de l'Etat et de la ville, un dégage-ment de l'arc, travail repris et exécuté, pour la plus grande partie, par M. l'architecte Marnote, qui l'acheva en 1826." &c. : Castan, *Besançon et ses Environs*, p. 64. This plate also can be obtained separately.

⁴ In arches erected by the Roman emperors it is not always the statue of the sovereign that occupies this position. That of Constantine has a figure of Rome seated in the console, on the side looking towards S. Gregorio; Nibby, *Roma Antica*, vol. i, p. 455; Rossini, *op. citat.*,

lower columns Mars on one side of a nude figure and Minerva on the other may denote the union of valour and prudence in the conduct of a campaign. Trophies, armour, shields of Romans and barbarians, and captives in chains decorate the friezes and bands that separate the groups, proving the motive of construction beyond a doubt.

M. Castan describes a remarkable subject on the side of the arch facing the cathedral:—A young man with an air of triumph places on an altar a sack full of money, while another personage sadly retires, carrying away on his shoulder part of an animal that had been sacrificed. He regards this scene as symbolizing the overthrow of paganism. If this interpretation is correct, the figures must have been added after the date he assigns to the monument, viz., the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹

The theatre ranks next in interest to the Porte Noire, as it is also next in situation. Formerly the Place St. Jean was supposed to have been the Forum of Vesontio, but the locality presents strong objections to this view. In Roman towns, as in the capital, the Forum occupied a central position on a level space, but the Place St. Jean is on the slope by which we ascend to the citadel, and at the eastern extremity of the city. Thus, the rising ground was well adapted for the arrangement of seats in a theatre; and the spectators would be protected from the sun's rays, as the declivity looked northwards.² The

Plates of the arch, Restoration and Details. At Fanum an elephant's head is sculptured on the key stone; at Beneventum, Rome standing; and in the arch of Severus in Foro, Mars carrying a trophy.

The *hasta pura* was a spear without a head (*cuspidis*); Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s.v.; Bellori, *Picturae Antiqui Sepulcri Nasonum* etc., Tab. XIX, p. 57, whence Rich has derived his illustration. The subject is Oedipus answering the Sphinx; an attendant holds his horse, and carries a *hasta pura*. Cf. *ibid.* Tab. X, p. 51, where Minerva appears as the guarding deity of Hercules, with a spear of the same kind in her hand: Tab. XXXV, p. 63, *hastatum simulacrum*. Virgil, *Æneid* VI, 760, Ille, vides, pura juvenis qui nititur hasta.

Console is a French term for a bracket or corbel; see Parker's Glossary of

Architecture, s.v., where a noteworthy example is given, ornamented with a small chevron or zig-zag, from Diocletian's palace at Spalatro. The Console often appears as a decoration of the key-stone at the top of an arch, which is called in Italian *chiave* (from the Latin *clavis*) or *scraglio*.

¹ M. Castan's Paper in the *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, quoted above.

² Similarly, at Autun, in constructing the theatre advantage was taken of the favourable site: Appendix to my Paper on that city, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xl, p. 131 *sq.* In this respect the Romans imitated the Greeks, who built their theatres on hill sides, and often with a prospect over the sea. One of the best preserved is at Taormina; Gsell-Fels, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien Zweiter Band*, p. 550, describes its situation accurately,

remains found on the spot agree with this supposition ; for there existed in the cellar of an adjoining house a row of large flagstones, backed by a mound, and describing a curve which is part of a semicircle, having a radius of 26 mètres, 80 centimètres. Moreover, the *débris* of a colonnade were associated with walls that rose in three or four tiers, one above another. Hence there can scarcely be any uncertainty concerning the destination of the edifice to which they belonged.

A garden has been tastefully laid out in the Place St. Jean, and on the side facing the Archevêché, columns have been arranged, which are composed of the parts—bases, drums and capitals—discovered by excavation. They are eight in number, four truncated and four entire, two of the latter being connected by the entablature. To mark the centre of the curve formed by the *cavea*, a monument nine mètres high has been constructed ; to it some fragments have been attached, of which the most remarkable are a medallion of Minerva supported by two Victories and a theatrical mask. Some pieces of marble and porphyry are set in the pedestal, and two capitals roughly hewn show that the colonnade had never been completed.

The Theatre was close to the Canal d'Arcier, and its substructions partially included the great reservoir in which the latter terminated. Some of the sculptured stones brought to light decorated this basin appropriately ; *e.g.* Cupid riding on a dolphin, and an aged river-god leaning on an inverted urn from which water flows.¹ Lastly, we find here some vestiges of Christian as well as Pagan antiquity ; for, as might have been expected from

Es ist nach griechischer Sitte an einer herrlicher Aussichtstätte halbkreisförmig in eine natürliche Högelhölzung ausgetieft worden, die Sitze der *Cavea* (Ausschnitt des Zuschauertraums) sind aus dem Felsen gehauen: *ibid.*, p. 546, map, Environs of Taormina ; p. 575, engraving, view of Taormina from the Theatre, including Etna. For the Theatre at Syracuse v. *ibid.* pp. 680, 744 : Cicero says that it was in the highest part of Neapolis, In Verrem Actio Secunda, lib. iv, c. 53, sect. 119, quam ad summam the atrum est maximum. Rheinhard, Album des Classischen Alterthums, p. 38, No. 54, Egesta (Restoration). Niebuhr makes some remarks on similar structures at

Tusculum and Faesulae (Fiesole), History of Rome, English translation, vol. iii, p. 311, note 531 *sq.* We should bear in mind the climate of Southern Europe which admits of dramatic representations by daylight in the open air. Hence these theatres have been called diurnal.

¹ Clerc, Franche Comté, Pls. III, IV, pp. 29, 30, Sculptures trouvées dans les fondations de la Tour de Porte Noire. La nymphe d'Arcier (¹), des urnes jaillissantes et des amours jouant sur le dos des dauphins. P. 30, note 1, Les Bisontins...employèrent comme moellons les pierres et sculptures du réservoir romain situé à 40 mètres au-dessous de *Porte-Noire*.

the abundant supply of water, the primitive baptistery was built of materials taken from the reservoir.¹

The Capitol, Forum, Campus Martius, Amphitheatre and Roman bridge at Besançon deserve notice; but showing few remains visible above ground, they must yield in importance to the monuments described above.

I feel that an apology is due to this learned Society for my imperfect treatment of a theme at once difficult and attractive; but it is still more due to members of the Société des Antiquaires de France, because they have not only received me with the charming courtesy of their nation, but also placed at my disposal stores of erudition with a liberality for which I now make so inadequate a return.

APPENDIX.

I add a brief notice of the ancient authorities for the Lingones.

Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. i, cc. 26, 40; lib. iv, c. 10. This author relates that the Helvetii after their great defeat near Bibracte (Mont Beuvray), retired into the country of the Lingones. Together with the Leuci and Sequani they supplied provisions to Cæsar, when he was carrying on the war against Ariovistus. In the third passage he says that *mons Vosegus*, Vosges (for the Latin name see the notes of Davis and Oudendorp *in loco*), is in the territory of the Lingones; this statement agrees with Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I, 397, where he enumerates the forces that invaded Italy in the Civil War.

Castraque, quae, Vogesi curvam super ardua rupem,
Pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingonas armis.

According to Cæsar the river *Mosa*, Meuse, issues from *mons Vogesus*, but this seems to be a mistake as it rises in the plateau de Langres: Moberly's note on B.G., iv., 10.²

The Lingones do not play a prominent part in the Commentaries; they cannot be ranked with the Aedui and Arverni, or even with the Sequani. But the case is different when we come to the period which

¹ According to an ancient legend the relics of Saints Isidorus and Epiphanius were presented by Placidia, and deposited in a church, *ubi fons aque viene ab ipsis terrae meatibus exisceratur*: Chifflet, *Vesontionis Pars Altera*, *De Archiepiscopis Bisontinis et aliis Civitatis Bisontinae ecclesiasticis rebus*, pp. 104-107; Clere, *op. citat.*, p. 30, note 3; Castan, *Besançon*, p. 69.

² *Vosegus* is preferred to *Vogesus* by the best editors, and more nearly re-

sembles the Celtic word *Fasach*; see Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary*, *Fàsach*, aich, s.m. and f. from *fàs*. (Irish id.) A wilderness, a forest or fastness; solitude; and derivatives. In the *Pentingerian Table*, *Segmentum IIB*, *SILVA VOSAGVS* is marked as extending from Mogontiaco (Mayence) to Argentorate (Strasburg), and is also represented by a row of trees, the letters of these words being placed between the trunks.

Tacitus narrates: the Lingones find no place in the Annals, but frequently occur in the Histories, especially book iv, chaps. 55-77. Soon after the death of Vitellius, the year before Jerusalem was taken by Titus, an insurrection spread through Gaul and Batavia. Julius Sabinus (a Lingon) conspired with Civilis Classicus and Tutor against the Romans. After mentioning other tribes of less importance the historian adds, *Sed plurima vis penes Treveros ac Lingonas*, c. 55.

Sabinus was defeated by the Sequani, and afterwards concealed by his wife Eponina for nine years; their pathetic story is told by Dion and Plutarch. The Lingones co-operated actively with the Treviri in the supreme struggle for Gallie independence and nationality, but the revolt was crushed by the decisive victory of Cerialis at Rigodulum (Riol) near Trèves: Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, edit. 8vo., vol. vi, chap. lviii, pp. 490-528, esp. p. 526 sq.

In Livy we find the Lingones associated with the Boii. A colony from these Transalpine states migrated to the plain between the Apennines and the mouth of the Po; we cannot describe their boundaries accurately, but the occupation seems to have extended from Bologna to Ravenna; Livy, v. 35, Boii Lingonesque transgressi. . . . *Pado ratibus trajecto, non Etruscos modo sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt: intra Apenninum tamen se tenere.* These words occur in the history of the invasion, which ended in the taking of Rome by the Gauls, B.C. 390, so that most probably the Lingones had a share in this important event.

A passage from Polybius is worth quoting, because it defines the relative positions of some Gallic tribes in Italy; lib. ii, c. 17. *Τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Πάδου, τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπέννινον, πρῶτοι μὲν Ἀναρες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Βοῖοι κατώκησαν, ἑξῆς δὲ τούτων ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν Λίγγωνες, τὰ δὲ τελευταία πρὸς θαλάττη Σηρωνες.* Mémoires de la Soc. Hist. et Archéol. de Langres, tome i, pp. 36-41, esp. p. 39; Les Lingons durant l'ère Celtique, leur antiquité et leur puissance.

The phrase *circa Lingones* in Eutropius, ix, 23, quoted above, means near Andemantunnum; see Mad. Dacier's edition; the note *in loco* has the words *pater meus* appended to it; they are explained by the title-page, where this learned lady appears as Anna Tanaquilli Fabri filia.

Let us now turn from historians to geographers.

Strabo, lib. iv, cap. 3, s. 4, p. 193, says that the Ædui and Lingones dwell towards the West beyond the Helvetii and Sequani, and the Leuci (Toul) and part of the Lingones beyond the Mediomatrici (Metz). The former statement is correct, but the latter erroneous. Mr. G. Long has pointed out the mistake, and any map of ancient Gaul will show the position of the Leuci between the Lingones and Mediomatrici.

Ptolemy lib. ii, c. 9, s. 9, p. 231, edit. Car. Müller (Didot), Paris 1883. *Ὑπὸ δὲ τούτους (Παυρικοὶ) καὶ τοὺς Λευκοὺς παρήκουσιν Λόγγωνες, ὧν πόλιν Ἀνδοματουννον κσ' δ' "μσ' γ".* The note contains many references and various readings—*Λόγγωνες, Λάγγωνες, Λοίγωνες*; of the name Andematumnum five forms in Greek and four in Latin are given. This word does not occur in Cæsar, but is found twice in the Antonine Itinerary, p. 385 sq, edit. Wesseling, p. 185 sq. edit. Parthey and Pinder.

Item ab Andemantunno Tullo Leucorum us-

que mpm xliii sic

Mosa mpm xii

Solimariaca mpm xvi

Tullum	mpm xv.
Item ab Andemantunno Camba-	
tem	mpm cii sic
Varcia	mpm xvi
Vesontione	mpm xxiii
Epananduoduro	mpm xxxi
Cambate	mpm xxxi.

Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis, edit. Böcking, cap. xl, Item Præposituræ Magistri Presentialium a Parte Peditum, p. 120* vv. 6 sq [5] Præfectus Lætorum Lingonensium per diversa dispersorum Belgicæ Primæ. Ibid, p. 1100* sq. Annot. Some additional references for the Lingones and Andemantunnum will be found here, besides those quoted above.

The earliest instance that I know of a Roman gate with two entrances, such as may be seen at Langres and Autun, is the Porta Carmentalis at the foot of the Capitol towards the river Tiber. It is mentioned in Livy's "pictured page," where he describes the Fabii going forth amidst acclamations through the right arch-way (*i.e.* on leaving the city), when they made their fatal expedition to the Cremera, B.C. 479 : lib. ii, c. 49, s.f. Infelici via, dextro Jano portæ Carmentalis, profecti. It should be observed here that *Janus* is equivalent to *fornix*, or pervia transitio : Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii, 27, s. 67. See Weissenborn's Commentary on Livy, loc. citat., porta Scelerata, Unglücksthor ; cf. his note on the word Janus, ibid. i, 19, Ein, wie die Thore der Stadt, auf zwei Seiten von Mauern umgebener, oben bedeckter Durchgangsbogen mit zwei Thoren ;...Plutarch, Numa. 20 : ἔστι δ' ἀντὶν καὶ νεὸς...δίθυρος, ὃν πολεμῶν πύλιν καλοῦσι. Ovid, Fasti, i, 201, sq. ; Horace, Satires, ii, 3, 18 sq. ; Epistles, i, 1, 54, with Orelli's notes. Smith's Dict. of Class. Geogr., vol. ii, pp. 731, 751, s.v. Roma ; Niebuhr, History of Rome, Eng. Transl., vol. ii, p. 195 sq., note 444 sq. This author places the Carmental gate next to the Quirinal.

In the Dict. of Class. Geogr. s.v. Andemantunnum, it is said that one of the triumphal arches at Langres was erected in honour of the Emperor Probus. We know from the Augustan History that he gained a great victory over the Germans, that he delivered Gaul from the barbarians, that he restored prosperity, and that he promoted the cultivation of the vine ; but no circumstance is mentioned indicating that he was brought into immediate contact with the Lingones and their capital. The name of this tribe does not occur in his biography : Vopiscus in Pobo, cc, xiii, xviii ; Entropius, ix, 17 ; Etude Historique sur M. Aur. Probus, d'après la Numismatique du règne de cet Empereur, par Emile Lépaule, Lyon, 1884 ; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. xii, edit. Smith vol. ii, p. 44 sq., 51.

Among the Roman gateways that at Verona is one of the most remarkable both for its preservation and for its architectural details ; it has two entrances, as is said to have been the case with that which once stood at Chester (but ?), and bestrides the Corso. In the modern map of Verona it bears the name of Porta dei Borsari : Murray's Handbook for North Italy (ed. 1863) p. 278 ; there is a small but clear engraving of it in Rich's Companion to the Latin Dictionary (edit. 1849), p. 518.

My colleague, Professor O'Ryan, has directed my attention to the discovery at Ratisbon last summer (1885), of a Porta Prætorial, *i.e.* gate in a Roman camp facing the enemy's position, and opposite the Porta

Decumana, which was furthest removed from it. The monument consists of a "single arch, unornamented but massive and imposing;" it looks towards the Danube, and is situated near the Bischofshof, marked No. 11 in the plan, Baedeker's Deutschland, Erster Theil, p. 328, edit. 1863, Regensburg: the Athenæum, No. 3024, Oct. 10, '85 art. by the Rev. Joseph Hirst, a name well known to the readers of the Archaeological Journal: Zweite Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, Mittwoch, 20. Januar, 1886, p. 2.

Hirt, Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten, Band iii, Abschnitt x, §10, p. 417 sq., speaks of the Roman archways chiefly as ornaments to the roads (Prachtvolle Ehrenbogen an den Strassen zur Ehre der Wegebauer). He notices particularly two erected in honour of Augustus on the Via Flaminia—one at the Pons Milvius where it began, and the other at Ariminum where it ended (for the latter v. Rossini, Op. citat.)—that of Domitian at Sinuessa, and that of Trajan at Beneventum: *ibid.* ii, 279, 350, 358; and Atlas, Tafel xxxi [xvi], Figs. 5-8. Comp. Prof. Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, nos. lxxxi-lxxxvii, Engravings of coins showing gates and walls of cities, pp. 304-327; Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, s.v. Arcus Triumphalis and Porta; the latter article is very suggestive.

Those who wish to make a special study of the Cathedral at Langres should read carefully the remarks upon it by Viollet-le-Duc in his Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française. For the fluted pilasters, v. tome ii, p. 257, La camélure occidentale du xii^e siècle se rapproche des profils et de l'échelle des camélures grecques, comme beaucoup d'autres profils de cette époque. For the close connexion between the Cathedrals of Langres and Autun see the same work, tome i, p. 229 sqq.; Viollet-le-Duc says of the former, C'est la cathédrale d'Autun avec des voûtes en arcs d'ogive sur la nef et le transept, bas côté pourtourant le chœur, et une seule chapelle au chevet; figs. 52, 53. Details are explained under the following heads:—Astragale, Bague, Cathédrale, Base, Chapiteau, Cloître, Corniche, Rose, Triforium.

As Langres and Autun are not far apart, the antiquarian traveller would do well to include both in the same tour, so that he might have one place before his eyes while the other was still fresh in his recollection. The Indicateur now contains maps of the principal railways in France, which make the means of communication very intelligible: in this case the route lies through Dijon, where the Burgundian school of architecture may be studied advantageously: v. Cartes Spéciales des Réseaux, Chemins de Fer de Paris—Lyon—Méditerranée.

Mr. Wornum's opinion that the *acanthus spinosus* was specially imitated by the Greeks does not appear to be well founded. This view is not recognised by Mr. James Yates, who has examined the plant both as a botanist and as a classical scholar; nor is it supported by any of the examples that I have consulted: Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. I, chap. iv; Pl. xxiv, fig. 1, The elevation of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates; Pl. xxvi, fig. 1, The external face of the capital, with the entablature; and Pl. xxix, fig. 1, The flower on the top of the tholus or cupola.

I have noticed above a bas-relief of a Gallic car drawn by four horses; this subject, but with two horses (*biqua*), is most probably figured on the denarii of the gentes Domitia, Licinia and Porcia: Morell's Thesaurus,

Familiarum Romanarum Numismata, tom I, p. 153 sq., Domitia, Tab. 1, Nos. i-v; p. 238, Licinia, Tab. 1, Nos. v, vi; p. 351, Porcia, Tab. 1, No. i: Riccio, *Le Monete delle antiche Famiglie di Roma*: Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*. These coins are interesting because they exhibit the Gallie carnyx: v. Hesychii Lexicon, vol. 2, p. 414, edit. M. Schmidt, and note. It is fully described by the Scholiast on *Iliad*, Σ. 219, and by Eustathius in *Homer*, p. 1139, ap. Wesseling Diodorus Siculus, lib. v, c. 50, p. 313, l. 2 edit. Bipont. The Scholiast mentions six kinds of trumpets; but the accounts given of the carnyx by these three writers are so similar that it is unnecessary to quote more than one. Eustath. loc. citat. Τρίτη ἡ Γαλατικὴ, χωνευτή, οὐ πάνυ μεγάλη, τοῦ κώδωνα ἔχουσα θηριόμορφόν τινα καὶ ἀλλὸν μολίσβδιον, εἰς ὃν ἐμφυσῶσιν οἱ σαλπυσταὶ ἔστι δὲ ὀξύφωνος καὶ καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ΚΑΡΝΥΞ. The Gallie is the third kind (of trumpet) of cast metal, not very large, it has the lower part in the form of a wild beast, and the tube leaden, into which the trumpeters blow; it gives a shrill sound, and is called by the Celts Carnyx. The head of some wild animal is distinctly visible on the denarii above mentioned.¹

This Gallie emblem quite agrees with the history of the gens Domitia, for we read that Cn. Domitius Cn. F. Cn. N. Ahenobarbus defeated the Allobroges and their allies, the Arverni under king Vituitus (Bituitus), b.c. 121, at Vindalium, near the confluence of the rivers Sulgas (Sorgue) and Rhodanus (Rhône), north of Avignon, and in the district which the stay of Petrarch at Vaucluse has made famous: Joanne's Guide for Provence, &c., map at p. 24. Velleius Paterculus, ii, 10; Valerius Maximus, ix, 6, 3 (De Perfidia), where the Delphin editor has Betultus incorrectly, and calls Vindalium a river instead of a town, v. Strabo, lib. iv, cap. i, s. 11, p. 185 edit. Casaubon κατὰ Ὀρενδαλον πόλιν; Livy, *Epitome* 61; Florus, lib. iii, c. 2. Cf. omn. Jules Courtet, *Dictionnaire des Communes du Département de Vaucluse*, s.v. Vedènes, where graves were discovered with a skeleton in each, and a broad sword at its side; a cornelian was also found, on which the figure of a warrior with spear and shield was engraved. A great trench, covered by stones of enormous size, contained heaps of bones, and hence this spot is still called *le Plantier des morts*. Thus the geographer and the historians, the coins, existing remains, and modern name all afford concurrent testimony; cf. map and art. Bédarrides, *ibid.*, and Smith's *Diet. of Class. Geogr.*, vol. i, p. 954, s.v. Gallia Transalpinæ.

Riccio has followed Morell, who describes the same type of the Domitian denarii in one place as *Vir nudus in bigis*, and in another as *Mars in citis bigis*; but it seems doubtful whether Mars or any other deity is intended. Cohen, *op. citat.*, shows the carnyx, s.v. Porcia, No. 1; Aurelia, No. 5; Cosconia and Publicia, No. 1; but the best example is Postumia No. 9, pl. xxxv, because the Gallie trumpets are here represented on a larger scale; they are placed en sautoir, between an oblong and a round shield. The carnyx occurs five times in the gens Julia, pl. xx, Nos. 11, 12, 13, 15, 16: No. 13 is specially interesting, as it exhibits at the foot of a trophy a two-wheeled chariot, probably British, and a carnyx; according to Cohen the latter is faux recourbée! For the historical allusion, v. *ibid.* 'Eclaircissements, p. 170. Morell, *op. citat.* p. 206, explains the coin with reference to Cæsar's achievements in

¹ Stephens, *Thesaurus Graecæ Linguae*, edit. Didot, s.v. Κάρνος, Σάλπιγξ.

Spain; he says it was struck post domitos Gallæcos et Lusitanos, and that the spears on the reverse are *gaesa Hispanica*. This conjecture is improbable. Comp. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, pp. 192, 232.

An amusing illustration of the bas-relief at Langres, No. 240, in which three bottles are figured, will be found in Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*, vol. ii, p. 231 sq., *Armorial Bearings for Physicke of Devon and Lincolshire*, devised and granted by Monte Santo, *Devon Herald*, A.D. 1823 (with engraving).

Arms

Gules, on a fesse engrailed sable, between three vials argent, labelled
MORNING, NOON, NIGHT, &c.

Motto

Bibe et Vive.

With the coin of Litavicus, in which he appears carrying a standard surmounted by a wild boar, comp. Dr. Ferd. Keller in the *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*. Band xv, Heft 3. *Statistik der römischen Ansiedelungen in der Ostschweiz*. Taf. v, Fig. 5 und 6 stellen Eber vor, den Rücken mit einem Kamm von Borsten besetzt und mit Hauern, welche sich wie ein Ring um die Schnauzen legen. Sie erinnern ganz an die Eberbilder, die auf gallischen Münzen vorkommen. Siehe Dr. H. Meyer's *Gallische Münzen*. Taf. iii, Fig. 124-126, und 129.

In the *Diet. of Antt.*, p. 1044, 2nd edition, s.v., *Signa Militaria*, it is stated on the authority of Pliny, *Hist. Nat. lib. x*, cap. 4, sec. 5, that the Romans placed on their standards figures of the eagle, minotaur, wolf, horse and boar, but that Marius retained the eagle only; Marius in totum ea (reliqua signa) abdicavit. However, I observe among Specimens of the Illustrations to Mr. Thompson Watkin's forthcoming work on Roman Cheshire, a bas-relief representing a standard of the twentieth legion [LEG XX], with a wild boar on a large scale across it, but not a part of it. This monument is surely of a later date than Marius.

Towards the end of the same article the writer says that we have little information respecting the standard of any other nation besides the Romans. This remark requires some limitation. The Dacian ensign, a dragon with gaping mouth, is well known, because it occurs frequently on Trajan's Column. It bore some resemblance to the *carnyx* both in appearance and in sound; the open jaws were like the lower end of the trumpet, and the wind made a loud noise as it passed through the serpent's body: *Suidas*, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Σημεία Σκυθικά*, edit. Bernhardt, tom. ii, p. 734, *καὶ τὴν καὶ ἡχεί πρὸς τὴν συγκίνησιν ὑπὸ τῇ πνοῇ διερχομένη βία*, and *noto in loco*; cf. *ibid.*, *Ἰνδοί, Χελιοστῆς*; *Ammian. Marcellin.*, xvi, 10, 7, *Hiatu vasto perflabiles et ideo velut ira perciti sibilantes*; *Gibbon*, chap. xix, ed. Smith, vol. ii, p. 399. The Romans adopted standards of this kind from other nations: *Rich, Companion to the Lat. Diet.*, s.v. *Draco*. Cf. *omm. W. Froehner, La Colonne Trajane*, pp. 90 sq., 93, 120, esp. the first reference and note 3; *Pls. 15, 16*, at p. 92, and *Pl. 64* at p. 120: *Fabretti, La Colonna Trajana*, *Tavola xii*, No. 134, where explanations are given; *Tav. xiii*, No. 137; *Tav. xv*, No. 146, &c.; *Tav. lxxviii*, *Piedestallo della Colonna*, shows both the dragon and the *carnyx* on a large scale. This is not the only illustration of Celtic customs supplied by the same most instructive memorial,

The standards of the Germans are mentioned by Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 7, *effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in praelium ferunt*; *Histories*, lib. iv, c. 22, *depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines* (aprorum, puta, ursorum, urorum eet., Orelli's note); he is here relating the attack on *Vetera castra*, Xanten, by Civilis.

For the armorial bearings of the Bishops of Langres see the memoirs of the local society often quoted above, tome iii, pp. 47-52, *Généralités sur les Sceaux et les Armoiries des Evêques de Langres*; pp. 53-64, *Armes de l'Evêché, leur Origine*; pp. 71-188, *Les Evêques depuis 980 jusqu' à nos jours*.

Vesontio, though an important city as the capital of the Sequani, does not occur frequently in ancient authors. Ptolemy places this tribe next to the Helvetii, ii, 9, 10. *Σηκοανοὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὧν πόλεις Διτταῖον, Οἰωρόντιον, Ἐκουετρίς, Αἰωντικόν*. Orelli, *Insec. Lat.*, vol. ii, p. 152, No. 3684.

POMOERI
VESVNTION;

but the genuineness of the inscription has been suspected. *Vesant* is the form of the name found on a mile stone at Mandeure, Epamandudurum (in the arrondissement of Monthéliard), a place where many Roman remains have been discovered; the theatre was constructed to accommodate at least 12,000 spectators: Castan, *La Franche-Comté*, p. 24. Ausonius has *Visontio*, and speaks of a school there: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica auctorum antiquissimorum tomi V pars posterior D. Magni Ausonii opuscula*, edit. Schenkl, 1883, *Gratiarum actio dicta Domino Gratiano Augusto*. (viii), cap. vii, s. 31, *Quomodo Titianus magister, sed gloriosus ille, municipalem scholam apud Visontionem Lugdunumque, variando non actate equidem, sed vilitate consenuit!* edit. Delphin., sect. 419, 31, p. 535 sq., Castan, *op. citat.*, p. 17, *'Ecoles de Vesontio*. In the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis*, the Vesontes are mentioned three times, edit. Böcking, 1839—1853, p. 20, *Insignia Viri Illustris Magistri Peditum*, [iv], t; p. 26, *Legiones comitatenses triginta duae*; p. 37, *intra Hispanias cum Spectabili Comite*: p. 240, *Annotatio ad p. 26* is a copious discussion on this name; Böcking agrees with the derivation from *bison*, and says *pari ratione atque aliis locis Leones et Ursos aliaque ejusmodi nomina offendimus*. He suggests, but only as a conjecture, that the Vesontes may be the same as Vesuni, a Moorish people; this view is supported by the fact that in the *Notitia* they (Vesontes) immediately follow the Pacatianenses, who according to Pancirolus, are named from Pacatiana, civitas Mauritaniae Tingitanae.

The adjective *Vesontinus*, from Vesontio, is sometimes used; but *Bisontinus* occurs more frequently.

Besançon is well known to Parisian residents and visitors, because the Porte St. Martin on the Boulevards was erected to commemorate its capture by Louis XIV., when it was definitively annexed to France. The following inscription appears on the southern attic, *i.e.* on the side facing the city; *Ludovico Magno Vesontione Sequanisque bis captis, et fractis Germanorum Hispanorum, Batavorum exercitibus*. Praef. et Aediles P.C.C. R. S.H. MDCCLXXIV: Galignani's *Paris Guide*, p. 259 sq.; Castan, *Franch-Comté*, p. 88 sq.; *id.*, *Besançon et ses Environs*, p. 36 sq., *Notice Historique*; Voltaire, *Siècles de Louis XIV et de Louis XV*, tome I, chap. xi.

The word *Bezant* has only an accidental resemblance to Besançon ; it is more correctly written *Byzant*, and is derived from Byzantium (Byzantium sc. nummus). This name was given in Western Europe to the principal gold piece (aureus) current at Constantinople from the time of Constantine the Great, called solidus, seventy-two to the pound weight. Hence, perhaps, we may explain the legend CONOB on coins of the Lower Empire, the last two letters being equivalent to 72, when the Greek alphabet is used numerically. Other interpretations have been proposed :—obsignata, officina secunda, obryzatum (aurum) i.e. made of standard gold ; cf. obrussa, Cicero, Brut, c. LXXIV. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., viii, 521-526, De Inscriptione CONOB : Cohen, Médailles Impériales, tome vi, p. 112 note 1 on a reverse of Constantine the Great, which has in the field to right LXXII ; see also p. 392, Observations sur l'explication des lettres CONOB, OB, TROB, etc. Comp. a bronze coin of Crispus, on which the numerals XIII occur, denoting that there were thirteen pieces of copper money to the denarius: v. my Paper on the find at Sutton, near Woodbridge, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxviii, p. 37, note 5: a typographical error should be corrected in the text ; line 13, for XIII read XIII : Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 186, Lettres, Nombres et Symboles qui se rencontrent sur les médailles de bronze de Crispé. During the Middle Ages *trientes* also (a third of the *solidus*) were in circulation ; they were struck by the Merovingian princes of Gaul and the Gothic kings of Spain: Humphreys, Coin Collector's Manual, vol. ii, pp. 383, 517.

Bezant is used as an heraldic term to signify a flat disc of gold or silver. Boutell's English Heraldry, p. 71 sq., s.v., Roundles or Roundlets. "The Bezant No. 151, apparently has derived its name from the Byzantine coins that the Crusaders, when in the East, may sometimes have actually fixed upon their shields for heraldic distinction The field on which Bezants or Plates are charged is said to be bezantée or plattée" Cf. Glossary, p. 105: Guillim's Heraldry, Dictionary, &c., p. 4. Littré, Dictionnaire de la Langue Française, has an excellent article on Besant, with quotations from writers of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

In the armorial bearings of Besançon, as now used, we see an eagle between two columns ; some French antiquaries say that they are the Pillars of Hercules, as they appear on the Spanish currency of the present day with PLVS inscribed on one and VLTRA on the other. Those who adopt this explanation refer the columns to Charles V., of whose vast dominions Franche Comté formed a part. Spener, Opera Heraldica, Tom. ii, Tab. ii, lib. i, c. 38, p. 182, In Caroli V. Sigillo impositum aquilæ Imperialis pectori scutum. Poy d'Avant, Monnaies Féodales de France, 1862, vol. iii, pp. 139-145, Ville de Besançon, Pls. cxxii, 12-exxiv, 8 ; two pillars are frequently repeated, see explanations p. 139 ; Archevêché de Besançon, pp. 134-139, Pls. cxxi, 17-cxxii, 11. Catalogue de la Collection E. Gariel, pp. 216-218, Nos. 2863-2884, chiefly coins of Charles V. ; No. 2865 is engraved in Pl. vii, Rev. Aigle éployée à deux têtes nimbées portant en cœur l'écu de la ville Quadruple pistole d'or.

But the origin of this coat of arms may be traced back to a date much more remote. In the middle of the thirteenth century the commune of Besançon used a seal, the device on which was a processional cross accompanied by the arm of St. Stephen, with the hand raised in

benediction, according to the Latin mode which signified the Trinity (Wornum, Analysis of Ornament, p. 64, 2nd edition). The counter-seal, which was of course much smaller, represented four columns of the portico of the Gallo-Roman Temple on the hill where the citadel now stands. Soon after 1290 a spread eagle crowned (*thus* distinguished from the symbol of St. John the Evangelist,) was added to the religious emblems above-mentioned, with the view of showing that Besançon was a free imperial city, like those of Germany. In 1390 the ecclesiastical signs disappeared altogether, which indicated that the citizens wished to proclaim their independence of the Archbishops. A large seal was engraved in 1434; here the eagle appears, for the first time, perched upon the rock of St. Stephen between two columns, which were all that then remained. The legend round this picture is SIGILLVM MAGNYM VNIVERSITATIS CIVIVM BISVNTINORVM. I have derived these particulars from the Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation du Doubs, 4^{ème} Série, 6^{ème} vol., pp. 443-459, 1870-71. Les Secaux de la commune, l'Hôtel de ville et le Palais de justice de Besançon, par M.A. Castan: this essay is accompanied by Pièces Justificatives, see esp. iv—1435, Témoignages concernant les origines de l'hôtel de ville et des armoiries de Besançon. Dessins—Onze gravures sur bois figurant les secaux de la commune depuis le milieu du treizième siècle jusqu'à nos jours. The seals are briefly described by the same author, Besançon &c., p. 225 sq., Monuments Civils. Comp. the frontispiece of Chifflet's Vesontio, 1618, where the word VTINAM is inscribed on both the columns, and the motto above them is DEO ET CÆSARI FIDELIS PERPETVO; *ibid.*, Engravings, p. 57, Columnæ Montis Coeli, p. 58; Antiquissimum Vesontionis sigillum.

M. Ed. Clere, Franche-Comte, p. 28, describes the figures in relief on the *plate-branle*, surrounding the arch of the Porte-Noire, as "un enroulement de tritons et de divinités marines;" comp. Plate at p. 17: and M. Castan expresses the same opinion, Besançon, &c. p. 60. But these sculptures, I think, represent Giants, because the limbs end in serpents, there being too many convolutions for the tails of fish which would belong to marine deities. The subject of the frieze appears to be a Gigantomachia. In order to decide a question of this kind, we must compare the monument under consideration with similar examples. Gori, Museum Florentinum, vol. ii, p. 82, tab. xxxiv, has engravings of two gems that exhibit the contest between Gods and Titans; No. II Jupiter Porphyryonem fulminans, No. III. Hercules Hælyoneum interimens; in both cases the lower extremities of the Giants are snakes. Overbeck, Atlas der Griechischen Kunstmythologie, Erste Lieferung, Tafel v, figs 2a and 9: in the latter there are fourteen giants, all of this shape: Sarkophagrelief in der Galeria delle statue des Vatican. Museums. The same form appears again in recent discoveries at Pergamus: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon, Vorläufiger Bericht von A. Conze, &c., mit sieben Tafeln, Berlin, 1880, with numerous Plates in the Text, pp. 51-61, e.g. p. 55, ein schlangenhäutiger Gigant, v. Taf. III, Zeus-Gruppe; Holzschnitt B,D,F,I,X-Q. Führer durch die Königlichen Museen, Berlin, 1883, pp. 20, Rotunde (A), 22-24, see plan at p. 12. W. C. Perry, Descriptive Catalogue of Casts from the Antique, South Kensington Museum, pp. 99-101, Nos. 205, 206, especially the former. Id. Greek and Roman Sculpture, chap. xlvi, pp. 534-557, Plastic Art in Pergamon (In the Table of Contents *Centromachia* is printed by mistake for *Gigantomachia*):

pp. 545-555, principal frieze round the great altar ; p. 549, different types of Giants. C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, § 351, Remark 2, English Translation p. 425, Zeus Gigantomachos, with numerous references ; § 395 sq., Eng. Trans. pp. 520-524, The Præmæval World, Giants as adversaries of many Gods. *Denkmäler*, Part II, Taf. iii, Nos. 34-36 : Taf. lxvi, sq., Nos. 843-850. Rev. C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii, Pl. XI, No. 4 Cameo by Athenion, Jupiter overthrowing Titans. This celebrated gem, signed with the artist's name, is given as an illustration by Mr. Hodder Westropp, *Handbook of Archaeology*, p. 266, and by Dean Milman, edition of Horace, *Carm* iii, 1, 7, *Clari Giganteo triumpho*. King, *ibid.* No. 9, Cetus or Ephialtes defying Jove.

Abraras also has serpent supporters springing from a human body, which are said to symbolize Nous and Logos,—“the inner senses and the quickening understanding ;” King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, Pl. facing p. 35, and Description of Plates and Woodcuts at the end of the book ; Maskelyne, *Catalogue of the Marlborough Gems*, p. 51, Nos. 287-289 : but this is a subject foreign to our present inquiry.

A careful study of the sculptures at Pergamus, and of the circumstances under which they were executed, tends to confirm my interpretation of the frieze at Besançon. The motive was the same in both—an attempt to represent in a mythical form the contest between civilization and barbarism. A parallelism of a double kind, historic and artistic, may be observed here. The Greeks of Asia Minor under Attalus I and Eumenes II defeated the dreaded Gauls ; so in a later age the Romans under the Emperor Julian drove back beyond the Rhine the not less formidable Germans. In both cases Jupiter overcoming “wild and lawless Giants” was portrayed on a public monument, as a lasting record of decisive victory. Perry, *Op. citat.*, pp. 535, 542 sq., 547 and note. But we may trace the analogy between the sculptures at Pergamus and Besançon still further, for Mr. Perry, describing the former, truly remarks that “there is much in these reliefs.....more akin to the bloody Roman arena than the Olympian Altis, p. 555.

The campaigns of Julian, though now seldom mentioned, vie in importance with the most renowned achievements of classical antiquity. An interesting account of the benefits which this emperor conferred on Gaul, both in war and peace, is supplied by a *brochure* entitled, *Les Invasions Barbares d'après les écrivains et les monuments anciens*, ouvrage contenant 11 gravures ; Paris, Hachette, 1879, chap. iv, pp. 32-90, *Le César Julien en Gaule jusqu'à la soumission des Francs*. This publication consists chiefly of extracts from Ammianus Marcellinus, “the last of the great historians of Rome.”

The central figure, in the console of the Arch at Besançon, is not altogether easy to explain ; it may possibly have been substituted for one of Jupiter overthrowing the giants. The latter were supposed by Chifflet to be captives in chains ! Vesontio, pp. 168, 170, 173, Nos. 7 and 12 in Plate, *Catenâ vinctam captivorum in serpentes desinentium turbam Aurelianus tenet* : pp. 173-176, he explains the figures at great length, and very fancifully, with reference to the Sun and Apollo.

Pistrucci has cleverly imitated the antique in his design intended to commemorate the victory gained by the allies at Waterloo over Napoleon Buonaparte : see *The Waterloo Medal* by Isaac Dyer, Philadelphia, 1885, accompanied by a fine engraving. The reverse is described p. 17, “Zeus

is striking down the giants who have attacked the heavens,..... against him and his thunderbolts they are using clubs and pieces of rock as weapons. They are nineteen in number, signifying the nineteen years of the war."

The notion of some French antiquaries that the figures in the Besançon frieze are Marine Deities seems to have arisen from the proximity of the Arc Triomphal (dit Porte de Mars et Porte Noire) to the Aqueduc d'Arcier and the Bassin de Distribution des Eaux: see *Théâtre Romain de Vesontio, Plan d'ensemble des Ruines et de leurs abords*, accompanying M. Castan's Memoir, published by the Société d'Émulation du Doubs, Séance du 10 Avril, 1875. These beings usually have tails, like those of fishes, branching out in opposite directions, and very different from the thighs of giants prolonged into snakes, which terminate in the reptiles' heads. Gori, *Mus. Florent.*, vol. ii, Tabb. xlv-xlviii, pp. 96-98; xlv Nerens and Doris; xlvii, No. 1, Triton; *ibid.* No. 3, Nereidum Nympharum e numero una Hippocampo per mare vecta; xlviii, No. 1, Tethys; no. 3, Amphitrite. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii, Pl. xiii, No. 1, Neptune and Amphitrite carried over the waves on the back of a sea-horse; Pl. xiv, No. 3, a Scylla, the earliest Greek representation of the monster; No. 4, Dagon; No. 8, Nereid guiding a pair of Hippocampi. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 461, cf. p. xix, Description of the Woodcuts in the Text: Tritoness advancing to the attack, brandishing a trident: a unique design. Winckelmann, *Description des Pierres Gravées du feu Baron Stosch*, 4to., Florence, 1760: p. 105, No. 456, Triton,...d'espèces de cuisses se terminent en deux queues de poisson; p. 106, No. 460, Une Néréide; p. 108, No. 478, Scylla. Müller, *Archæol. d. Kunst*, §402, Das Element des Wassers. Cohen, *Medailles Consulaires*, Pl. xvi, p. 116, Crepercia, Nos. 1, 2, Rev., Neptune dans une bige d'Hippocampes. This fabulous animal with a fish-tail occurs also in the numismatic series of our own country: Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, pp. 211, 258, 259, 351; Pl. v, No. 2; vii, Nos. 9-11; xiii, 7. Comp. the Capricorn which is similar, and said to be copied from the coins of Augustus, p. 182 sq., Pl. iii, 7.

The Capitol of Vesontio, according to the local historians, was situated in the Place St. Quentin, which is not far from the Citadel; but there are good reasons for placing it in the centre of the town, at the back of the Rue Monecy, between the Grande Rue and the Rue de Chateaur. In the last street we can trace the ancient name Capitolium, which passed through the intermediate stages, *Chatol*, *Chatoul* and *Chatour*: C before A in Latin becoming CH in French; this rule holds good in proper names (of which we shall soon see another example at Besançon itself) as well as in common nouns, e.g. Carantonus Charente, Carnutes Chartres: Key, on the Alphabet, p. 51. Moreover, excavations on this site led to discoveries by which the ground-plan and decorations of a magnificent building became known. The subject is fully discussed by M. Castan, *Le Capitole de Vesontio et les Capitales provinciales du monde romain*, Mém. de la Soc. d'Emul. du Doubs, 1868. This paper is illustrated by three Plates; I, map of Besançon with ancient and modern names, II, Capitole de Vesontio, Plan de ses Ruines, Fragments du Portique et du Temple: a frieze, base and capital of a column, cornice, architrave, &c., are here shown. Sections VI and VII are devoted to cities in the provinces where there was a capitol; twenty-four are mentioned, and they seem to have been generally colonies. We have ancient authority

for the existence of such buildings in Gaul only at Augustodunum (Autun) and Narbo Martius (Narbonne): Eumenii Oratio pro restaurandis scholis, c. ix, inter Apollinis Templum atque Capitolium; Sidonii Apollinaris, Carm. xxiii, v. 41, ed. Sirmond, xx ed. Baret. At Toulouse (Τολῶσα κολῳρία, Ptolemy, lib. ii, c. 10, §6, Pliny N.H. lib. ii, c. 4, § 37,) the Hôtel de Ville is called La Capitoie; see the Guide-books of Murray and Hachette. M. Castan informed me that his Memoir cited above served as the basis of the article Capitoie in Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments.

The Forum was probably in the Rue des Chambrettes, which diverges in a slanting direction from the Grande Rue, and is not far from the Quai Vauban. This position would correspond very well with the passage in Vitruvius, De Architectura, lib. i, cap. vii, where he is speaking of sites suitable for public buildings; he recommends that in sea ports the forum should be near the sea, and that in other cases it should be in the middle of the town. So here, at Besançon, this centre of commercial activity was in close proximity to the bridge over the Doubs (Dubis) and the port where vessels discharged their cargoes: the existence of the latter in ancient times is proved by the fact that the word *port* still remains in the names of lanes ending at the river. Moreover some traces of a colonnade were found in the Rue des Chambrettes by workmen digging for sewers.

The Campus Martis was in the South-West part of the town, between the Rue St. Vincent and the Rue Neuve. Discoveries were made here in laying the foundations of the Arsenal, 1840-47. The old Roman name still survives, having been corrupted into Chamars, which is applied to a canal, a street and a promenade. This place was originally a burning-ground for dead bodies (*ustrinum*); amphorae full of ashes, fibulae that fastened the garments of corpses; a series of coins ending with Claudius I, and votive objects were found; Ed. Clere, La Franche Comté, p. 18 sq. Le Cimetière gallo-romain, près du Champ de Mars. At a later period the locality was devoted to electoral and legislative assemblies; they were held in a circular court, 80 mètres in diameter, with a covered gallery round it. This building, therefore, resembled the Ovile or Septa in the Campus Martius at Rome; and Besançon like other colonies, copied the architecture of the Imperial City. Cf. Juvenal, Sat. vi, v. 528 sq. ut spargat in aedem Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit Ovili.

The Amphitheatre, les Arènes, was situated on the right bank of the river, *i.e.* that opposite to the town, near the Porte d'Arènes and street of the same name, which is the principal one in this quarter. So at Reims the site of a similar edifice is indicated by the Rue du Mont d'Arène and the Rue des Romains making an acute angle with it, near the railway station: see the map appended to Notices sur Reims et ses Environs, 1880. Substructions and porticoes in ruins were visible, when Chifflet wrote his "Vesontio" 1618 (vol. i, p. 119); some fragments have been preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Besançon—a drum of a column, bases, and blocks of the white soft stone called *vergeuse*. A short street branching off from the Rue d'Arènes is now called Rue Marulaz, but it was formerly Rue du Pétour. This name is derived from the mediaeval Vicus de Postico, evidently relating to the Porta Postica by which gladiators and wild beasts entered the arena.

The Canal d'Arcier brought water into the city from a distance of 10 kilomètres ; most of its course was subterranean, though it derives its name from supporting arches at three points. Hidden from view to so great an extent, it does not impress the traveller in the same way as the stupendous aqueducts in France, Italy or Spain ; but it may remind him of the channel cut through a mountain at Samos, which Herodotus describes as one of the three wonders in that island, lib. iii, c. 60 ; Rawlinson's Translation, vol. ii, p. 454, note 7. As money of M. Aurelius was found in the masonry, it is supposed that the Canal was constructed in his reign, or not long afterwards. It is vaulted, and 85 centimètres wide : see Clerc, *Op. citat.* Pl. iv, p. 30. It was carried along the foot of the hill on which the citadel stands to the Place St. Jean, and poured its waters into the basin adjoining the Theatre mentioned above.

The Roman Bridge was on the great road from Italy, which crossed the Jura, and passed through Arorica (probably Pontarlier). At Veson-tio it bifurcated ; the right branch leading to Argentoratum (Strasbourg) ; the left to Andemantunnum (Langres), Durocortorum (Reims) and Gessoriacum (Boulogne-sur-Mer) : v. *Itinerarium Antonini*, edit. Parthey and Pinder, Map at the end of the volume. The structure has braved many centuries, and still, like the Pon. Elius (Ponte S. Angelo) at Rome, sustains the traffic of a city ; however, with this difference, that at Besançon, while the mass of the edifice is ancient, it is cased in modern façades on either side, which have been added to enlarge the thoroughfare. The bridge consists of five arches varying in length ; its proportions are very massive, and the width is under five mètres, thus harmonizing with the usual narrowness of Roman roads : Dict. of Greek and Roman Ant., p. 1192, "The breadth in the great lines, such as the Via Appia, the Via Flaminia, the Via Valeria, &c., is found to have been from 13 to 15 feet," The piers are founded on the rock which forms the bed of the Doubs, and have the lower blocks of stone fastened by iron cramps to it and to each other.

Besançon possesses a well-arranged Museum of Antiquities, and the Curator, M. Alfred Vayssier, will afford every information to visitors. The collection includes objects found in the city itself, in the river Doubs and at Mandeure (Epomanduodurum), Celtic antiquities from Alaise, also arms and ornaments (*parure*) from Burgundian cemeteries. But the most remarkable curiosity is a bronze bull with three horns, in the Gallo-Grecian style, 45 centimètres high and 75 long, found at Avigney (Haute-Saône) three leagues from Besançon, purchased by the town in 1873 for 20,000 francs. A bronze statuette of Morpheus also deserves notice, it has a leaden *torques* round the neck, like the so-called Dying Gladiator at Rome. Castan, Besançon, &c., pp. 71-83, 88-90, 343-347.

The coins of the Sequani (Franche-Comté), though inferior to some other Gallie series, claim attention from the philologist as well as the numismatist. *SEQVANOITVOS* frequently occurs as a legend ; 1598 examples were found in the Trésor de la Villeneuve-au-Roi (Haute-Marne) ; but it should be observed that on the medal as engraved by Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois*, Pl. 78, No. 2, for *VAN* we see *xv* as a ligature. The average weight is 1 gramme 92 c., which corresponds with the Roman denarial system. These pieces belong to the same period as those on which we read *KAAETEΔOY*, *KAAEDOY*, *KAAΔ*,

Hucher, *op. citat.*, p. 28, The name of the tribe, Sequani, is expanded here, as in the case of Andes, Andecavi (Anjou), we have ANDYGOVONI on a medal of Celecorix; Hucher, *ibid.*, p. 29, note 1; Lelewel, *Type Gaulois ou Celtique*, chap. 109, *Rédondance des syllabes*, p. 239, note 529, several instances of amplification are given. An earlier numismatist thought that SEQVANOIO and TVO were different words, and confessed his inability to explain the latter: Duchalais, *Description des Médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale*, p. 151 sq., Nos. 434-436. In this people, Greek influence shows itself by the termination of the nominative case, but amongst the Aulerci Ebuovices (Evreux) by the genitive, $\text{AVLIRCY. EBVROVICOIV.}$ Some may think these details insignificant, but they are often of great importance, as we may see by a Parthian example. Arsaces XVIII (Vonones I) appears in the nominative on his coins, $\text{BASIAEYΣ. ONΩNHΣ. NEIKHΣAΣ. APTABANON,}$ instead of the usual genitive, derived from the Greek usage, $\text{APΣAKOY. BASIAEΩΣ;}$ he had been long resident at Rome, and therefore followed the Roman practice. Moreover, on the reverse he substituted Victory walking, for the ordinary device of a seated figure presenting a bow: Lindsay, *History and Coinage of the Parthians*, pp. 51 sq., 150; Pl. 3 No. 61, 5 No. 11 (Tetradrachms); Tacitus, *Annals*, book ii, cc. 1, 2. Comp. F. de Sauley, *Lettres à M. A. de Longpérier sur la Numismatique Gauloise*, Paris, 1859, p. 248, Groupe 25.—Séquanes, à la légende SEQVANOIOTVO.

The names TOGIRIX and DOCIRIX , as far as I know, are not mentioned by historians, but we meet with them frequently on *quinarii* which have been attributed to the Sequani with great probability. Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois*, Part II, p. 106 sq., No. 171, legend TOC on obverse and reverse: No. 172, legend DOCI ; the animal on the reverse bends one of its fore-legs, and in this respect resembles the bull of Marseilles. Hunter's Catalogue, Tab. 36, Nos. xv and xvi, *Taurus cornupeta*; Leake, *Numismata Hellenica, European Greece*, p. 71, for explanations v. note. Rollin et Feuillant, *Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule*, Paris, 1864, pp. 8 sq.; Séquanes, Séquanes et Eduens (*Togirix, chef*): No. 104 (*q. docirix samutali filius*) q. DOCI. We owe the explanation to De Sauley, who reads SAM as the initial letters of SAMOTALIS or SAMILLI : *Op. citat.*, pp. 103-106, 140 sq., 249-252. Previously it has been supposed that the legend was SANT and that it stood for *Santonnes*: thus a double mistake was made; the characters were wrongly deciphered, and coins found in the East of Gaul were assigned to a tribe that inhabited the shore of the Bay of Biscay. M. Castan, *Monnaies Gauloises des Sequannes*, *Mem. de la Soc. d'Émul. du Doubs*, 8 juin, 1872, gives an account of 390 coins mostly found in the neighbourhood of Besançon: there were 73 specimens inscribed with the letters TOC , and 10 with q. DOCI SAMI.

We have but little information concerning the coinage of the Lingones; with regard to many pieces of a rude type, it is doubtful whether we should attribute them to this tribe or to their neighbours the Sequani: Th. P. de Saint-Ferjeux, *Notice sur les Monnaies des Lingons et sur quelques Monnaies des Leukes, des Séquanais et des Eduens*, 1867, p. 14. This author (known as a contributor to the *Mém. de la Soc. Hist. et Archéol. de Langres*) attaches great weight to the provenance, and lays it down as a principle that, when medals of the same class are repeatedly discovered, in much greater numbers than any others, in the same locality, they must belong to the province in which they have been found. See

Pl. at the end of M. Castan's Memoir cited above, Collection de la Bibliothèque de Besançon. Duchalais omits the Lingones, and Hucher mentions them only in a note, p. 28 sq.

For additional references see Hucher, *Op. citat.*, Part II, pp. 137-157, Catalogue Critique des Légendes des Monnaies Gauloises.

Some account of the mediæval coins struck at Besançon will be found in Barthélemy, *Numismatique Moderne* (Mannels-Roret), pp. 15, 32, 45, 48, 67, 243. The name of the city occurs among the Ateliers Monétaires Mérovingiens et Carolingiens, also in the Liste des Monnayeurs Mérovingiens. The Carolingian legends are BESENCIONE CIVITAS and VESSIN. CIVITIS. See esp. p. 243 Bourgogne (comté), Archevêché de Besançon. Money coined by the Archbishops was called *estercenantes* from St. Stephen, to whom a basilica was dedicated on the hill where the citadel now stands. It had been previously damaged by an explosion of gunpowder, and the celebrated engineer Vauban used it as building materials for his fortress. Ducange, *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, edit. Henschel, tom. iv, p. 531, s.v. Moneta, tab. xxvi, No. 146, legend, *Prothomartir-Bisuntium*. The Plates in this edition are very useful, and a great improvement on those in the folio. Chifflet, *Vesontio*, Pars I, cap. xlv, p. 187, has engraved two coins, one of which shows the Porta Nigra on the obverse; both have a hand in benediction on the reverse—cum braccchio S. Stephani Protomartyris in parte aversâ, more apud veteres Gallos, sub Imperio Carlingorum, valde usitato, ut Sanctorum tutelarium nomine nummi euderentur. Comp. Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies Féodales de France*, quoted above to illustrate the armorial bearings and seals of Besançon. For the money of Langres see Barthélemy, *op. citat.*, pp. 22, 45, 47, 136, esp. the last reference; the series of Bishops from Charles the Bald is appended p. 137: cf. *Mém. de la Soc. Hist. et Archéol. de Langres*, tome iii, pp. 54-59, on the Arms of the See.

Baron Chaudruc de Crazannes, *Antiquités de la ville de Saintes, &c.*, p. 136 sq., mentions the tomb of EVSEBIVS, a Christian, discovered at Besançon in 1694 (published by Mabillon and Dunod) on which the *ascia* was sculptured. He thinks that in this case it was an emblem, scarcely disguised, of the Cross. M. Castan, *Besançon et ses Environs*, s.v. Monuments Antiques, pp. 54-59, gives three Inscriptions found in or near the city: two are in honour of Mercury; the third, containing the uncommon title MATER SACRORVM, is included in Orell's Collection, with some variations, Vol. i, p. 402, No. 2313 and explanatory notes; cf. *ibid.* p. 296, No. 1491, OB HONOREM SACRI MATRATVS ... PATRE (i.e. sacrorum). This inscription was emended by Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis Sectio v, Geographica &c.*, p. 156, s.v. Arausio (Orange).

M. Castan concludes a chapter in his work on Besançon, entitled Description et Statistique, with a notice of Hommes Connus—celebrities connected with the city, p. 51 sq. The first name is that of Cardinal de Granvelle, son of Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, who built the magnificent palace that adorns the Grande Rue. But the most famous personage on the list is Victor Hugo born at Besançon, 26 February, 1802 (Vapereau, *Dict. des Contemporains*), though all may not agree with the eulogy pronounced by his compatriot—"le plus grand poète du dix-neuvième siècle." See also *La Franche-Comté et le Pays de Montbéliard* by the same author, *Période Autrichienne*, chap. xii, p. 73 sq. The reign of Charles the Fifth was the golden age of this province.

Among the learned men who flourished there "*la dynastie lettrée des Chiffet*" holds an honoured place. No less than thirteen members of this family, more or less eminent, are mentioned in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris, 1854. The most distinguished seems to be Jean-Jacques Chifflet, 1588-1660, author of *Vesontio, civitas imperialis, libera, Sequanorum metropolis* &c. Lyon 1618 in-4^o, which I have so often cited. The catalogue of his works on various subjects occupies more than one column closely printed. One of them—*Anastasis Childerici I* (father of Clovis), *Francorum regis, sive Thesaurus sepulchralis Tornaci Nerviorum* (Tournay) *effossus et commentario illustratus*; Anvers, 1655, 4^{to}—is briefly noticed by Mr. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. i, p. 463 (Works on the *Gyptic Art*). The objects found in the coffin are deposited in the Bibliothèque at Paris: Murray's Handbook for North Germany, Route 15, Calais to Brussels by Lille. J. J. Chifflet's brother Philippe and his sons, Jean and Henri-Thomas, are known as antiquaries. Jean wrote "*Macarii Apistopistus*" on Gnostic gems (*Abraxica*) and is repeatedly criticized by Jac. Gronovius in his *Explicationes* prefixed to the *Dactylothece* of Gorlaeus, Lugd. Bat. 1707, pp. 7, 9, 17, &c.

Caylus, as we have already seen, enlarges on the monuments of Langres; but, on the other hand, he only mentions a mosaic at Besançon, whose pattern he describes as "*des enlacements*," adding "*Le travail de cette mosaïque est fort grossier, et pareil à celui que j'ai vu assez généralement dans les Gaules*:" *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. vi, p. 345 sq. Pl. C1X.

I append a list of *Memoirs* on the antiquities of Franche-Comté by M. Castan.

L'Épitaque de la Prêtresse Gallo-Romaine Geminia Titulla.

Une Inscription Romaine sur bronze mentionnant les Eux thermales de l'Helvétie.

Un Cachet inédit d'Oculiste Romain.

Bulletin Archéologique, Une Fouille à la Baume-Noire;—Souvenir d'une Visite à Mandeure;—Un nouveau Cachet d'Oculiste Romain, — Un poids Romain du Bas-Empire.

Quatre Stèles funéraires Gallo-Romaines de la Banlieue de Besançon.

Le Champ-de-Mars de Vesontio.

Découverte de la Scène du Théâtre de Vesontio.

Besançon et ses Environs by the same author contains a good map of the city, with the Roman monuments distinctly marked.

With the paper above mentioned on Geminia Titulla comp. Note sur deux Inscriptions de Besançon by M. Ant. Héron de Villefosse.

Those who wish to pursue the subject further will find a clue to useful information in the *Catalogue des Ouvrages Franche-Comtois en vente à la librairie Ch. Marion-Morel et Cie.*, 2 and 4, place St. Pierre, Besançon. This firm has also published maps of the province and of the Département du Doubs.

If the classical tourist, instead of returning direct to Paris from Langres or Besançon, makes a détour in Lorraine and Alsace, he will see not only a beautiful country, even rivalling Switzerland in its picturesque features, but also many vestiges of Roman occupation to interest him. At Luxeuil (*Lixovium*) there is an Archæological Museum containing trinkets of gold and silver, vases of bronze and glass, fragments of capitals, statuettes in stone, figurines in wood, &c.; also two Latin inscriptions which have

given rise to much discussion: Joanne, Guides Diamant, Vosges Alsace et Ardennes, p. 73. At Plombières there is a Roman bath, which I remember to have found insupportably hot. *Le bain Stanislas*, installé en 1882 dans la Maison des Dames, près des étuves romaines dont, une, à 44°, retrouvée dans un état parfait de conservation en 1859, sert aujourd'hui aux hommes. On y voit un énorme robinet de bronze qui date de l'époque romaine: *ibid.*, p. 78.

Épinal possesses a fine collection of Gallo-Roman and Merovingian antiquities, lodged in a separate building close to the Bibliothèque. Among the inscriptions Rosmerta, probably a commercial deity, often occurs: My Paper on Reims, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xli, p. 134 sq. and notes. This place has recently attracted the attention of scholars, the *Épinal Glossary*, Latin and old-English of the eighth century having been photographed, and edited with Transliteration, Introduction and Notes by Mr. H. Sweet, 1883. The MS., now the property of the Municipality, originally belonged to the monastery of Mayen-Moutier (*Medianum Monasterium*), near Senones. It is said to be the "most ancient record of our native tongue." M. Voulot, Conservateur du Musée, has written an important work, *Les Vosges avant l'histoire*, 1 vol. 4to, with many plates from his own drawings. It may perhaps remind the English reader of Gibbon's remark on the *Medallie History of Carausius* by Dr. Stukely, "I have used his materials, and rejected most of his fanciful conjectures:" *Decline and Fall*, chap. xiii, note 28.

Many Roman remains have been found at Grand-Avrancil, the third station from Neufchâteau, on the line of railway from Épinal to Bar-le-Duc (v. Carte du Réseau de l'Est, *Indicateur des Chemins de Fer*). Some of them are preserved, I think, in the Departmental Museum at the former place. The name *Grand* has been derived from the German *Grenze*, a boundary; but this seems very doubtful.

In the East of France I have been particularly struck with the frequency of statues of Mercury, which supply the best commentary on Cæsar's words, *Bell. Gall. vi, 17, Deum maxime Mercurium colunt: hujus sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecunie mercaturasque habere vim maximam, arbitrantur.* Dr. Ferd. Keller has called attention to this Gallic deity in connexion with the monuments of Switzerland: *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*. Band xv, Heft 3, *Statistik der römischen Ansiedelungen in der Ostschweiz*; *Tafel V* (bronze) *Fig. 1-4, 20-23 Mercury*; 25, Roman Emperor with attributes of Mercury and Apollo. P. 119 (81). *Fig. 2, 3, 4* (*Ober-Winterthur*) stellen den Mercur dar, wie er gewöhnlich abgebildet wird und in den gallischen Ländern als Bronzestatue in unzähligen Exemplaren zum Vorschein gekommen ist. *Ibid.*, *Taf. viii. Fig. 4, 9*; *xix, Fig. 1*. This testimony from works of art is confirmed by the inscriptions in Alsace; v. Brambach, *Corpus Inscr. Rhenanarum* cap. xxx, *Bas-Rhin*, Nos. 1836 sq. &c., pp. 333-342: Jo. Daniel Schoepflin, *Alsatia illustrata Celtica Romana Francica. Colmariae (ex typog. regia) mcccii. fol.* traduction de L. Revenez 1-V. Mulhouse (Perrin) 1849 sqq. 8; see esp. lib. ii, *Periodus Romana*, pp. 123-615, with many engravings.

In conclusion, I beg leave to acknowledge my great obligations to the writings of MM. Brocard and Castan, and to thank the Rev. C. W. King, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, and Dr. Richard Caulfield for valuable suggestions, of which I have availed myself in the preceding pages.



PLAN OF THE OLD WATER SERVICE OF THE CHARTERHOUSE.

THE ANCIENT BUILDINGS OF THE CHARTERHOUSE.¹

By G. WARDLE.

The study of the Ancient Buildings of the Charterhouse must begin with a study of the old plan, made sometime in the 15th century for showing the position of the water pipes. We know the date of foundation, and we have some fragments of the beautiful architecture of that date, but the Charterhouse as we see it is mainly a work of the 15th and 16th centuries, and this 15th century plan is therefore a document of supreme importance.

The original is in the possession of the Governors of Sutton's Hospital. By permission of the Governors, I am able now to give a photograph from the original instead of the copy of Archdeacon Hale's copy, which I used when reading the paper. The photograph represents the last of four skins laced together with linen thread, which together show the whole course of the water pipes from the white conduit in Islington to the Charterhouse. For a general description of the Plan and a reading of the verbal notes which cover it, I may refer to the paper read by Archdeacon Hale before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, and printed in Vol. III of its Transactions. It contains many interesting details of the history of the monastery not belonging to our present subject. I must confine myself strictly to the examination of the buildings, my object being to show how much of the ancient monastery still exists after three hundred and fifty years of secular occupation.

In referring to the plan for this purpose, two questions present themselves. How far may a drawing, not made for the purpose of showing the buildings, but using them to show the positions of the pipes, be accepted as evidence of the nature of the buildings themselves?

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, March 4, 1886.

and how must a drawing be translated which is plan, elevation, and perspective all in one? It is certain we must take it very literally in some respects. We may say, for instance, quite positively, that the Church, the Chapter House, and Lavatory, lie together in the middle of the south side of the great Cloister, that the Sacristy is about the middle of the church on the north side, and that the Sacristan's cell was to the east of the Chapter House. The draughtsman could not have gone wrong in these particulars. We may say with the same confidence that the little Cloister was at the south-west angle of the Great Cloister, and that the Priors' Cell and the Fraternity were together, or near each other in the place indicated. We may also go so far as to say that the drawing of the Church would have been recognised by any of the monks. The plan was intended for use, and the Prior, or whoever referred to it, would expect to find the Church depicted with some degree of likeness.

Now, granting the general accuracy of the plan, we must not forget how the drawing was made, or attempt to get from it more than it was intended to give. We may assume that the distribution of the cells is generally correct, though we could not expect the draughtsman to know, or to think it necessary to give, the exact position of each cell wall. Neither can we suppose he could lay down all the parts regularly by a scale. The drawing is made quite freely, with one intention, that of laying down the directions, ending and crossings of the pipes. The pipes are quite out of proportion to the scale of the buildings, and other details of sufficient importance to be given at all, are also much larger than their proper size. That is quite natural to such a drawing. Again the draughtsman has had recourse, where the details were getting crowded, to verbal description, or he has carried the object, if he was bound to draw it, clear away from the place to which it belonged. He gives us a tub or a copper to represent the brewhouse, and gives us only one other feature of wash-house court, the cistern by the kitchen door, which, however, he is obliged to draw quite clear of the kitchen itself, and he makes it much larger than the kitchen. As part of this consideration it will be admitted that the gate house is

AN ATTEMPT TO RECONSTRUCT THE PLAN OF THE MONASTERY
FROM THE EXISTING REMAINS
AND THE INDICATIONS OF THE OLD DRAWING

The plan shows a large rectangular enclosure. The top wall is labeled with letters G through O. The right wall is labeled with letters P through X. The bottom wall is labeled with letters Y and Z. The left wall is labeled with letters A through F. The central area is labeled 'LITTLE CLOISTERS'. To the right of the cloisters is a large hall labeled 'HALL'. Above the hall is a smaller room labeled 'FRATRY'. To the left of the hall is a room labeled 'KITCHEN'. Below the kitchen is a room labeled 'WASH HOUSE'. To the right of the hall is a room labeled 'PRIDE'. Below the pride is a room labeled 'SACRISTY'. To the right of the sacristy is a room labeled 'LOCUTORIUM'. To the right of the locutorium is a room labeled 'CHAPEL'. To the right of the chapel is a room labeled 'LAVATORY'. To the right of the lavatory is a room labeled 'LAVATORY CELL'. To the right of the lavatory cell is a room labeled 'LAUNDRY'. To the right of the laundry is a room labeled 'Z'. To the right of Z is a room labeled 'Y'. To the right of Y is a room labeled 'X'. To the right of X is a room labeled 'V'. To the right of V is a room labeled 'T'. To the right of T is a room labeled 'S'. To the right of S is a room labeled 'R'. To the right of R is a room labeled 'Q'. To the right of Q is a room labeled 'P'. A 'Conduit' is shown connecting the central area to the right wall. A 'TANK' is shown at the bottom left. A scale bar at the bottom indicates a length of 100 feet.

The architectural drawings consist of three main parts:

- Kitchen and Buttery Plan:** A plan view showing the kitchen and buttery. The kitchen is labeled "KITCHEN" and the buttery is labeled "BUTTERY". A vertical dimension of "20 ft" is indicated between the kitchen and buttery. A small square is labeled "STEP ON NORTH FRONT". A legend indicates "Brick — X — Stone". A vertical dimension of "14 cent door" is shown. A vertical dimension of "2 ft 6 in" is shown. A vertical dimension of "Windows at 4 8" is shown. A vertical dimension of "Windows of little cloister" is shown. A vertical dimension of "Door at C" is shown.
- Chamber over Kitchen Section:** A section view showing the chamber over the kitchen. The chamber is labeled "CHAMBER OVER KITCHEN". The section shows the corbelled chimneys.
- Room south of kitchen:** A detail of the room south of the kitchen, showing a brick arch and a dimension of "10 ft. 10 in."

drawn without any adjacent walls merely because a pipe passes under it, and that fact was all the drawing had to show in that place.

The next point of importance is the date of the plan. Archdeacon Hale fixes it at 1430, I do not think it is quite so old, but we may safely say that it is not much later than the middle of the 15th century, to which time the earliest of the writings on it may be attributed.¹

Adopting that view, we will consider the chief buildings in detail, having regard always to this plan and to those remains of the ancient buildings which can still be distinguished under modern alterations and restorations. We shall be much helped in distinguishing new work from old by the plans made about 1614 for the Governors, though I am sorry to say I cannot exhibit copies of these. They were printed by Archdeacon Hale in *The Carthusian*, a little school magazine of 1839.

The first of the buildings to which I shall ask attention is the Kitchen; perhaps the least important feature in a Carthusian house, but for our purpose the most useful since we can place it with very great certainty. It is at the north end of the east block of the little cloister, and close to the fratriy—having only the buttery between. The old plan fixes the position of the buttery by this note. “This pipe gothe oute of the bake syde of the cell next the prior’s cell wy’n ij foote of ye ende of y^e fraytor w’owt y^e wall and so throw the lill cloyst’ by the buttery,” and it also calls the pipe which stands in this corner “the buttery cok.” That being so, the Kitchen is near. In Plate I we have the old fire place with a doorway at the side and an outer door close by. The fire place has been altered so much in quite recent times that we can scarcely say it exists. The drawing is copied from one made before the last alteration. We have, however, the outer doorway almost perfect, it was preserved by having been blocked up. Its existence is proof that this block is part of the

¹ The Archdeacon, in his description of the skins, does not take any notice of the differences of handwriting upon them, nor of the different dates which they represent, though it is plain the entries were made at various times during at

least one hundred years. It may also be as well to state that there is but one original plan, that of four skins; the three skin scroll from which he quotes in the paper referred to is a modern copy of the other.

original 14th century building. The wall is consequently original, though it is not without signs of subsequent alterations. A few years ago the north angle of the wall, with its buttress, and the return wall, the north wall of the Kitchen, were to be seen. The drawing I exhibit shows the buttress,¹ and an earlier one in the Archer Collection shows the end wall and the window which I have inserted in my plan. Another drawing by Archer gives the interior of the Kitchen in 1844. There was a fire-place on the west side exactly like that which may still be seen in the room to the south. Unfortunately for us Archer turned his back on the *original* fire-place. He, however, shows us the partition between kitchen and buttery. It was framed, with plaster fillings. It had a door at the north-east end with two little glazed lights over. They look like late fifteenth century work. Over the Kitchen was a chamber, approached by stone steps in the narrow space between the wall and chimney stack. The chamber was, therefore, at a higher level than that of the chambers in the rest of the block. The only light in the Kitchen which we can suppose was mediæval was that to the right of the fire-place. The big window in the end wall was not made until after 1614, if we may judge by its absence in the plan of that date.

The kitchen chimney makes a cross wall, which may have been the end of a small hall, perhaps the refectory of the lay monks. There is a hall in precisely the same relation to the kitchen at Mountgrace. In the 1614 plan this hall is divided by partitions into dry larder and pastry kitchen. I think that was done, and those names given when the house was in the occupation of North. The 1614 plan retains the old names of the rooms. The room above, for instance, is called privy chamber. A pastry kitchen was not part of the monastic arrangements. I attribute therefore the building of the pastry oven to the beginning of the secular occupation. It was considered a necessary part of a gentleman's house in North's time.²

¹ A drawing made by the present Surveyor of the Charterhouse before the alteration of the Kitchen.

² "Make the hall under such a fashion

that the parlour be annexed to the head of the hall. And the buttery and pantry be at the lower end of the hall, the seller under the pantry set somewhat abase.

The hood of the flue is exactly like the drawing Archer made of the supplementary fire-place in the kitchen. North may have built them both, or he may have adapted the fire-place in this hall as an oven. If it is thought that North was the builder, he must be credited with making the windows in the great chamber. They are exactly like in jamb section to that on the west side of this hall which seems to have been inserted to light the fire-place. It is quite unlike the opposite window which answers to all the other windows in little cloister.

South of this hall is a passage from Washhouse Court to Little cloister. It has quartered partitions on either side. The wall openings are arched with rather flat four centered arches of easy curve, that opening into cloister is moulded. The other has a broad chamfer which reminds one of the arches (restored) at S. James's Palace. One of the quartered partitions has a doorway, the mouldings of which are worked on the timber framing; they are certainly of post reformation date. It may be a question if this was the original entrance to Little cloister from this side. The old plan suggests a passage at the back of the kitchen flue. It will be noticed that the east wall of this block is thicker than the west, the recent facing of bricks not being taken into account. I have not tinted that in the drawing.

We will now examine the buildings on the north side of Little cloister. These are of great interest, and I may as well say at the outset are very puzzling. The Hall has undergone a good many changes. I think the roof exhibits the oldest features. It is apparently of the type of the great roof at Westminster. Sutton ceiled it, I think, and stuck pendants to the ends of the hammer beams. The ceiling has been divided into panels since his time, unless the ribs or bands are of plaster and have only been made conspicuous lately by paint and varnish to imitate old oak. Old views of the Hall do not show any panels on

"The kitchen set somewhat abase from the buttery and pantry coming with an entry by the wall of the buttery, the pastry house, and larderhouse annexed to the kitchen. Then divide the lodgings by the circuit of the quadrivial court, and let the gate house be opposite or against the hall door, not directly, but the hall

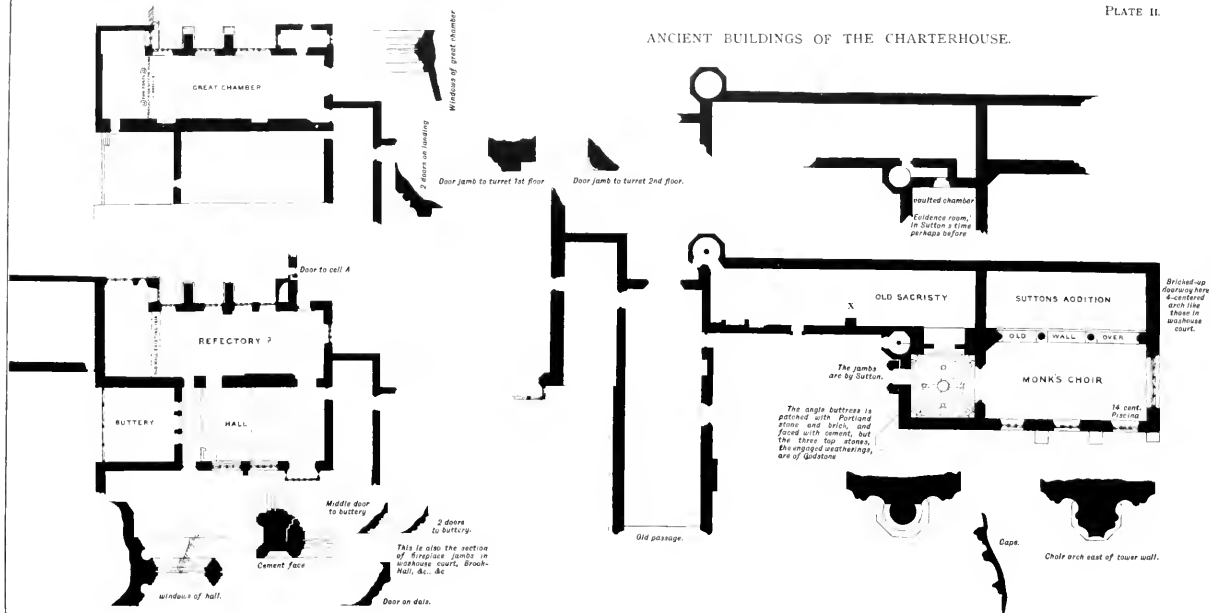
door standing abase and the gatehouse in the middle of the front entering in to the place. Let the privy chamber be annexed to the chamber of estate with other chambers necessary for the building, so that many of the chambers may have a prospect into the chapel." Andrew Boord, 1512.

the ceiling. The real roof of the Hall is not I think much later than the beginning of the 15th century. It has five trusses, 12 ft. 6 in. apart. They are quite independent of the windows, which are certainly of later date, say early in the 16th century. There are three doorways in the buttery wall, two, in the ordinary positions, have four centered arches under square recesses, and have carved spandrels of Holbeinesque character, quite unlike the carving in the spandrels of the Hall door or that which I was able to exhibit by two casts.¹ The centre opening in this wall is also square headed, but its mouldings are Elizabethan. The door opposite the entrance is also Elizabethan. These two doorways are probably the work of Norfolk. The doorway on the dais is of the same time as the two buttery doors. The Hall door and the arch on the dais are both earlier than any of these, but the oriel itself is not. We have therefore in the Hall, without reckoning alterations by Sutton, at least three changes since the roof was put on. First, the enlargement of the windows, consequent, I think, to the building of the Fraternity to the north; next, the communication with the Parlour from the dais, made either by North or just before the dissolution; and the embellishments by Norfolk, of which the screen is the most conspicuous.

The chief change in the aspect of the Hall was occasioned by the building of the Fraternity on the north side. The date of this must, I think, be fixed by that of the two doorways on the great stair. They are clearly intended for communication between the Prior's Lodging and the Great Chamber over the new Fraternity. The chamber has no present marks of style corresponding with the refined but vigorous character of these doorways, but it has endured many changes since it may have been the great chamber of the Prior. North and Howard successively used it for their state room, and no doubt each modified it somewhat to his tastes. Sutton undoubtedly modernized it to his date, and since then it has suffered both from neglect and restoration. The ground floor or Fraternity proper, has been changed quite as seriously, but it seems impossible to resist the evidence of those two doors as to the existence of a 15th century upper chamber, and the

¹ The casts were made from two spandrels over the great window.

ANCIENT BUILDINGS OF THE CHARTERHOUSE.



old drawing is unmistakable as to the position of the Fraternity in its time. That the original position of the Fraternity was not here I think is not less clear. We have cell A, of which the door and turnstile still remain. Their position I have taken pains to give quite accurately. A cell with a door so placed would have been impossible after the Fraternity was built. The 15th century Fraternity must therefore have been built on the site of cell A, and apartments were given to the Prior on the upper floor. Cell A therefore became the Prior's cell as the old plan calls it; the garden space would be needed for light to the new Fraternity, and it is possible that the Prior had another garden to the west which became later the privy garden of the secular owners; in that case the cell door would still be used by the Prior as garden door.

I have determined the size of the Fraternity by two data. There is a very thick piece of wall existing on the east side of the bay of this block which is not carried up of the same thickness to the height of the great chamber, but sloped off below the windows. This may have been a piece of the old garden wall which North worked into his addition to the Fraternity; it was more convenient to use it than to pull it down. There is also a thick wall shown in the 1614 plan where I have marked the end of the Fraternity. These two are almost in line. The windows of the Fraternity (Sutton's boys' dining hall), are of the kind one would expect to see in any Edward VI. grammar school. Those above have that peculiar section I have already spoken of, which may indicate pre-Reformation work or may be attributed to North. I cannot decide.

I must make a stay for one moment in the passage at the east end of the Hall, it is now the great staircase. This passage was once open. In digging next the Hall a skeleton was found lying in due east and west position. The Surveyor tells me also that both walls of this passage have marks of old windows in them. I think it was originally the passage to great cloister and that it was ceiled and the upper stage enclosed when the two doors were made from Prior's House to Great Chamber.

We now come to a very interesting consideration, that of the disposition of the buildings on the south side of Great Cloister. See Plate II. My drawing shows all the thick

walls that I can be sure existed at any time. The one forming the north side of the Monks' choir can be traced from the end of the existing church, above the arcade, to the door to Brook Hall and perhaps farther, but the western portion has been so cut into and added to for fire-places, doors, and cupboards, that one cannot safely say anything as to its antiquity now the plaster is on. Assuming this wall to be genuine from the east end to the door to Brook Hall or thereabouts, that would suffice for the whole length of the church as depicted on the old plan, and also, so far as I am able to calculate, for the actual requirements of the Monks, lay and learned. The cloister Monks would have about half the whole length for their choir, and the space now occupied by the Tower for the two private altars; the western limb separated by a stone wall, in which would be a door but not I think any wider opening, would suffice for the lay monks. This was perhaps the arrangement before 1512 when a general re-building and repair seems to have been made. The building of the Tower would not very much alter that, but it left a peculiarity which successive alterations have not been able very seriously to modify. I refer to the extraordinary thickness of the north wall, where the Tower intervenes. This thickness grew out of the plan adopted for the vault. It is an exact square, and the former interval between the two choirs was longer from north to south than the other way. In order to raise the Tower two walls had to be built; the east wall was placed just behind the screen, the north wall made the square true. We have consequently two walls on the north side, close together. The upper plan shows how they were utilized by the builders. The chamber in the Tower, as I judge from an expression in Archdeacon Hale's account of the room, may have been an extra chapel. I am unable to speak from personal knowledge. We have got, then, from existing walls and by help of the old plan, a reasonable idea of the ancient church of the Monastery. The Sacristy there is no difficulty in placing, but I am not sure whether I should make it square or oblong. There is at X what appears, in a modern drawing I have seen and also in the 1614 plan, a fragment of thick wall, and this may have been the west wall of the Sacristy. Of course the Sacristy would be entered from the cloister

and would have an entrance to the church. The choir of the cloister monks would have its entrance on the north side, and the lay brothers would enter their church at some point near the little cloister. The old plan shows a story over the Sacristy, with a mullioned window and battlemented gable. This was probably the Library, the Sacrist being Librarian.

We have now only to place the Chapter House and the Lavatory. There is no doubt about either. The description of the old plan is too clear. The Chapter House stood at the north-east angle of the church and the Lavatory against the Hall between the Chapter House and the Sacristy. The little court enclosed was the customary place where Carthusians enjoyed their occasional allowance of conversation. It is the site of Sutton's enlargement of the chapel. I ought to have said that a great part of the wall I have supposed to be the cloister wall remains in more or less patched condition.

There remains but one point to discuss in this survey of the buildings—the position of the prior's lodge and the lodging of his guests. I think the gap between church and hall, between the great cloister and the little, is of all places the most suitable. I would therefore give the space included between the two thick walls which prolong the east block of little cloister for the priors' first house, adding that piece which faces the great cloister, this would give him but and ben below, chamber and oratory above. The octagonal turret which still stands has an arched stone doorway on the first floor. On the floor above, the door casing is of oak of Elizabethan type. The great hall and guest chambers might be in the remaining length of the block, and round the south side also. When guests increased and greater state became common, the extension over the fraterie may have been made, and may have led to the rebuilding of the fraterie.

There are but two adjuncts to be noted. The gate and the buildings attached to the kitchen.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the gate we now see is that depicted in the old plan, a stone lower story with one arch, and a wooden story over. The inner arch of the gate is still of wood. If I had time I would have shown the transitions by which the upper story has

passed into its present condition. One of them is shown in the old print given by Strype; the last change was made in 1713-25, when the picturesque Jacobean gabled story gave way before Georgian dulness.

The side arch to the gateway was made not many years ago.

Wash-house Court is more difficult to describe, and I must not enter into the details of its various uses. It was part of the monastery, but it is impossible to say for how long. The absence of any plan of it in the old parchment is no proof that it did not then exist, at least in part. This has already been noticed. I think we may safely say that the buildings as we have them are chiefly the work of Houghton, adapted by North and Sutton. Houghton may have rebuilt with brick the west block and part of the north. The stone walls must, I think, belong to the earlier work. I take the wide arch in the outer wall to have been the entrance for the poor who waited the daily distributions of bread and ale. It must have been bricked up at a very early period, because, in the angle close to it is a fire place of the same pattern as those I attribute to North. There are many of them at Charterhouse.

Wash-house Court, after serving for the lodging of the domestics of the monastery, for the servants of North and Howard, was fitted by Sutton as a residence for some of his pensioners. He built other houses for them to the north and east of the privy garden, but into the changes made by Sutton I must not enter; neither can I say anything consecutive of the occupation by North and the Howards. I have referred to their work only when it was necessary for my principal object, the setting before you the earlier condition of the buildings.

By way of gathering up what I have to offer to you on that point, I have made a little plan which I will compare with that from which we started. See Plate I. The plan is made in the first place from measurement of the existing walls; secondly, from the indications and plain description of the old parchment.

I have taken as base line the old wall I have already called the south wall of the cloister. From the face of this the position of the first cell door has been carefully measured, and the interval between it and the door of cell

B, which also exists. This interval is 50ft. 3in., which is about the average space allowed for cell and garden in other houses. The other cells on this side are repetitions of the measurement. On the east side of the cloister a good deal of the old wall remains, but it is mainly underground, a terrace having been made against it. The doorway of cell V is, however, visible, and there is an indication that the next doorway northwards might be found. The door of V is 88ft. 6in. from the south wall. On this east side, also, there is a bit of cross-wall remaining, which I have taken to be the party wall of cells P and Q. It is shown by a full black line, as are all the existing walls in this plan, conjectural walls being in outline. Having laid down these points carefully, I find that the arrangement of cells which is most convenient falls in with them and with the data of the old map. We have, therefore, got the position of the corner cells G and P, and the dimensions of the cloister.

On the south-side the position and length of the Chapter House are limited by the position of "the sexten is cock in hys wassyng place" viz: iij foote from the Chapt. hous ende in ye garden" and "xvj zerdys & di frō y^e lavoirs? it turnyth in," and these measurements fit the plan exactly. The position of the buttery, in its present place at the north-west angle of the little cloister, is also plainly marked if we do not forget that the pipes only are horizontal, and that the *positions* of the cocks are at the points where they branch upward from the pipes. I have said nothing of a little building outside the walls which is called on the old plan "Egypte the fleyshe Kychyn." I doubt if it was part of the monastery, as the rule did not permit flesh to be eaten even by guests. It may have been served with water, as the windmill was, "by sufferance of the Charterhouse." The building and the pipes serving it are of much ruder drawing than the other parts of the map, and the pipes are coloured differently. The original pipes are shaded neatly with blue to represent lead. These two are of a dirty yellowish brown. Excluding this building; which no longer exists, the whole of the ancient monastery may be traced through the existing buildings of the Charterhouse.

A few years ago the evidences were still plainer. Archer gives a view of the west wall of the great cloister from the north end, where Merchant Taylor's School now stands, which shows the doorways very clearly, as if in good preservation; and in the old school days a terrace ran across the north side of the green and marked the foundations of the cells on that side.

With all its changes and misfortunes the London Charterhouse is still, next to Mount Grace, the most perfect of the nine Carthusian houses founded in England. Indeed, such is the ruin which has befallen the rest that these two only may be said to remain. The duty of preserving these is therefore the greater for Archaeologists and Churchmen.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
WESTMINSTER, K.G., TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE INSTITUTE, HELD AT CHESTER.¹

It is no light duty to be president of an archaeological meeting such as this, in the presence of those who are experts in their several departments. To the qualifications which they possess I have no pretensions, but if you will excuse my shortcomings, and give me your indulgence while I read a few sentences on the archæology of the district, I shall be very much obliged to you. It is my privilege, as Lord-Lieutenant of the County Palatine, to welcome to the ancient city of Chester the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain. The association of this city in which we are assembled, the “heir of all the ages” as we regard it, remind us that archæology, “the science of past time,” is, after all, a comparative term; for, though we can carry back our history for several centuries, such antiquity is comparatively modern by the side of the antiquity of Egypt, Assyria, and China, which were at the pinnacle of greatness when the Roman power was yet in the womb of time.

It is not my purpose in this address to enlarge upon the value and importance of archæological study—the position it should hold in a well-planned system of liberal education; its relation to historical study—the light it throws upon the past ages—the bearing it has upon politics, which appears so essentially a science of the present time, though a moment’s thought will suffice to show that the present cannot be dissociated from the past out of which it has grown, and that the study of the past can at least teach us what to avoid, if we cannot always find something to admire and imitate. Archæology has

¹ Delivered August 10th, 1886.

been often the subject of some pleasantry, because at times its too ardent students have given rein to their speculative genius in the region of the absolutely unknown. There is, however, abundance of work, interesting and valuable, in seeking to establish accuracy about facts supposed to belong to the region of the known, and in discussing the conclusions drawn from those facts in the light afforded by recent discoveries. This we may do with advantage as regards Chester, which is very much more than a mere name. I agree with the opinion that it is far more interesting to look upon a town not as a place where a church or a castle can be found, but as having its own personal history, like any individual inhabitant, differing only in this—that it counts its time not by decades of years but by centuries; and that, while generations of citizens pass away and disappear for ever, the old city, like a Phoenix, may find ever-renewed life even out of its ashes.

A glance back over the facts known of the history of this old city shows how important a place it was, as might be expected from its commanding position; and what stirring scenes it has witnessed during the last nineteen centuries. We are told how, as early as A.D. 43 and 48, it had its share in the military arrangements of the Roman commanders Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula—how it was the *point d'appui* of Suetonius in his expedition against the Druids of Anglesea—the headquarters of the Victorious Legion, the legion whose vexillarii took an important part in the defeat of Boadicea, the brave British Queen. We know that while Jerusalem, the Holy City, was being besieged and destroyed (A.D. 70), Chester streets resounded with the tramp of Roman legions—that tribute was being brought from the conquered British tribes, some never reaching the Roman treasury, but sinking, on its way thither, to the bottom of the river, only to be found some 1800 years afterwards, like the pig of lead discovered the other day by the Gasworks at Chester, the exact counterpart of that preserved at Eaton, and stamped with the date of the Emperor Vespasian, and with the name of the tribe Ceangi, whose tribute it was.

Our archæological friends find traces of this occupation, not only in the name of Chester, *Castra*, the camp *par*

excellence (the Welsh called it *Caer Ileon Vawr*, *i.e.*, the camp of the Great Legion), but also in the arrangement of the streets; the inscribed altars, which have been dug up; the hypocaust; the crocks of coins; the great roads leading to and from the city which, in a manner so characteristic of those who constructed them, still strike like arrows over hill and plain, unswervingly and perseveringly, to their point. I might be expected to have added to this list of the relics of Roman occupation, the Walls. We shall hope to hear this week some authoritative opinion on the question of the Walls—how far they are Roman. The city must have had some walls. But do any traces of those Roman Walls remain, and are they to be found *in situ*? We shall hope to hear from our learned visitors about the *Ceangi*, whose home comprised three of the North Welsh counties, Carnarvon, Denbigh, and Flint; about the long dark period (476-900) which followed when the Roman occupation ended, and the 20th Legion and others were withdrawn finally from Britain because of the troubles near at home. Was that withdrawal, the end of the military occupation, an advantage to this country? We imagine not. The strong hand was needed then, if ever. They were troublous times, we may conjecture from the two or three facts which are known to the ordinary reader (the references to civil war among the several chieftains, and the appeals to the Romans for assistance, “The Groans of the Britons.”) Then, again, about the Irish pirates (or Scots as they were then called) who devastated the Western shores? How often must they have come with fire and sword, harrying and carrying? Was there then any other connection or traffic with Ireland? Was Chester as important a trading centre in the second century as York is said to have been at that time, when the wines of the Levant, the woollens of Asia Minor, the purple of Tyre, the cambric of Cos, the spices of India, the slaves of Africa, the silks of China, were as abundant on the Ouse as they were on the Tiber? What about the laws and institutions after the Roman withdrawal? Were they Roman or Celtic? What was the language spoken? Did the Latin language take any hold upon the country at that time? Was the religion Christian or

heathen? Were any left in Britain of those Christian soldier-converts to whom St. Paul had preached as a prisoner at Rome?

We come down to the Danish occupation. The desolation, when the Danes came on the scene, must have been sad and pitiable. Chester was a ruined city in 895 when the Danes, flying before Alfred the Great, took refuge in it, and attempted to defend the place against the King. They soon retreated to North Wales, and left it ruined, for they were no restorers.

In this ruined state Chester continued until the Amazon Ethelflæda, Alfred's daughter, "Lady of the Mercians" (who built castles at Eddisbury, Runcorn, and elsewhere), restored and beautified it, and repaired the walls, following the line of the Roman fortifications. How far are the existing walls hers, or even of later date?

Some seventy years later (971) we come to a grand epoch in our city's history. Will archæologists come here to tell us that the tale is not true which is so flattering to our pride? Did Edgar, "the Emperor of Britain," make his six or eight feudatory princes (Kenneth King of Scotland. Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccus of the Isles, and five Welsh princes) row him (as we read in Campbell's Histories of British Admirals) up the Dee in a barge to St. John's Church? Again, what have they to tell us of the course of the Dee; did it cover, near the city walls, a wider area or follow a different channel? What light is thrown by the name Ince (Ynys, Welsh for island), and the claim of the Abbot of St. Werburgh in Edward III.'s reign to the sea?

We come to a better known period—the time of the Norman Conquest. We are proud to remember that Chester stood out to the last—"the one great city"—against the Norman invader, but it was at last taken and given to Hugh Lupus on condition that he should keep the Welsh marauders in check. But even here we have to ask (1) What are we to believe about the tradition of Harold's surviving his wounds at the battle of Hastings, and spending his remaining days as an anchorite in a cell near St. John's Church? His wife Algetha, we may remember, was the grand-daughter of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Lady Godiva, and in this way he had some

connection with Cheshire. (2) Were the forests which covered so large an extent of Cheshire, not only the great Delamere Forest [of Mara] but that which made Wirral a desolate waste, until they were cleared away by the energetic prudence of Edward III in his campaigns against the Welsh—did these exist in Roman and Saxon times, or were they planted by the forest-loving William? Such a question suggests the difference between the Cheshire of that region and the Cheshire of to-day. Instead of trim, well-cultivated fields, and pastures for cattle and sheep, and comfortable homesteads, a wild, half-reclaimed country with few habitations, and those few miserably built—a huge forest reaching from above Worcester to meet Delamere—the wild bull and boar, wolf and bear, its dangerous tenants.

Stoutly though Chester resisted William the Conqueror, once brought under Norman rule, it became intensely loyal and a strong bulwark of his power. Few places so far distant from the metropolis have been more highly honoured by visits from royal and distinguished persons, or have received more frequent marks of favour, than Chester. A port when Liverpool was a creek in it, Pennant speaks of Chester as “a constant rendezvous for troops and *place d’armes* for every expedition on this side.” Thus Edward I. visited Chester in 1282-3-4. Here in 1300 he received the final submission of the Welsh; Edward II. came here in 1312; the Black Prince in 1353 to protect the justices. In 1394 Richard II. selected 2,000 Cheshire archers as his body guard. But loyal as Chester folk were, we must not forget that the population became somewhat mixed. An asylum or sanctuary was established to which felons flocked. So great a nuisance did it become that in Henry IV.’s reign complaint was made to the King of “the many murders, robberies, batteries, and other riot done by the people of the county of Chester to divers of the King’s liege people in divers counties of England.” Lewis Glyn Cothi, a Welsh bard, describes Chester as “the habitation of the seven deadly sins.” We may well congratulate ourselves on the peaceful times of Queen Victoria—thankful that law and order prevail; that the intolerable miseries and sorrows of the

poorer classes in those early times have been abated, the sense of insecurity removed; that it would not be necessary now to fear, as in 1130, the irruption of the Welsh, which made Pulford so unpleasant a residence for the monks that they migrated to Dieu La Cresse, or, to qualify leases and warranties (as may be seen from deeds in the Muniment Room at Eaton of the time of Edward II.), with the condition that "peace continued." The lessee in 1299 was bound to keep up the buildings *nisi tempore guerre fuerint combusta*, unless they should have been burnt in time of war; and rents were payable only *tempore pacis*. The arrangements for the excursions of the members remind me that the present jurisdiction of the County Palatine is much circumscribed. Once a part of the great kingdom of Mercia, ruled at one time by Penda, the champion of heathendom, before whom one Christian King after another had fallen—later by Offa (757-819), on equal terms with Charlemagne, by whom he was styled "the mightiest potentate of the West"—then by Edgar, of whom we have spoken, this city could not fail to have been the scene of many battles and sieges. Under the Palatine Earl, if not before, the county included a portion of Wales within its jurisdiction. When, therefore, we visit Rhuddlan Castle, we shall not be going out of the boundaries, if we may say so, of Old Cheshire. Rhuddlan was given by Hugh Lupus to his warlike lieutenant, and in later days was held by a Cheshire knight, Randall, with a motley following of fiddlers and musicians, against Llewelyn and his Welshmen. Mold, too, which was another dependency of Hugh Lupus, came into unpleasant collision with Chester on more than one occasion. In 1645 it was held by a daring marauder, Reginald Meredyth Griffith, who plundered all who were obnoxious to him, and who made the Chester people the special objects of his unwelcome attention. A number of tradespeople from Chester repaired to Mold Fair to dispose of their wares. This was an excellent opportunity for Griffith. A quarrel was raised, swords were out at once, blood spilt. Griffith captured the worthy Mayor of Chester, Robert Browne, who had attended the fair as a draper. Mr. Browne paid the penalty for his fellow citizens. Hurried up to the tower

after the fight, he was hanged without ceremony on an iron staple fixed in the ceiling of the great hall. Shortly afterwards an attempt was made by Chester men to avenge this murder. Two hundred stout and active men left Chester, but they were entrapped into Griffith's house, which he himself set on fire, and they were all but a few killed without mercy. Such were the relations between Chester and Mold in 1465. Our proposed visit will be much more peaceable. If we carry back anything it will be, I hope, some voluntary offering for the museum which was opened yesterday. We have succeeded at last in raising a commodious building, which will be most useful as a receptacle for curiosities and antiquities connected with the district which might otherwise be lost. Architecturally, it will be a handsome addition to our public buildings; and if the well considered designs of the committee in connection with the teaching of science and art in their various branches are carried out, it will enable Chester to take a high position as an educational centre, and thereby confer a great benefit upon an extensive district.

I have said nothing in this address about the ecclesiastical or the literary history of the city, the Mystery Plays of Higden, the names of the eminent and famous men who have been born in the county. But may I refer to the work on "Roman Cheshire" which is being brought out by Mr. Thompson Watkin, author of "Roman Lancashire," and which promises to be a valuable supplement to the standard works of Ormerod, Earwaker and Baines; and the useful pamphlet on "Inscribed Stones," brought out by Mr. Williams? I will conclude by repeating the cordial welcome which it gives me great pleasure to offer to the members of the Archaeological Institute on behalf of the county of Chester, and to assure them that we shall look with interest for the instructive papers which they are doubtless prepared to read before us.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHESTER.¹

By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

The last time that I was present at a meeting of this Institute, and took that part in its proceedings which it has so often fallen to my lot, we met in a shire and in a town than which none is clothed with a higher interest in the history of our land and people. We met in a region whose historic associations are spread over many ages, and where those associations are scattered over many spots far and wide within its borders. Meeting in the South-Saxon land, in that borough of Lewes whose name calls up the memory of the greatest of all days in the armed strife for freedom, we made that historic town the centre of journeys to and fro among spots even more memorable than itself. We made our way to the castle of Arundel, already a castle before King William came into England; we made our way to the empty walls of Anderida, to the spot where the Norman Conqueror landed on the scene of one of the chiefest days of English victory; we made our way to the head-quarters of the invader on the hill of Hastings; we called up before our eyes the ebb and flow of the great battle from the hill of Senlac itself. Those memorable spots of the South-Saxon land are spots whose associations cannot be surpassed; on English ground we can hardly see that they can be rivalled. And yet the associations of the land and city in which we are now met are such that even the memories of the South-Saxon land can hardly overshadow them. Here, in the City of the Legions, the history of our island unfolds itself in all its stages. It speaks with hardly less of fulness and of clearness than it does on the spot where Ælle and Cissa stormed the

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Chester, 10th August, 1886, at the opening of the Historical Section.

Roman walls and where William first set foot on English ground as an enemy; with hardly less than it speaks on the hill where England fell with Harold and on the hill where she rose again with Simon. And there is one marked difference between the researches of which Lewes was the centre and the researches of which Chester is the centre and something more. Our business there lay with the history of a land; it now lies mainly with the history of a city. Sussex does indeed contain a city, a true city, a heritage of the days of the Roman, a temporal conquest of the Saxon, a spiritual conquest of the Norman. But Chichester, the *chester* of Cissa, hardly stands on the same level as that Chester which is parted off among its fellows by needing no title or epithet to mark it. Regnum has its walls, its four arms, its *carfax*, the quarter of the Earl and the quarter of the Bishop more clearly marked than they now are at Lindum or Eboracum. Yet the mocking Jew in the days of King Richard could say that Chichester was a mere village, called a city only because it had become the seat of a bishop. And Chichester, after all, formed no part of our last South-Saxon studies; we had been there—the older part of us at least—full thirty years before our gathering at Lewes. And Lewes itself never claimed the rank of a city or of a borough of the first class. It has no doubt its local and municipal history; on the broad pages of English history its name is chiefly stamped as the town where William of Warren reared his castle and his priory, as the town which looks up to the hill of Earl Simon's victory. In our South-Saxon studies the place of our gathering was simply one place for study among many, and in the shire which contains Anderida and Senlac I need hardly say that it was not the foremost. Here in Chester far be it from me to say that there is nothing to study in the surrounding shire; but I think we may at least say that the chief interest of the shire comes from the fact that it surrounds the city. The nomenclature of the two lands proclaims the difference; we were there, not in the shire of Chichester or of Lewes, but in the South-Saxon kingdom which has never lost its name. Here we are in that corner of the great Mercian realm which takes its name from the city which is its head, in

the county palatine of Chester, the Chestershire of the Great Survey, the Cheshire of the shorter speech of later days. The shire has its history, its privileges, its special constitution, which once made it a land almost apart from the realm of England. But it is round the capital of the land that they all gather. The city is the head, the heart, the life of all; the history of the land has its root in the history of the city, as the history of France has its root in the history of Paris, as the history of England has not its root in the history of London. We could conceive Sussex without Chichester or Lewes; we cannot conceive Cheshire without Chester. This year then the place of meeting is more than the place of meeting; it must be, while we sojourn within its walls, the main object of our thoughts and studies. And this year it will be my business in the chair in which you have again placed me, not to point out the various objects of historic interest in a wide district, but to gather together my energies, not indeed to tell the whole history, but to call your thoughts to some of the distinctive historical features of the memorable city in which we have met this day.

And yet here in Chester one question comes home to me with a force with which it could hardly come in any other city of England, hardly in any other city of Europe. Why am I set in this chair to-day? There is one among you, one, I may now say, of yourselves, who seems strangely moved to a place in which he is surely less at home, while I am placed in the seat which, in this city at least, he is called on to fill before all men. I feel keenly indeed that, in the presence of your Bishop, neither I nor any other man can have any right to fill the chair of History. In his diocese, in his city, before his very face, I feel that, if there were any Domesday of such matters, I should be set down as guilty of the crime of *invasio*; I feel that in the language of an earlier day, I should be stamped as a tyrant thrusting myself into the seat of a lawful prince. I know not by whose bidding I am placed here; it is assuredly not at my own bidding; it may be at the bidding of the Bishop himself; if so, I have nothing to do but to obey. In any case I cannot be altogether sorry that I have thus put into my hands an opportunity—which I am sure that the Bishop himself will wish me

not to use, but which I must use nevertheless—of beginning my sketch of the earliest history of the city by a comment on one of the latest events in its annals. That day is surely marked as a white day in the annals of Deva when the first of living English scholars took his place as your chief pastor on his throne in Saint Werburh's minster. To him, my friend of so many years, my successor in one post, my predecessor in another, I may pay homage in many characters. Where I see him here so worthily filling the chair of a chief shepherd of the Church, my thoughts go back for eight and thirty years to the day when I first casually heard his name under the trees of Christ Church. He and I were both young then, and the words that I heard, to me the first intimation of his being, were these, "Stubbs is a sure first." The speaker, to me unknown then and now, was a sound prophet; not many days after, "the sure first," in possession of his first, was chosen to the fellowship at Trinity which I had just left vacant. The same could not have been said of me, whose place in the class list was no higher then a second, when, six-and-thirty years afterwards, I stepped into the fellowship which he had just left vacant at Oriel. And I can well remember an intermediate time, one summer evening above all, when, as I had first heard his name beneath the trees of Christ Church, I first learned all that was in him beneath the trees of Trinity. It may be that I knew it before others: it may be that I have lived long enough, in this matter as in some others, to see the world come round to my way of thinking. It had so come round at least by the time that I sat at the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission beside the renowned Professor of Oxford, the Constitutional historian of England. On that Commission he did a vast deal, I perhaps did a very little, towards the putting together of a great work of which nothing at all seems to have come in practice. Yes, something may have come after all; it may be that a few noble and reverend personages, even a few learned in the law, may have gained clearer notions then they had before as to the early history of the Church of England from the teaching, for such it was, of the great scholar at whose side they were privileged to sit. Since then he has

come hither as your Bishop; in that process his elder mantle has been rent in twain, and one portion of it has fallen on my own shoulders. It was therefore in some sort as an offshoot of himself that I beheld his hallowing in that mighty minster which the innovating geography of King Harry has given you for your metropolis. The Roman poet said,

“*Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.*”

There must be something special about one who has received one preferment from the late Earl of Derby, a second from the Earl of Beaconsfield, and a third, and the highest, from Mr. Gladstone. There is now a fourth star in the political ascendant. It may be that he is set there to repeat the wise discernment of so many predecessors and to place him of whom Knaresborough and Ripon and Navestock and Oxford and London and Chester may alike be proud on a yet higher seat than any to which he has as yet been called.

As a Professor of Modern History, as called to be such by succession to the subject of my own discourse, I could not help indulging in this small, but I think not inappropriate piece of the most modern history. But I must go back from the Bishop to his city, to the shire and diocese of which his city is the head. Each chief city and town of England has—it is rather my special business just now to enforce that truth—its own history, its own character, I might add its own definition. But here, in the City of the Legions, in that among many chesters which is preeminently Chester, instead of seeking for a definition, I shall rather have to choose which of many definitions I will take. Shall I speak of that Roman Deva, that British Caerlleon, which stood so long defiant against the advance of Angle and Saxon, till it was ruled that beneath its walls the Teutonic invader should make his way to all the seas of Britain? Shall I speak of that one among the cities of Britain of whose fall and rising again there is no doubt, the chester that became waste at the bidding of the Northumbrian King, and which became again a city of men at the bidding of the West Saxon Lady? Shall I speak of the city which, as it had once held out so long against the arms of invading Englishmen, was destined in its turn to be the last city of independent England, the last to bow

to the Norman when he was undisputed lord from the march of Anjou to the march of Scotland? Or shall I speak of your city as the head of that mighty earldom, that all but independent realm, which, too great to be trusted to any lowlier hands, became the accustomed appanage of the eldest born of England's kings? Or shall I speak of it in its strange ecclesiastical aspect, as the home of two distinct and successive bishoprics, of the Mercian see, suffragan of Canterbury, which had its bishopstool in the minster of Saint John without the walls, and the Northumbrian see, suffragan of York, which still holds its bishopstool in the minster of Saint Werburgh within the city? Cut down to language drier and more precise, any one of these aspects of the history of Chester would serve as a definition marking off the city as one which has a special character of its own among the cities of England. And alongside of these more marked and telling aspects, a crowd of memories arise, each of which by itself might make the fortune of a spot where associations of the past were less abundant. Each, for instance, of your minsters calls up a memorable moment in the history of Chester and of England. I may have again to speak of that day of Imperial pageantry when Eadgar, with a kingly throng around him, went to make his prayer before an older altar of Saint John. Saint Werburgh's in its fabric seems to tell wholly of later times; yet within its walls we cannot forget how Anselm came to watch over the first days of its monastic life, how out of that visit came the whole tale of his memorable primacy, the day of Gloucester, the day of Rockingham, and the day of Winchester, every stage of that meek strife for right, which makes us glad to welcome the stranger as an adopted countryman, and to place the bishop from Aosta among the worthies of our land, alongside of the King from Denmark and the Earl from the Strong Mount that guarded France against the Norman.

Truly that city has a history indeed where memories like these are only secondary. The coming of Eadgar, the coming of Anselm, cannot count among the scenes which make the historic life of Chester; they are rather the contributions of Chester to the general history of England than events which helped to shape the personal being of the city by the Dee. In the tale of Chester itself, as

distinguished from the record of events of which Chester was the scene, three names stand out before all others, the names of Æthelfrith the destroyer, of Æthelflæd the restorer, and of William—by what name shall I call him here? Conqueror in truth, pre-eminently conqueror on the spot where his conquest found its crown and finish, yet, here and elsewhere, not conqueror only, conqueror at least who cared as much to preserve as to destroy. But he who conquers to preserve has another function alike from him who destroys and from him who calls into being, whether it be a first or a renewed being. Now on a crowd of Roman sites where English towns now stand, we suspect, nay we believe with all but certainty, that the Roman *chester* was overthrown in the first havoc of English conquest, and that it arose again as a dwelling-place of Englishmen when our forefathers had ceased to be mere destroyers. I do not take upon myself to deny that there may have been some cases of continuous occupation, whether owing to the English conquerors taking immediate possession, or to the more likely cause of the British town holding out till the English had put away somewhat of their old Teutonic hatred for a life within stone walls. As one case indeed, that of the Damnonian Isca, we may feel as certain as we can be of anything that is not set down in so many words in the Chronicles that there was no time of desolation, no time of heathen occupation, but that Isca did not become Exanceaster till that stage of English conquest when submission to Christian conquerors no longer implied either massacre or slavery. But we may be sure that the common rule of the first days of English settlement was the rule of Anderida, to leave not a Bret within the walls, and to leave the forsaken walls standing empty. At Anderida, at Calleva, we see them so standing to this day. There is also a noble relic of our ancient tongue, which tells of a ruined city with fallen roofs and tottering towers, roofless watch-towers and shattered shelters, where once had been bright burgh-dwellings, bath-houses many, and mead-halls many. And that sad and stately time has been shown by Mr. Earle, with a likelihood that almost reaches certainty, to be a picture of a definite spot, Aquæ Sulis, Bathanceaster, Bath. Before the sword of Cæawlin, Aquæ Sulis and

Glevum and Corinium fell like Jericho and Ai before the sword of Joshua. Anderida and Calleva remained as Ai; Bath, Gloucester, Cirencester, found, like Jericho, new founders to call them into fresh life, and at Gloucester and Cirencester the day of desolation must have been short indeed. So it was with the City of the Legions; Deva fell and rose again; but here in Deva, unlike the cities that Ceawlin smote, we can give the name and date alike of the destroyer and of the renewer, and we can say that the time of desolation was a long one. We can do the like in the case of Lugubalium or Carlisle; but there the circumstances are different. In all the other cases it was Englishmen who destroyed and Englishmen who called again into being; at Carlisle the Dane was the destroyer, and the Norman, the Red King himself, was the second founder. Here at Chester we have our names and dates, but names and dates which are purely English. The time of desolation was three hundred winters and two to spare. What Æthelfrith overthrew in the year 605, Æthelslæd called into fresh being in the year 907.

I spoke of the conquests of Ceawlin, and to one who has sat at the feet of Dr. Guest the conquests of Ceawlin have a close connexion with the tale of Chester. I must ask you to call up the picture—I am far from having been the first to paint it—of Britain as Britain was at the beginning of the year when, the West-Saxon Bretwalda began the march that gave him a right to that dim and lofty title. Of all south Britain, of Britain from the Friths to the Channel, the Teuton held the eastern side with a firm grasp; but he had nowhere reached to the western sea. From the wall of Antoninus to the the coast of the Damnonii and the Durotriges, the Celt still held his own. West-Saxon Ceawlin was the first to clear his way through this solid British mass, and to carry the English arms to the Severn sea. The south-western peninsula of Britain remained a British land, but it was now cut off from that more solid peninsula whose isthmus, if so we may call it, stretches from the north of Severn to the north of Dee. In the language of his own day, he cut off West-Wales from North-Wales; in more modern geographical language he cut off Devonshire, Cornwall, and central and western Somerset, from

the land which we call Wales, North and South. The importance of the conquest in the general history of English advance cannot be overated. Up to that time it might have seemed as if the two races were to dwell side by side on opposite sides of a line drawn from north to south; it was now practically ruled that Englishmen were to dwell and rule on the western as well as the eastern side of the island. But if West-Wales was cut off from the British mass, the Northern and the Southern Cymry still held an unbroken coast from the Firth of Clyde to the Severn sea; there was no isolation as yet between Cambria and Cumbria. The next stage in English advance was to do that work of isolation, to do at the mouth of Dee what had been done at the mouth of Severn, and to carry the English arms to that central sea which, itself or its estuaries, washed Britain, Pictland, and Ireland, and which was now to wash England also. The southern and the central Celtic land had been parted asunder; the next step was to part asunder the central and the northern Celtic land. In other words, the aim of the English invader was to win his way to the great Roman fortress which held the position which tied together the central and the northern land. After the taking of Glevum and the neighbouring cities, the next step in the making of England must be to make the City of the Legions English soil. It was to the spot on which we are now standing, to the walls within which we are gathered, that English enterprise looked with eager eyes in the last years of the sixth century. But to which branch of the Teutonic invaders of Britain was this mighty prize to fall? Was Deva to be won by the Saxon or by the Angle? the Jute in his south-eastern peninsula had no hope, even during the Bretwaldadom of Æthelberht. Now we are so used to think of Wessex in its later geography, as a kingdom lying wholly south of the Thames, that it is hard to throw ourselves back into the days of Ceawlin, when the West-Saxon land took in Bedford and did not take in Bath, or into the days after Ceawlin when Dorchester on the Thames was chosen as a central spot for the West-Saxon bishopstool. It seems perfectly natural for a Northumbrian king to strive to add Deva to his dominions; so to do seems so

strange ambition for a prince whose capital, if he had a capital, must already have been Winchester. Yet at this stage the West-Saxon power was pressing far more north-ward than west-ward ; Ceawlin himself, if he pushed further westward than any West-Saxon king before him, also pushed further northwards. And we can hardly doubt that his object was to push yet further northwards, that in the great campaign of the Severn, when Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Brets at Fethanleah, when he took many towns and spoil beyond reckoning, he was aiming at adding Deva to his list, and cutting his way to the north-western as well as to the south-western sea. So Dr. Guest taught us long ago ; and he has taught us also to put a meaning on the dark words which tell of Ceawlin's going back to his own in ire. He had missed the prize of all ; he had not carried the West-Saxon dragon to the City of the Legions. Twenty-one years later a nearer neighbour of the city was to do the work.

What that work was I would fain be able to tell, as I told of the work done on the South-Saxon shore, in the recovered words of the gleeman of our own folk. But I have no song of Deva, as I had a song of Anderida, dug out, as I dared to hope, from the Latin of the Archdeacon of Huntingdon six hundred years later. The song of Anderida was the song of the heathen warrior to whom slaughter and havoc were the choicest of delights. Can it be that we have the smallest fragment of a lay of the like kind which once told of the fall of Deva ? Look to the Chronicles under the year 605 or 606 in different versions. Between the edifying entry of the death of Pope Gregory and the other edifying reference to the fulfilment of the words of Augustine, we seem to catch the faint echoes of two lines of a battle-song, which told how

Æthelfrith led his host to Legeceaster,

And offslaw Welshmen without number,

Here surely speaks the heathen Angle ; instead of the rest of his song we have the godly reflexions of the clerk of Winchester. As we now hear the tale, the minstrelsy, the pathos, is all on the other side. The story in Bæda is a poem, but it is a British poem ; the reference to it inserted in the Chronicles speaks the language of a

Briton; Augustine threatens the stubborn Welsh with Saxon vengeance, and that vengeance comes from the sword of Anglian Æthelfrith. Who has not heard the tale how the Britons with Brocmail their ealdorman come to meet the Anglian invaders; how the priests come and the monks of Bangor, to pray for victory over the barbarians; how Æthelfrith shrewdly says that they who pray against him to their God are in truth fighting against him, and lets slay priests and monks first of all, even before the coward Brocmail has had time to turn and flee with the fifty men who were not slaughtered? The tale is a familiar and a favourite one; it is well known doubtless to many who have never thought of Chester as the place of that day's slaughter, who have never thought of that day's slaughter as one of the greatest steps in the work of calling life into being. There may even be some who have not outgrown one of the basest of slanders, who believe that Augustine in his grave was in league with the heathen destroyer of Christians who would not submit to his claims. There is much in the tale itself to ponder over. It is something to come face to face with the ancient British Church, and to see how our fathers dealt with it. It is something to study the shrewd theology of Æthelfrith, a kindred spirit with Chlodowig and with his own Coifi. It is something to study the state of mind of Bæda himself, divided in his sympathies between Christian Bret and heathen Angle, and who thereby falls into something like an impartial cursing of both sides, in which the English are "barbari" and the Welsh a "nefanda militia." As a scene in the long drama of English advance, the slaughter of Deva puts on another guise. The blow that Ceawlin had striven to deal was dealt by Æthelfrith. The still British land was again cloven asunder; Cambria was parted from Cumbria, as it had been already parted from Damnonia and the Land of Summer. On the one hand, the final stroke was given to the Briton; with his land now split into three, he could live on only in corners, with the portions of his own island which were left to him, each of them growing gradually less. But besides having this heavy blow dealt by the Englishman against the Briton, it was a blow only less heavy dealt by the Northern

Englishman against the Southern. The northward advance of Wessex was checked for ever; while to the west it overleaped Axe and Parret and Tone and Exe and Tamar, to the north the Thames became its boundary. The West-Saxon power grew again, but it grew in another shape; Wessex fell back as Wessex to advance again as England. And it may well have been the result of the day of Deva that it was as England that Wessex was destined to advance. The victory of Æthelfrith was a warning from the Angle to the Saxon, "thus far thou go and no further." Had Ceawlin fought his way to Deva, he might well have done the work, and more than the work, of Egberht. His folk might here become thus early the ruling folk of Britain; the name of England and the English people might never have been heard; our united folk might have borne on its own lips that Saxon name which it bears on the lips of our Celtic neighbours; instead of England, the Teutonic part of Britain might have kept its older but less abiding name of *Saxony*. Between Ceawlin and Egberht no West-Saxon king is enrolled on the list of Bretwaldas; of the five that come between them three are of the land of Æthelfrith.

That Deva, Caerlleon-on-Dee, *Civitas Legionum*, fell along with its British defenders none can doubt. That it was dealt with as Anderida was dealt with, that its Roman walls stood for three hundred years sheltering no dwelling-places of men within them, he must be at once far away of belief who seeks to deny. We may be sure that not a Bret was left in Deva by Æthelfrith any more than a Bret was left in Anderida by Ælle and Cissa. But mark that the conquest of Deva was the last English conquest, at any rate the last English conquest of a great city, wrought after the old heathen rule of slaughter and desolation. Christian Æthelberht already reigned in Kent; Christian Eadwine was soon to reign over North-humberland, and Christian Cenwealh over Wessex. The next cities of the Britons which fell into English hands were not dealt with as Anderida and Deva. Before the century was out, the Angle must have entered into Lughbaliu, and the Saxon into the Damnonian Isca. Those cities lived on under the rule of Christian conquerors.

Over Isca, Caerwisc, Exanceaster, no gleeman has ever had need to sing the mournful song that was sung over raised *Aquæ Sulis*. Over Lugubalium, Leolceaster, Caerlleol, that song might have been sung at a far later day; but that was because before that day the heathen Northman had come to do once more what the Christian Englishman had ceased from doing.

Caerlleon, City of the Legions, took as its first English name the natural English translation of its British name. As Caergwent became Wintanceaster, Caerlleon became Legeceaster. Fertile has the name been in confusion between itself and the midland Ligeraceaster. Later usage solved the knot by in some sort declaring Legeceaster to be the first of *ceasters*. As Old Rome is distinctively *urbs*, as New Rome is distinctively *πόλις*, so, while the *chester* by the Soar is content to be distinguished as Leicester, the *chester* by the Dee is distinctively Chester. It needs no adjective, at least neither in our days nor in the days with which I am concerned. Let some expounder of later times tell us how it came in the sixteenth century and far later, to be ever and anon distinguished as *West Chester*.¹ So near to our own day as Johnson and Boswell, I read how a certain man went to *West Chester* on his way to Ireland. From what Eastern Chester did he set out? I should greatly like to know. The philologist might whisper that Northamptonshire—at least the soke of Peterborough—has a *Castor*, and that East-Anglia has two *Caistors*. To the philologist all three names are the same; but few men, least of all in the days of Boswell, ever thought of *Castor* or *Caistor* as Chester at all, least of all did any man ever look on them as spots from which the Chester of the Legions needed to be distinguished. A nearer namesake in the Bernician bishopric has to distinguish itself by a surname, and *Chester-le-Street* couples together the two oldest borrowings that our tongue has made from the tongue of Latium. A famous station on the great wall distinguishes itself by putting on a plural form. Whatever later times may have added, Legeceaster, Chester of the

¹ Later in the course of the meeting Sir James Picton brought forward some remarkable documents bearing on the relation between Chester and Liverpool in the sixteenth century. I noticed that

the name *West Chester* is several times applied to Chester, but always by outsiders. In the mouth of its own citizens Chester needed no epithet.

Legions, was already Chester without *prænomen* or *cognomen* when the Conqueror entered it as the last prize of his conquest.

We know that Legeceaster was new set up in 907; and that it was new set up in 907 can only have been because it was left empty and desolate in 605. And one glimpse of it we get at an intermediate time, when it was standing empty and desolate, so utterly forsaken that it almost ceased to have a name. It was not Chester, but simply a *chester*, and a *chester* too which is coupled with a very instructive adjective. And yet the ancient name was not wholly forgotten; men still know that this and no other *chester* had once been the Chester of the Legions. It is in the year 894, one of those great years of fighting with the Dane which mark the later as well as the earlier days of Ælfred. The enemy are everywhere, and the defenders of the land are everywhere. Exeter, Buttington on the Severn, the East-Anglian coast, are all seats of warfare. From Buttington the defeated Danes press across the whole breadth of England to their work in Essex. Strengthened by new forces from Northumberland and East-Anglia, they leave women and ships and all their stuff with their East-Anglian kinsfolk, and again, as winter draws near, press across the whole breadth of England to a point to the north of that from which they had set forth. "They fared with one stretch day and night that they got to a waste chester on Wirhall, that is Legeceaster hight." Two hundred and ninety two years after the coming of Æthelfrith, the walls of Deva were standing, with no man dwelling within them, but ready to be again put to their old use of defence. Within the old Roman ramparts the Danes stood a siege at the hands of the pursuing English. The stretch day and night had been so swift that the enemy that pressed after them could not overtake them till they had reached the forsaken ruin which to them was a city of refuge. Legeceaster was again a *chester* of legions, but legions this time of Denmark and not of Rome. The walls were still strong, and the warriors who so strangely manned them were men of might and daring. For two days did the English beset the work—the work of the days of Cæsars and consuls;—they slew every Dane that they found without

the wall; they took cattle and corn; some they burned, with some they fed the horses. The Danes could only defend the Roman fortress, but they did defend it; the walls of Deva were not to be stormed, and the heathen invaders kept their Yule-tide as they might within the rampart which had once girded a city of men and which before long was to gird a city of men once more.

One can hardly doubt that this short occupation of the waste chester or Wirhall, this proof of what the forsaken walls could still do in time of need, taught the defenders of England a lesson. The Englishmen of the first days of the seventh century, if not, like the Goth of an earlier day, at peace with stone walls, had no thought of turning stone walls either to peaceful or to warlike uses. The Northumbrian King dreamed not of shutting up himself or his folk within a circuit which they looked on as a prison. Three hundred years later the West-Saxon Lady better knew the arts both of peace and of warfare. According to one account, her husband Æthelred had been present, with the great King her father, at the two days fruitless siege against the Dane. At any rate, both of the rulers of Mercia, the Heretoga and the Lady, and the unconquered King with whom they wrought in brotherhood, were fully minded that such a siege as that should not again be set down in English annals. The mighty work of old, the work of the Romans of old—*οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι*, as Procopius wrote in wonder as he gazed on their works in their own land—the work which had guarded the Roman against the Briton and the Briton against the Saxon, which had just shown how well it could still guard the Dane against the Englishman, was no longer to be left to form a chance post for any friend or any enemy. The waste chester should be a waste chester no longer; it should again be a chester of man, a chester of Englishmen, a bulwark of England against Briton or Dane or any other enemy that might come, the foremost haven of England on the shores and inlets of the north-western sea. The entry ending the year 907 is a simple one. "This year was Legeceaster new made." The City of the Legions again arose as a dwelling-place of men; its walls fenced in the houses of men speaking a tongue unheard of within their walls in the older day; they

forced in the temples of the faith whose prophets had fallen beneath the sword of Æthelfrith, the faith to which the countrymen of Æthelfrith had bowed, and which, wherever it had fallen back before new heathen conquerors, the children of Ælfred made it their work to bring back to its old dominion. Yet, when I begin to speak of churches in Legeceaster, I am surrounded with hard questions. Can I say that the walls fenced in temples, when the oldest and most famous church of Legeceaster, the minster of Saint John, the work of the Lord of the Mercians, fellow-worker with his Lady, arose beyond the walls by the banks of Dee? When did its fellow minster of Saint Werburh come into being? It is hard to believe tales in Randolph Higden or even in William of Malmesbury, of bodies of saints, of Saint Werburh herself, being brought to Legeceaster as to a safe place in the days of desolation, in the very thick of the Danish wars. The desolation of the spot is so clear in the Chronicles, it was so thoroughly well understood by Florence, that such stories must come of some misunderstanding or other. Yet the same stories tell us of the foundation of Saint Werburh's by Æthelstan, later therefore than the foundation of Saint John's by his uncle Æthelred. But why should I tarry to perplex myself and you about such matters? The true oracle is at hand. It is for the prelate whose bishopstool is in Saint Werburh's, whose dwelling is hard by Saint John's, to stand forth and tell us the whole tale of his own churches.

But there is one other point in the work of the Heretoga and the Lady at which we must glance before we pass on to later times. Æthellæd, we may believe, found the Roman walls of Deva standing, doubtless needing repair, but not needing rebuilding. The later walls, the walls now abiding, follow, as we all know, the greater part of the line of the Roman work, and show signs of the Roman foundations.¹ The slight departure of the Roman

¹ May I say this still? A great deal of discussion about the walls of Chester went on later in the meeting, which I had not the advantage of hearing. From such light as I can pretend to, I will venture two remarks. First, if anybody thought that the walls, as they stand, were Roman walls, or that there was any Roman work in them besides pieces of

foundation here and there, his error was so plain as hardly to be worth arguing against. But, secondly, in more parts than one I saw stones which, if I had seen them at Rome or Arles or Sens or Périgueux, I should certainly have set down as remnants of the Roman defences.

lines from the strict quadrangular shape was doubtless owing to the walls following the lines of the water, remembering that, in the days of Æthellæd and long afterwards, the water came up to the walls on the side of what we know now as the Roodeye. But at one corner, the south-eastern corner, the departure from strict mathematical accuracy is greater. For there it was that the Roman circuit was slightly enlarged—the Roman wall was therefore for a certain space pulled down—to allow the raising of that specially English form of defence with which the Lady, her father and her brother, strengthened so many spots of the land which they had to guard. The City of the Legions, ever a Roman *ceaster*, was now further defended by an English *burh*. The site of Legeceaster rose boldly above the waters; deep indeed was the fosse which fenced it in on its northern side; but there was no such hill, no such natural akropolis, to supply a ready-made citadel as the engineers of successive ages and nations found in the Red Mount of Exeter. A slighter height there was at the favourable point, which might be improved by the special military skill of the tenth century. Between art and nature, the mound, the *burh*, the special English defence rose at the point where the ancient lines made way for it. It rose, here as elsewhere, to be turned, in the later years of the next century. The mound of the West-Saxon supplied a foundation, a hill wrought into its shape by the hand of man, for the castle of the Norman.

The next entry in the chronicles in which the name of Legeceaster is found brings us to the most glorious year of Eadgar the Giver-of-peace. It was the year of his crowning and of his triumph. Why was it that Eadgar, having reigned for fourteen years as king, should in 973 fall back on the estate of a king-elect, an ætheling still needing the kingly hallowing, I will not dispute here. It was done in the old borough Acemannesceaster, which by another name men Bath call, and it therefore belongs to the local history of the land of the Sumersetan. But what follows belongs pre-eminently to Chester. Whatever Eadgar had been during those fourteen years, he was now at least fully King of the English, and he had to show himself to the world in his other character of Emperor of

Britain. Lord of the seas, lord of so many subject realms, fresh from his royal crowning, he set forth on his imperial voyage. The haven for which he sailed is not told us ; but, though Bristol is not named for eighty years later, it was surely already in being, and it can hardly fail to have been there that a king just crowned at Bath took ship for his progress over his watery realm. He sailed round the vassal land of the Briton, by the headland of Menevia, the holy place of his own creed, by the island of Mevania, once the holy place of a creed which had vanished for ages. Thus he made his way from the estuary of Severn to the estuary of Dee, and there he found, at his bidding, a brilliant train indeed of men waiting for their lord. All the kings of the island had come to do their homage and plight their oaths to the Basileus of Britain, the Cæsar of the island world, the peer of the Augustus of either Rome. Well fitted for such a gathering was the city by the Dee, central as was no other city for all the princes of the isle of Albion, for the Scot and the Cumbrian, for the Briton of Gwent and the Briton of Gwynedd, for princes too whose names speak of the Scandinavian North, for Sigefrith and Magnus, Magnus lord of many islands and prince of the rovers of the sea. The presence of the kings, their homage, their oaths, is witnessed by the English Chronicles themselves. And is there any just ground for casting aside the picture which the best of our Latin writers add to it, the picture of the waters of Deva parted by the oars of the under-kings, while the lord of all in very truth guides the helm of Empire, and passes through the portal of the minster surrounded by a prouder train than ever gathered round Bretwalda or Basileus before him? Such was the glory of the father. One is tempted to pass by the exploit of the son recorded in the next entry of the name of Legeceaster in the Chronicles. In the last year of the first millennium of our æra, the son of Eadgar, Æthelred, has also his fleet in the waters of the Dee. The Danes have left him a moment's peace ; their fleet has sailed for Richard's land, the Gaulish land of the Norman. The work of his little space of rest is to war with his own vassals. He harries Cumberland ; the fleet that failed to meet him harries Man ; next year the Danes are in the waters of the Exe,

and the unready king has no help to give to the valiant men of Exeter who drive back the force by their own strength.

It is for those who have local knowledge to explain to me, not for me to explain to those who have local knowledge, the exact return of the physical changes, for considerable changes there have certainly been, by which the position of Chester as a haven has been transferred to a neighbouring borough lately raised to the rank of a city. For in the ages with which I am most concerned, Chester certainly held the position which answered, as nearly as the difference of circumstance would allow, to the modern position of Liverpool. It was not the starting-point for America, because there was no America to start for. But it was one of the two great starting-points for Ireland, as Bristol was the other. Our friend even in Boswell's day who went to West Chester went to West Chester to start for Ireland. Holyhead and Milford could not be called into play till Wales had been tamed, and till first roads, and then railroads had been made across it. For any gathering in the North-western seas Chester was the usual, because the natural, centre. We have just seen that it was there that the fleet was brought together for the mad expedition of Æthelred. When in 1055 Ælfgar comes back with a force partly of Welsh, partly of Danes from Ireland, his fleet waits for him at Chester. When in 1069 the sons of Harold come back with a Danish fleet for Ireland, their first point is Bristol. That was the choice, Bristol or Chester, according doubtless to the port of Ireland for which the ships started or the port to which they were to make their way. The shiftings in the relative positions of the great towns of England, the causes of various kinds that have worked in each case, would be a good subject to treat in a comparative fashion. Bristol still abides in its own person, and still advances, though its relative position has passed from it. Chester is represented by Liverpool. Lincoln, I think we may say, is represented by Kingston-on-Hull, as the chief seat of Scandinavian traffic. Exeter, on the other hand, has not kept up its position like Bristol; nor has it, like Chester, an obvious modern representative. Plymouth can hardly be said to have taken its place in the way in

which Liverpool has taken the place of Chester. The one English town which has lived on and prospered through all changes is London. London, though an old town in the fourth century, has not the antiquity of Cadiz, of Marseilles, or even of Bordeaux. But it is our nearest insular approach to them.

And now am I to tell again the tale which I have already told in what is as yet the chief work of my life, the tale of the days when Chester was the last city of England to bow to the Norman invader? I know not that I can add ought to the picture which I then drew of the march of William to Chester; of the siege and of the storm or the surrender we have no picture to draw. I can only speak as I spoke then, when I wrote, not specially for an audience gathering together in Chester itself, but for all who cared to hear the story of the Norman Conquest.

"Here was the one great city which had not yet bowed to his might, the one still abiding home of English freedom. All the other great seats of royal, ecclesiastical, and municipal power were already his. William was King at Winchester and London, at Canterbury and York, at Glastonbury and Peterborough, at Exeter and Lincoln. But he was not yet King at Chester. The old City of the Legions, the river on which Eadgar had been rowed by vassal Kings, the minster where the English Basileus had knelt with his vassal Kings around him, the walls from which men could look out on the land which Harold had added to the English realm—all still were free, standing untouched amid surrounding bondage, like a single perfect column standing unhurt amid the shattered ruins of a forsaken temple." * * * * * There is no point in William's history at which we should more gladly welcome the minutest details than in this, the last stage of the real Conquest of England. But not a detail, not an anecdote, is preserved; we know only the results. The work which had begun at Pevensey was brought to an end at Chester, and we can see that it was not brought to an end without hard fighting. William had to put down by force the hostile movements of what was now specially the Mercian land. We know not whether the city surrendered or was taken by storm; we know not by what means the shire and the adjoining lands were conquered. * * * * * How this our last national stronghold fell we know not, but we know that it did fall, and that, as usual, a Norman keep soon rose on the old mound to act as a curb on the conquered city. * * * * * At whatever cost, England was conquered. William had yet to struggle against revolts both among the conquered English and among his own people. But the land was won; there was no longer any portion of English ground which could still refuse submission to an invader; future struggles were simply revolts against a government which was now in full possession. The fall of Chester was the last scene of the long battle the first

blows of which had been struck when, well nigh four years back, Tostig had first harried English ground by William's licence. We ask, but we ask in vain, whether Ealdgyth and her babes were still within the walls of the captured city, and whether it was now that William gained possession of the young heir of the House of Godwine, whose life, as long as William lived, was to be the life-in-death of a Norman prison. To questions like these no certain answer can be given. We know only that the land was won. * * * * * After the fall of Chester, no integral part of the English kingdom remained unsubdued. William was full King over all England."

There is a legend too of which I suppose I need hardly speak. Chester has too much of real history, it is too deeply connected with the true story of the Conquest of England, to need additions from romance. I need not then again examine the wild tale, curious only as a piece of comparative mythology, which makes Harold escape from the hill of slaughter and live and die an anchorite at Saint John's. On that head it was once enough to say, with the Waltham writer whom your Bishop knows well, "*Quidquid fabulenter homines quod in rupe manserit Doroberniae et nuper defunctus sit Cestriae, pro certo quiescit Walthamiae.*" The havoc of the sixteenth century, when all that was left of Ælfred and Harold and Waltheof and Simon was scattered to the winds, makes it needful to change the tense, but that is all.

The local historian of Chester has a rich store of materials for this age in the Domesday entries of the city. The customs of Chester there set forth are precious studies indeed. But as we grudge that we cannot tell the tale of the siege of Chester as we can tell the tale of the siege of Exeter, so we grudge that at Chester we make no man's personal acquaintance; we do not come face to face with the Chester judges as we do come face to face with the Lincoln lawmen. Then there is the earldom of Hugh of Avranches—how he came to be called a Wolf perhaps some one may be able to tell me, as they may be able to tell me why people call him the Conqueror's nephew; Wolf or no Wolf, we know him well from Domesday, Orderic, and Eadmer. His earldom, so great in its powers and privileges, stood alone in England. The Conqueror's policy of keeping power in his own hands, of appointing no earls who might grow into the fellows of continental counts and dukes, had to be relaxed on dangerous borders when the earl, guardian of a march,

was in truth a marquess. But even Northumberland and Shrewsbury, even the Kentish and the Cornish lordship of his brothers, were none of them as Chester. The earldom of Hugh stood alone in its greatness and its distinctness from the rest of the realm. What in Gaul and Germany was the rule was in England the exception; had all earldoms been like Chester, had all bishoprics been like Durham, England could hardly have remained an united kingdom; it must have split up like the lands of the Empire; Chester, instead of the harmless appanage of a future King, might have become the seat of a dangerous Elector by whom kings were to be chosen and defied. How distinct Chester and Durham stood from the rest of the kingdom is best shown by their having for so many ages no voice in the national Parliament. While Chester had its own courts, its own baronage, knights and citizens from the all-but-independent state would have been as much out of place as knights and citizens from Man or the Norman Islands.

There is one more aspect of the city at which I must glance, even in the presence of him who is most specially concerned in that respect. I asked the Bishop of Chester to tell us the earlier history of the two minsters of Chester, as they immediately concerned the history of the city. I may, even before him, venture to say a few words about this from the comparative point of view. I conceive that a visitor to Chester, familiar with the history of other cities, but knowing nothing specially of this one, seeing your two minsters, Saint Werburgh's within the walls and Saint John's without, would at once leap to the conclusion that here is a city of the type of which we have so many on the continent and so few in Britain, a city which has been a bishopric from the beginning, with the bishop's church within the walls, while in after times a second minster, monastic or collegiate, has arisen beyond the walls. He would take for granted that Saint Werburgh's was the fellow of Christ Church at Canterbury and of our Lady of Rouen, while Saint John's answered to Saint Augustine's and Saint Ouen's. Yet so we all know it is not. The strange thing in the episcopal history of Chester is, not only that both the great churches should at different times have been the head church of

a diocese, but that they have been, we may say, the heads of two different dioceses. There is something like this in the history of the northern Dorchester, once the head church of a West-Saxon diocese whose bishopstool was translated to Winchester, afterwards the seat of a Mercian diocese whose bishopstool was translated to Lincoln. When we hear of a Bishop of Chester in the twelfth century, and long afterwards, it means a bishop sitting at Saint John's, with a diocese stretching northward to the Ribble and stretching southward far into Warwickshire. When we hear of a Bishop of Chester at any time from Henry the Eighth till our day, it means a bishop sitting at Saint Werburgh's, with a diocese not stretching southward beyond the border of the earldom of Chester, but stretching northward to the borders of the earldom of Carlisle. The earlier Bishop of Chester was a suffragan of Canterbury; the later is a suffragan of York. There is nothing in common between the elder bishopric of Chester and the later, except that the county palatine of Chester forms part of the diocese of each. When the Conqueror entered Chester, the city had two minsters of secular canons, Saint Werburgh's within the walls, Saint John's without. Presently Bishop Peter moves his bishopstool from Lichfield to Chester, and plants it in the minster without the walls. In Domesday Saint John's seem wholly merged in the bishopric. Then Robert of Limesi moves the bishopstool again from Chester to Coventry, and we find the bishop spoken of indifferently as Bishop of Chester and Bishop of Coventry. Now the point on which I wish to know more is this. How was it that in the course of the twelfth century the election of the bishop came to be a matter of dispute between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Lichfield, seemingly without the assertion of any right on the part of the canons of Saint John's? They go on, as a secular college, without any special connexion with the bishopric, till the general suppression of colleges. Meanwhile Saint Werburgh, changed by Earl Hugh with the help of Anselm from a secular college into a Benedictine abbey, lives on as such till the suppression of monasteries. Then comes its new foundation by Henry the Eighth as the head of an altogether new diocese, carved out

of those of York and Coventry. Carved thus, not only out of two dioceses, but out of two provinces, first of all the lands north of Ribble were transferred from York to Canterbury, then the lands south of Ribble were transferred from Canterbury to York. The spiritual geography was at last arranged according to the taste of the heathen King from Deira, not according to the taste of the Christian Lady from Wessex. So in temporal matters Cheshire, north of Mersey, the land of Roger of Poitou, had ceased to have to do with earls of Chester long before it ceased to have to do with bishops of Chester or Coventry. A shire unknown to Domesday, the shire of Lancaster, made up of a piece from York and a piece from Chester crept in unawares. With later ecclesiastical changes I am hardly concerned. Two new dioceses have been formed out of the lands north of the Mersey. The practical gain is great, and geography has no complaint. Against simple division and simple union geography has no complaint. When geography does complain is when a division, civil or ecclesiastical, is put together out of scraps. It may be practically needful, but geography complains all the same. To me perhaps these shiftings and divisions to and fro in this part of England seem the more striking when I compare them with the historical geography either of my own district or of the district in which I last met this Institute. Within the kingdom of the South-Saxon and the *gú* of the Sumorsætan, the seats of authority, spiritual and temporal, have often changed, but the boundaries of the district over which authority has been exercised have hardly changed at all. In Somerset and in Sussex shire and diocese have been more nearly and more steadily conterminous than anywhere else. And Chester and Cheshire have at last conformed to the same rule. After all these shiftings to and fro, the earldom of your first Earl and the diocese of your present Bishop have become nearly the same thing.

My business this evening is simply to open this section. Perhaps I have done something more than open it; I have taken it to myself. But I wish only to set others working, to supply general thoughts which others with more of local knowledge may work out in minuter detail. Besides the early story of this city, there is a later story.

The walls of Chester that now stand are not the walls which Æthelfrith left empty and which Æthelflæd again made compass the dwellings of men. And from the walls that now are men have looked out on warfare later than the days of Ælfred and of William. I would fain wish that the great master of later English history were here to tell the tale of the stirring time which he has made his own. But in the home, in the presence, of the master of all history, he and I and all of us can but take each one his vassal's portion and do homage for it to our lord.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN BRITAIN IN 1885.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

The past year has not been so productive as some of its predecessors in epigraphic “finds” of the Roman period, though it is probably an average one.

As usual, the greatest number of discoveries have been made upon or near the line of the Roman Wall. Commencing from the east end of this structure, there was found upon the 8th of January, at South Shields, the lower part of a large Roman tombstone, of which the upper portion had been discovered some four years previously, and an account of which I communicated to the Institute, March 3rd, 1881. The newly discovered portion contained the figure of the deceased in a semi-recumbent position, upon a couch, a cup in his left hand, and an object not clearly distinguishable in his right; the greater portion of the face broken off. In a panel underneath is a small figure, as if of a child, with a large vessel, having handles, on the floor beside him, and represented as lifting up a cup for the acceptance of the deceased. These panels are flanked by fluted columns, surmounted by the pediment bearing in its centre, a lion's head, with a ring in the mouth, which I described in 1881. The lowest compartment within a moulding bears the following inscription:—

D.M.VICTORIS NATIONE MAVRVM.
ANNORVM. XX LIBERTVS.NVMERIANI
*QITIS ALA.I. ASTVRVM QVI
PIANTISSIME PR*** QVTVS EST.

As I at once pointed out on receipt of a “squeeze” of this inscription, there are several and most extraordinary errors in it—MAVRVM agrees with nothing, the same may be said of LIBERTVS unless considered in a fresh sentence. ALA should be ALAE., a v has to be supplied in EQVITIS,

though this omission is of frequent occurrence, and the third letter in the last line should be E instead of A.

The correct reading then is *D(is) M(anibus) Victoris. Natione Maurus annorum xx libertus Numeriani (e)quitis Alae I Asturum qui pientissime prosequutus est*. The E at the beginning of the third line and the three letters whose places are marked by asterisks in the last line are wanting. The translation is—"To the divine shades of Victor. By nation, a Moor, of twenty years of age. (He was) the freed man of Numerianus, a horseman of the first *ala* of the Astures who most affectionately followed him (to the grave).

The P of *Prosequutus* appearing in the rubbing much like an E, and only the upper part of the R being visible, I at first thought that *Executus est* was the phrase intended, as it is indicative of following to the grave; but from the engravings of the stone since published there is no doubt *Prosequutus* is correct.¹ Neither term, however, has previously been found in a Roman inscription in England. Dr. Bruce adds *eum* after *qui*, though there is no necessity for it, the word being understood. From the *Notitia*, we learn that the first *ala* of the Astures was quartered at Benwell (*Condercum*) on the great Wall, a fact confirmed by numerous inscriptions found there. The stone was found at the corner of James Mather and Cleveland Streets, whilst removing the sand, &c., previous to paving.

At the same station (South Shields) there was also found on the 16th of October, within the area of the *castrum* and not far from the east gate, a small altar of sandstone, 2 ft. 3 in. high, and 14 in. broad, having on the back a garland, on the right side a *praefericulum*, and on the left a *patena*, the front being thus inscribed

D. ESCVLAP.
P. VIBOLEIVS
SECVNDVS
ARAM
D. D.

i.e., *D(eo) (A)esculap(i)o P(ublius) Viboleius Secundus aram d(omum) d(at)*. "To the god Aesculapius. Publius Viboleius Secundus gives (this) altar, as a gift." The altar had been used as a walling stone, and consequently

¹ For an example of *prosequutus est* in this sense, see Orelli, No. 4830.

was probably of early date. There are numerous instances of Aesculapius being spelt as Esculapius.

Proceeding westwards there was found in April in the wall of a house at Hexham, built about the middle of the seventeenth century, a centurial stone, which on its inscribed face, was 1 ft. in width and 8½ in. in height bearing the inscription

CH.VIII.> MA
RCI.CO MA

The last letter may be incomplete, as it is at the edge of the stone, and perhaps M; for it is doubtful whether there is an horizontal stroke across it—but taking it as given, I would read, *Cohortis nonae, centuria Marci(i) Comati*, or if the last letter be M, *Communis* may be substituted for *Comati*. i.e. “The century of Marcius Comatus (or Communis) of the ninth cohort.” It would be a legionary and not auxiliary cohort.

On the 30th April, 1884, I communicated to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries a short paper advising that wherever a Roman milestone had been found, excavations should be made around it, to ascertain if others did not lie buried, as from Continental experiences, I felt assured that these milestones generally occurred in groups, having been renewed in the reigns of successive emperors. Within fourteen months my opinion was verified, not by excavations purposely made, but by accident. In draining the “Crindle Dykes” farm there was found, on the north side of the Roman road called the “Stanegate,” which runs within the Wall, and has been traced, up to the present time between Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*) and Chesters (*Cilurnum*), a group of five Roman milestones, with fragments of two others. They were at the distance of a Roman mile to the east from the milliary still remaining *in situ*, which closely adjoins the station of *Vindolana* (Chesterholm). This latter, in Horsley’s time, had its inscription BONO REIPUBLICAE NATO still remaining, though nothing but a few strokes now remain. The inscriptions on those recently discovered are, according to Dr. Bruce,

(1)	(2)	(3)
IMP. CA . . .	IMP	M.AVR
SEVER . . .	CAE	PRoBVS
PIO . . .	MAXI	P.F.INVIC
COS.PP.CVR . . .	MINO	AVG
. . . G.AVG . . .	AVG	
M.P. XIII	NOB	
	CAES	

(4)	(5)	(6)
IMP	IMP.CAES	IM . . .
FL	FLAV.VAL	
VAL	CONSTANTINO	
CONSTANTIN	PIO. NOB	
P.F	CAESARI	(7)
INV	FL.IVL	L.I
AVG	CONSTANTI	
DIVI	FIL.AVG	
,	*C*D**OX*	

The first of these, which is on a rounded pillar 4 ft. 6 in. in height and 1 ft. 7 in. in diameter, is undoubtedly of the reign of Severus Alexander. It appears to be only inscribed on one side, and should probably be restored, as Dr. Bruce proposes.

IMP. CA(ES)	Imperatori Caesari
SEVER.(ALEX)	Severo Alexandro
PIO.(FEL.AVG.P.M)	Pio felici Augusto Pontifici Maximo
COS.P.P.CVR	Consuli, Patri Patriae curante
(LE)G.AVG.(PR.PR.)	Legato Augusti propraetore
M.P. XIII	Millia Passuum XIII.

“To the Emperor Caesar Severus Alexander the pious, the fortunate Augustus, the chief priest, the Consul, the father of his country by the care (or order) of the Legate of the Augustus, the propraetor—fourteen miles,” The absence of the name of the Imperial legate is singular. It can hardly have been obliterated, and there does not appear to have been room for it. The name of the place from which the stone was fourteen miles distant is not stated, which is very tantalising. The date is between A.D. 223-225. No. 2 is plainly *Imperatori Caesari Maximino Augusto Noblissimo Caesari*, in its expanded form. Dr. Bruce raises the question as to whether it applies to the Emperor Caius Julius Verus Maximinus who, with his son Maximus, reigned A.D. 235-238, or Maximinus Daza, who was Augustus A.D. 308-313. If he considers *et* as understood after *Augusto*, which he indicates in his translation, it must be the former emperors who are named, and not Maximinus Daza, as he thinks is shewn by the rudeness of the lettering and consequently prefers. The translation of this is simply, “To the Emperor Caesar Maximinus Augustus (and) the most noble Caesar.” This stone is 5 ft. 2 in. high, and though approximately circular tapers from a diameter of 1 ft. 8 in. at the base, to 1 ft. 2 in. at the summit.

No. 3 is simply a record of the reign of Probus, and

reads *Marcus Aurelius Probus, Pius, Felix Invictus, Augustus*. It is singular that IMP. and CAES. the abbreviations for *Imperator Caesar* are omitted. Possibly they have been on a portion of the stone which is broken off, for this one is a flat slab 2 ft. 4 in. high, by 1 ft. 4 in. broad, which at the base seems to have been recently fractured. These abbreviations are however, occasionally omitted. The translation is:—"Marcus Aurelius Probus, the pious, the fortunate, the unconquered, Augustus." It is the first inscription recorded as found in Britain bearing the name of this emperor, who reigned between A.D. 276 and 282—some writers have thought that he visited Britain, though on slight evidence; this inscription from being in the nominative case seems to favor their view.

No. 4 is on a pillar of gritstone 3 ft. 7 in. high, and 11 in. in diameter and is of the reign of Constantine the Great. Its inscription should be expanded *Imperatori Flavio Valerio Constantino pio felici invicto Augusto, Divi (Constanti Augusti filio)*. "To the Emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus, the pious, fortunate, unconquered Augustus, son of the deified Constantius the Augustus."

No. 5 is on a pillar 3 ft. 2 in. in height, bearing upon one face an oblong flat tablet surrounded by a moulding. This tablet projects from and is wider than the pillar itself, being about 15 in. in width. The inscription is upon it, and reads *Imperatori Caesari Flavio Valerio Constantino Pio Noblissimo Caesari Flavio Julio Constanti filio Augusti . . .* It is a dedication to Constantine the Great and his son Constans as Caesar. The word *et* is plainly to be understood and supplied, between *Pio* and *Noblissimo* in the fourth line. The translation is, "To the Emperor Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantinus Pius, and to the most noble Caesar Flavius Julius Constans, son of the Augustus" The last line is much obliterated, which is again a very tantalising matter, for it has contained the name of some town with the distance from it. From frequent and close inspection of a good photograph of the stone, I believe the letters to be A CAD ENO XI . . but I cannot vouch for them. The Newcastle antiquaries cannot recognise the first letter in this line, A, but make it to commence with the C (or G), the second they think E, the third doubtful, but perhaps D,

the fourth and fifth like LL, the sixth o, and the seventh x. This, however, does not yield sense. On the other hand were the letters A CADENO, there is a British tribe, the *Gadeni*, mentioned by Ptolemy, as resident in the border country between England and Scotland, of whom we find traces in two inscriptions discovered at Risingham, one of them dedicated to *Mogonti Cad (eno or Cadenorum)* the other *Mouno Cad (enorum)*, and I am inclined to think that this station, the name of which has never been definitely ascertained, is the one named on the stone. The numerals after the x are uncertain both as to the figure and number. There may be one or two i's, or there may be vi, but it is certain that the usual letters M.P. preceding the numerals are omitted. Instances of this occasionally occur as in the well known milestone of the reign of Hadrian, found near Leicester, where we have A.RATIS. II. The distance named on this Crindle Dykes stone would not, however, be much, if any, different from the actual distance in Roman miles to Risingham, and Roman roads connect the two points, though not in a direct line. With these two milliaries last described, the number of Roman milestones found in Britain, bearing the names of members of the Constantine family is raised to ten.

No. 6 is a fragment of the head of what has been a fine columnar milestone, the remainder probably being irrecoverably lost. The letters I M., part of the abbreviations IMP.CAES. are in fine characters.

No. 7 is inscribed on a square base, on which a small portion of a cylindrical column remains. It is unique in Britain as recording the distance of one league from some station (no doubt *Vindolana*), the letters standing for *L(euga) una*. Two groups of these "league stones" found in Germany, I referred to in the paper read before the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries previously mentioned (*Archæologia Aeliana*, vol. x, pp. 130-132). The league named is the Gallic one, equal to one and a half Roman miles. All of these stones are now preserved by Mr. Clayton.

At Horsley on Rede, near the Risingham station, there has lately been found a small Roman vessel of lead, on the bottom of which was "scratched" the word

This is probably to signify that the vessel was the property of some one named Tacitus. (See *Proc. New-castle Soc. of Antiq.*, vol. ii, p. 64).

During quarrying operations at Greenhead, where the Roman Wall passes over the Walltown Crags, the workmen came upon one of the centurial stones taken from the Wall. It bears the following inscription :

COH. V
O.IVLI.VALE.

This is Dr. Bruce's reading, and the expansion would be *Coh(ortis) v. centuria Julii Valeriani*, i.e. "The century of Julius Valerianus of the fifth cohort." There are however objections to this :—first, VALE is an unusual abbreviation of any *cognomen*, secondly there appears to be on the stone a second centurial mark thus >, instead of a stop, between IVLI and VALE, and it is of considerable size. This suggests the possibility of two *centuriae*, the first of Julius, and the second of Valerius, being named. I grant that the use of the *nomen* only, in these inscriptions is rare, but there are examples of it, even in Britain, e.g., *Corpus Insc. Latin*, Nos. 671 and 782. There is also an example of two *centuriae* being named in one inscription in the same volume, No. 489, though in this case the *cognomina* only, of the centurions are given.

I now come to the interesting station at Whitley Castle (*Glanorenta*) where, in October there was found the fragment of what has been a large and valuable inscription. It is the lower right hand corner, and the extant lettering appears to me, to be :

SILIVL
CO.LEG
S . PR . BR

In the *Academy* for Nov. 7th, 1885, when treating of this inscription from the first copy sent to me, I considered that P was before the O in the 2nd line, and that the legate named would be Virius Lupus, in the 3rd consulship of Septimius Severus. But, having since received a photograph, it seems that C is before the O, thus making the name of the legate, whether in the nominative or ablative, end with CO., and the first line is materially different. As Severus divided Britain into

two provinces, Britannia Superior and Britannia Inferior, the inscription would seem, from the last line, which apparently contains the words *Provinciae Britanniae*, to have been cut at an earlier period, though not before the time when Hadrian first permanently established the Roman power in Northumberland. The only legates we know of during this interval, whose names would suit the inscription are Pompeius Falco, legate of Hadrian, Quintus Lollius Urbicus, legate of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus legate of Marcus Aurelius and Verus, and possibly a supposed legate, Licinius Priscus, which name Horsley believed he recognised on a stone found at Bewcastle. But as the first line certainly does not contain any of the names of the three last mentioned officers, we are necessarily obliged to examine the various *nomina* of the first, which including the *prae nomen* and the final *cognomen* are no less than fourteen in number, as we gather from an inscription found on the Continent (Henzen, No. 5451). They are Quintus, Roscius, Coelius, Murena, Silius, Decianus, Vibullus, Pius, Julius, Eurycles, Herclanus, Pompeius, Falco. Judging by other examples, it is not likely that *all* of these names were frequently used in inscriptions, perhaps not more than four or five at a time, and those not consecutively. I think, therefore, that the names of the legate have here been given in the nominative case, the first line containing SIL (*ius*) IVL (*ius*) followed by some others, until we arrive in the second at (FAL)CO.LEG. the third having been (AVG.PR.PR.ET.CO)S.PR.BG. What was thought to be a small o before s in the first line, at the time I communicated the inscription to the *Academy*, turns out to be only a fragment of some letter.

Dr. Bruce, however, considers it to be part of the letter E, which does not seem justified by the photograph, and he accordingly reads . . . R]ESTITVT[VM] in the first line, with a query, whilst in the second he thinks that . . . [FVS] CO (?) LEG(ATO) has been intended.

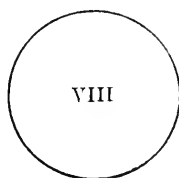
In a Roman cemetery, lying outside the N.E. angle of *Luguvallium* (Carlisle), and at the northern end, of the eastern side of the present Lowther Street, there was found in March, during excavations for building purposes, a large tombstone, originally over 5 ft. in height, but the

extreme upper portion of which was accidentally broken and destroyed, before its nature was observed. Fortunately the figure of the defunct (a child) was, with the exception of the face, undamaged. This figure, which is 2 ft. 2 in. in height, stands within an alcove, and beneath is an "ansated" panel containing the inscription

D I S
VACIAINF
ANSAN III

i.e. Dis Vacia Infans An(norum) III.— "To the gods. Vacia an infant of three years." The panel is also 2 ft. 2 inches in breadth and 1 foot high. The total present height of the stone is 4 ft. 8 in., and the breadth 3 ft. 2 in. The name *Vacia* has previously occurred upon the Roman wall on a tombstone (*Lap. Sept.* No. 282). The omission of *Manibus* after *Dis* is singular, though not unknown. Human bones were found in a "pocket" of "made soil" beneath the stone, which is now in the Carlisle Museum.

At Vicar's Cross, two or three miles from Chester on the Roman road to Northwich, a small circular plate of lead has been found during the year, bearing upon it the numerals VIII. thus :



It is an inch and seven-eighths in diameter, half-an-inch in thickness, and weighs half a pound. It appears to have been used for some game, and strongly resembles similar objects in pottery found at Colchester. It is now in the Chester Museum.

In March, when ploughing a field at Caer Gai, about four miles south-west of the town of Bala, and close to the south-west extremity of Bala Lake, there was found the lower portion of an inscribed Roman tombstone. The upper portion which contained at least the figures of a human being and an animal has been lost, but the feet of the figures remain, and beneath them, within a moulding, is the inscription :

IVLIVS. GAVERONIS. F
FE. MIL. CHO. I. NER

From the copy of the inscription first sent to me, I gave in the *Academy* (4th April, 1885), CHOR instead of CHO in the second line, but inspection of the stone confirms the reading I have here given, though both CHO and CHOR. occur in inscriptions, as abbreviations of the same word. More singular is the abbreviation F. followed by FE. As the inscription stands I can take it for nothing else than *Julius, Gaveronis F(ilius). Fecerunt Milites C(ō)hortis I. Ner(viorum)*, i.e. "Julius the son of Gavero. The soldiers of the first cohort of the Nervii have made (this)."

Dr. Hübner whilst apparently recognising F as the abbreviation of *Filius*, asserts that a *praenomen* (by initial) such as *C(aius)*, &c., must have preceeded *Julius*, and takes FE to be the abbreviation of *Felix* or some similar *cognomen*. I perfectly agree with him that in a thoroughly *orthodox* inscription such should have been the case. But it is not. There is no trace of any letter before IVLIVS; and if it had been so *Gavero* is not a *praenomen*, especially for a member of the Julian *gens*, and it ought to have been the *praenomen* of the father, that should have followed *Julius*. Further, though I will not deny that in the whole Roman world FE. may in some inscription represent *Felix*, I am more than doubtful whether Dr. Hübner can bring a *satisfactory* example of it. Assuming that he did so, the inscription would read "Julius Felix the son of Gavero, a soldier of the first cohort of the Nervii." At present, I prefer to read FE as *F(ecerunt)*, for we have many examples, and the position of F. seems to my mind to confirm it. The stone has not been a slab but, as far as the base is concerned, almost a cube; being 30 in. on two sides by 22 in. on the others in width. The inscription, on the front, occupies a space of 28 in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Since the days of Camden Caer Gai has yielded quantities of Roman coins, bricks, and pottery, but the site of the station is only faintly traceable. This is the first inscription that has been brought to light. It is also the first inscription found in Britain, naming the first cohort of the Nervii, although from the Sydenham *tabula* of

Trajan we know that regiment was in Britain in A.D. 105. Several memorials of the second, third, and sixth cohorts have, however, been found. The lettering of the stone is fair. It is ornamented on the back with a moulding, &c., and part of an urn containing burnt bones and charcoal was found beneath it. It is now in the Chester Museum.

In vol. xxi (p. 19 *et seq.*) of the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith has described five bronze Roman *patellae*, &c., preserved by Mrs. E. M. Humphreys, of the "Cambrian Arms," Pensarn, Abergele, in Denbighshire. Mrs. Humphreys has since secured four other vessels of bronze, which were included in the same "find," amongst which are two small bowls, each bearing upon the bottom the words

INDVS. 𐤀

evidently *Indus f(ecit)*, scratched with some sharp instrument in a "cursive" hand. The letters are of a well-known type, the D especially resembling the first letter in a similar "scratched" inscription given in *Lapid. Sept.* No. 152. These vessels were found in a field called "Cae Merdynn," about a mile-and-a-half from Abergele, on the left of the road to Llanvair, and near the turnpike gate. "Cae Merdynn" means "the field of the ruined buildings," and it is close to the foot of the hill upon which stands what I consider to be a ruined Roman pharos, now styled the "Old Windmill," a building which has received some alterations within the last few centuries.

Cirencester has yielded during operations for clearing out the chapel of St. John's Hospital, a fragment of an inscribed slab of sandstone. The only letters visible upon it are,

* *
* . AVGV
* * .

Fragments of other letters are visible where I have placed asterisks. In the upper line they appear to be the lower portions of two letters like I or T. Before AVGV is what has been considered part of an E from a horizontal stroke visible in the centre. If that letter has been there I

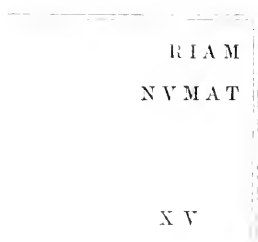
would read (ALA)E. AVGV(s tae). The portions of letters in the lower line are too fragmentary for criticism.

A broken *fibula* has also been found at "The Firs" in the same town, inscribed

AVVIMPL

It is now in the Cirencester Museum.

At Chichester there has recently been found built up into a wall at the Bishop's Palace, the right hand portion of what has apparently been a large sepulchral stone. At present it is 2 ft. high by 2 ft. wide, and is preserved in the Bishop's garden. Mr. C. Roach Smith, in a recent letter to me states that all he could decipher was



There is room for at least two lines between the second and third of those now existing, but the stone is covered with an incrustation of lime from the building mortar, and more letters may be discovered. The M in the second line is somewhat doubtful, though probably correctly read. It is uncertain whether any line has existed below the XV. for the moulding has been broken off at the bottom.

A number of *graffiti* inscriptions upon Roman pottery preserved by Mr. Clayton at Chesters (*Cilurnum*) require a passing notice. They are :—

VERI-, LIB, MARTIL, DIISIRA., CAMILLI., and a few other fragments in Latin, also what appear to be the Greek letters ΕΠΩΑ.

There remain a few emendations and rediscoveries of inscriptions given by Dr. Hübner in Vol. vii. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* to be noticed.

Dr. Hübner's No. 262 was seen by Dr. Stukley in 1740, and (as will shortly be seen, in a volume of his correspondence about to be published), his sketch of the stone gives T simply as the commencement of the 3rd line, the 4th is

the same as Dr. Hübner gives, with the exception that an s is added after the o, and the 5th is given as KM.I., but I hardly think sense can be extracted from this, even if we consider KM. as standing for some case of *Karissimus*, as it occasionally does. Dr. Hübner's No. 353, which he considered as lost, is still built up in a wall of the buildings at Cuning-Garth. From a photograph of it recently sent to me, I find that the reading is in many points very different from that given by Dr. Hübner. The latter adopted the lettering (to a considerable extent) as recorded by Camden, Horsley, and in the Pococke MSS., &c. It is therefore better to place it by the side of that yielded by the photograph, which latter, with the exception of one letter, is very clear. A portion of the stone on the right hand side must have been broken away, however.

(Hübner.)

D. M.
MABLI
NIVS.SEC
VNDVS
EQVIS
ALE AVG
STE.STIP.

.

(Photograph.)

D. M.
MAP
NIVS S
VNDV
EQVI
ALEA V
S.E.S.O

The doubtful letter is that which I have given as P at the end of the second line. It may be an E, as there is a horizontal stroke at the bottom. Otherwise every letter of the inscription is not only distinct but in good preservation.

A moulding runs round the left hand side, and the base of the inscription, as indicated, and portions of it remain above the lettering, but on the right hand side it has been broken off, with the lost part of the stone. There is not much difficulty in reading the inscription which is a very interesting one. Assuming the letter at the present end of the first line to be P, I would expand the whole as *D(iis) M(anibus) M(arcus) Ap(ronius) Secundus. equis Al(a)e Aug(ustae) S(ibi) c(et) S(uis) O(mnibus)*, or translated "To the gods the shades Marcus Apronius Secundus a horseman of the *Ala Augusta*, for himself and all of his" (has erected this).

This is the only instance in Britain, of *Sibi et Suis Omnibus* occurring. The soldier had probably lost children

and over their grave which he intended ultimately to be also used for himself and the remainder of his family, he set up the stone.

It would, of course, if the letter had been E at the end of the second line, have done to suggest Maenius Secundus, but there have been, according to the earlier accounts of the stone, more than three letters in the second line.

The inscription ANSIEPHARR (Dr. Hübner's No. 1294) has been expanded by M. Robert Mowat as ANSI(1) EPHARR(ODITI) in the *Bulletin Epigraphique*. It is on the handle of a bronze vessel.

Two other inscriptions supposed by Dr. Hübner to be lost, have recently been re-discovered. One is his No. 1071 on an altar which is now preserved at Burnfoot, the residence of Mr. Irving, near Ecclefechan. The other No. 1305, an interesting ring found at Silchester is still preserved in the neighbourhood, being in the possession of Mr. Chaloner Chute, "The Vyne," Silchester.

In vol. xli, of the *Journal* p. 185, I have given two doubtful inscriptions which I found in the Rawlinson MSS. at Oxford. Of the first of these, naming C. Sallustius Lucullus, it would appear that an "etching" was exhibited at the Chichester Meeting of the Institute and it was then stated that the stone was found at Chichester. (See catalogue of the Museum formed at the Chichester Meeting).

P.S. — The Rev. Dr. Hoopell informs me that the lower part of a Roman altar was some time since taken out of one of the walls of Harrington Church, Cumberland, and is now preserved in the Rectory grounds at that place. Harrington is some three or four miles distant from Moresby, where a large Roman station is still visible, the *Congarata* of the *Notitia* as I first pointed out in the *Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 130. The fragment is 16 in. by 11 in. across the face, and 10 in. thick. There are three lines of the inscription upon it, but so far the first half of these has not been deciphered, and it may provisionally be rendered—

.	.	.	.	.	.	PRAEF
C	Q	H	.	I	.	L I N G

The second cohort of the Lingones, was, according to the *Notitia*, stationed at *Congavata*. This altar, which has been erected by a Prefect of that corps, whose name is lost, is another proof that *Congavata* was at Moresby.

A small votive ring of base silver has also been found at Chesters (*Cilurnum*), where it is preserved by Mr. Clayton. On the bevel it is inscribed

DN
EP

which Mr. C. Roach Smith expands *D(eo) Nep(tuno)*.

In June two fragments of inscribed tiles, were found during excavations in Newgate Street, Chester. They each bore the terminations of inscriptions within an "ansated" moulding as follows :—

* ANTO. | < |	NTO. | < |
-------------	----------

These appear to be the abbreviations of ANTONINIANA, which title the Twentieth Legion, like others apparently assumed out of compliment to the Emperor Caracalla. In the first the inscription has been somewhat ligulate, the last stroke of the second v, in the title of the legion, being also the first stroke of the A, and the whole reading :—

LEG. XX. V. V. ANTO

We find tiles of the Second Legion at Caerleon inscribed

LEG. II. AUG. ANT

which is a still shorter abbreviation, whilst at York the Sixth Legion has left tiles inscribed

LEG. VI. SEV.

and

LEG. VI. GOR.

the last words in which are undoubtedly *Sev(eriana)* and *Gor(diana)* respectively, shewing that the legion had adopted a title both from Severus and Gordian.

ON THE DIFFERENCES OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST
BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND THOSE
OF MONKS ; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH
SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

We now arrive at the fourth allegation :—"That they" (the Austin canons) "first built a choir without aisles and a transept ; after that their domestic offices ; and then the next thing they built was the nave." This fourth part of the subject will not, fortunately, detain us nearly so long as the three previous ones, since it contains but a single point open to controversy ; and as the answer to that point has, to a considerable extent, been given already, it need not be reproduced at much length here. The point in question is this :—That the canons built their choirs *without aisles* ; and I have undertaken to shew "that though the Austin canons, like the monks, naturally commenced with their choirs, working westwards to the naves, the assertion that those choirs, *collectively considered*, were aisleless, is untenable. Further, that though some of them, especially in the smaller and poorer churches, undoubtedly are so, so, too, are many, perhaps more, of those of the various orders of monks." Now, how little the canons, as a rule, had really to do with the erection of their churches in the first instance, I have already shewn at length in vol. xlii, pp. 440-468. And, what is more to the purpose, is the fact that it was the choir with which the founders—who were in so vast a proportion the real builders of their churches—were more especially concerned. Having built this portion of the church, and so provided for the regular performance of divine service, the rest could "bide its time," waiting for the gradual accumulation of funds and such external benefactions as might accrue. The subject of aisled or aisleless choirs then, would in almost all cases depend for its solution primarily on the will of the founders ; the canons for the most part, probably, having no more to do with the dimensions or arrangement of the church than with the extent of the endowment—upon which such particulars would necessarily in great measure, depend. Their position, indeed, would differ little, if at all, from that of the inmates of any other almshouse or charitable institution, ancient or modern ; they would simply take such benefit of sustenance and general accommodation as the founder thought fit to provide for them, and which, in every case, would be just according to circumstance. Afterwards, when they had means of their own, and such independency as flowed therefrom, their case was different. As practically free agents, they could then build, alter, pull down, and rebuild as inclination prompted and means allowed ; and we have abundant proof, all the country over, what good use they made of their opportunities. But at

first they were not their own masters, and at times, probably—in respect of their churches and other offices—would realize the truth of the proverb that “beggars must not be choosers.” The founder, who “paid the piper,” not unnaturally “named the time,” and, “genteel” or otherwise, they had no choice but dance to it. Considering how slender the endowments, and few the number of canons in so many of their houses were, aisled choirs are surely among the very last things we should expect to meet with, nor, so far as I can see, is there any reason to suppose that, under similar circumstances, there was the least difference of arrangement in this respect between the churches of canons and those of monks. In both, naturally, it would be one of simple convenience, and I cannot but think it would need much ingenuity to shew that what was convenient in one case could be ought else in the other. In the larger and more highly developed churches of both orders, there is certainly no difference of plan observable in any respect ; neither, as we have already seen, is there in the smaller ones. I have already instanced, as will be remembered—merely from such examples as I have been able to make myself acquainted with—no fewer than one hundred and fourteen Benedictine churches, usually of the smaller class, which were either only one aisled or aisleless ; and I have no doubt whatever that a large proportion of the smaller and poorer churches of canons, of which “we cannot now speak particularly,” will be found to answer the same description. Both monks and canons alike had, in such matters, “to cut their coat according to the cloth”—not “after the lust of the eye.” That a considerable proportion of choirs of canons’ churches then—like those of the Benedictines—were aisleless, I made no manner of doubt about whatever. Such, among others, were those of Bamburgh, Beeston Regis—a beautiful arcaded example—Bolton, Brinkburn, Bruton—a church of monks before it became one of canons—Bourne, Chacombe, Chetwood, Chipley (apparently), Calk (most likely), Carham, Flanesford, Gresley, Hartland, Haughmond, Haverfordwest, Kirkby Beler, Laund, Letheringham, Maxstoke, Ovingham, S. Mary de Pratys Leicester, South Kyme, Staverdale, Studley, Sheringham, Ulverscroft, and Westacre. To these might doubtless be added many more, judging solely from the smallness and poverty of their several foundations ; but I give as many as I can speak to positively. So large a number, however, have either perished, or are so fragmentary—and therefore little known and difficult to acquire information about—that I can say nothing whatever for certain, either as to their plan or dimensions. But it is evident that foundations able to maintain no more than three or four canons would need only very small chapels for their accommodation ; and even when more amply endowed, and double that number of inmates existed, aisles, either to nave or choir, must have been very much in the nature of a superfluity. There can indeed, I think, be no reasonable doubt but that by far the larger proportion of the choirs in the smaller houses were without aisles, exactly as those of the Benedictines, under similar circumstances, were also without aisles. But that the choirs of canons’ churches were collectively or systematically aisleless is another matter, and, as I have said, altogether untenable. It is unfortunate, no doubt, for purposes of classification, that our knowledge of these churches should be so scanty ; yet, scanty as it is, it is quite sufficient to give us a fair idea of them as a whole, and refute the assertion that their choirs were generally aisleless. Viewed collectively

besides the smaller, and more or less aisleless examples, we find many others aisled just like those of similar character belonging to the monks ; while not a few—of vast size and richness—exhibit the monastic plan in its highest and fullest development. And it is not without significance, that the very first church which the order, even while yet unrecognized as such, possessed in England, viz., that of SS. Julian and Botolph, at Colchester, should have been of this last description. As to its choir that, I believe, is now destroyed, at least, to the surface of the ground ; but the plan of the rest affords the surest indication that, like the nave, it had both north and south aisles. At any rate, if such were not the case, it must have been unique among three towered English churches, for not only were there a central and two western towers, but the latter stood clear of the aisles as at Wells and originally at Ripon—thus forming a species of western transept. Then we have—

CHRIST CHURCH PRIORY CHURCH IN LONDON, which, if not the next built, was one of the very earliest of the order, and which had doubtless also an aisled choir, for it is said to have “passed all the Priories in London and Middlesex,” and that of the Franciscans, of which we have the most copious description, and which was of extreme magnificence, was certainly aisled.

AT WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH, the choir—though those of Harold, and of the 13th century, which possibly supplanted an intermediate Norman one, are now destroyed—must, I imagine judging from the plan of the church which, like that at Colchester, comprised three towers, have been also an aisled one. What new light, if any, the latest explorations there may have thrown upon the subject, I cannot, however, say.

WORKSOP PRIORY CHURCH, founded in the third year of Hen. 1st, had undoubtedly an aisled choir of very large dimensions, which, like that of Peterborough, terminated in a central apse.

CARLISLE PRIORY CHURCH had also, like that of Worksop, aisles to the choir from the very first, for on the south side, the Norman arch of entrance from the transept still exists.

ST. MARY OVERY PRIORY CHURCH, SOUTHWARK, founded about 1107, though in a great measure rebuilt in the 13th century, had also probably from the first an aisled choir, the scale of the Norman work in the noble nave arcades seeming to indicate, and indeed require the existence of similar features eastwards. Of the splendidly rebuilt 13th century aisled choir of five bays, at any rate, there can be no doubt whatever.

THE CHOIR OF BARNWELL PRIORY CHURCH, founded about 1112—a building “*mire pulchritudinis, et ponderosi operis*”—would also, pretty certainly, be an aisled one.

THURGARTON PRIORY CHURCH, founded circa 1120—a magnificent three towered building—had again, as there is every reason to think, an aisled choir from the first.

AT KIRKHAM PRIORY CHURCH, built by the founders, Walter L'Espee

and Adeline his wife in 1121, the choir—whatever its primitive character may have been—has given place to a later, and certainly an aisled one.

LEEDS PRIORY CHURCH, founded circa 1119, and said to have rivalled some of our cathedrals in magnitude, must in such case, it would seem, have had aisles to its choir. Any information respecting this interesting church seems very difficult to obtain however, and my own efforts in that direction have, so far, proved singularly unsuccessful.

DUNSTABLE PRIORY CHURCH, built by King Hen. 1st sometime after 1131, had certainly an aisled choir from its first foundation. This, being the monastic part of the dual church, however, has since been destroyed.

OSENEY ABBEY CHURCH, built by Robert D'Oilei in 1129, and erected into a cathedral by Hen. VIII. in 1542, had also, we may believe, a complete choir with aisles. Nothing definite respecting it, however, is now, I believe, known.

LILLESHELL ABBEY CHURCH, built about 1145, had, *according to Walcott*, a choir whose aisles were separated from it, not by arcades, as usual, but by solid walls, as at Rochester, Bradsole, St. Albans, &c.

S. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT PRIORY CHURCH, LONDON — The choir of this church, built by Rahere in 1123—a secularized portion of which has happily just been rescued from further profanation—still remains, perhaps, the most perfect example of its class extant. It is four bays in length, with north and south aisles, and an aisled apse of seven bays, all of the original construction. The large Lady chapel to the east—of nearly the same length as the choir itself, and which has also been rescued—is an Early English addition.

CHRIST CHURCH TWYNEHAM, PRIORY CHURCH.—This noble church—still happily entire—has had its original Norman choir rebuilt in a late, but very vigorous Perpendicular style. That the original choir had aisles like the present one, is, however, beyond a doubt—the Norman apsidal chapels of each limb of the transept being placed, on account of their presence, at the very extremity.

S. AUGUSTINE'S PRIORY, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, BRISTOL, had also aisles to its original Norman choir, as well as to its present 14th century one. This is shewn, among other things, by the elder Lady chapel of Early English date—which lies east of the north transept—being built against a portion of the external wall of the Norman choir aisle: the latter is still left, and forms the south wall of that chapel.

CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH, founded by William Marshall the elder in 1188 (for an illustrated account of which see vol. xxvii, pp. 81-91, of this *Journal*), has the original Transitional arcades of its choir aisles still perfectly preserved. The nave is also fully aisled.

AT LANERCOST PRIORY CHURCH, founded inter 1164-9, the original aisled choir—some thirty years later in date—is by far the finest and

most striking feature in the building. Though ruined, it is still in wonderfully perfect preservation.

HEXHAM PRIORY CHURCH has its magnificent aisled choir—of the very earliest pointed work—also still extant. It is six bays in length, and of very rich and massive character throughout.

S. JOHN'S, CHESTER, a church of secular canons, of early Norman construction, had from the very first both north and south aisles to the choir. They were each of four bays, but are now almost wholly destroyed.

SOUTHWELL COLLEGIATE, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, at present distinguished for its singularly rich and spacious aisled choir of the 13th century, had its original Norman choir also aisled, as is shewn by the contemporary entrance arches still to be seen in either limb of the transept.

RIPON MINSTER, built by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque, 1154-81, though its original nave was aisleless, had a fine aisled choir prepared for vaulting from the first. By the time the clerestory was reached, however, the original intention was abandoned, and the plan so far modified as to fit it for a wooden roof instead. Singularly enough, among all the writers on the Minster, including the late Mr. Walbran, Sir G. G. Scott, and Mr. King, in Murray's Handbooks, this original design, and its remarkable suppression, seems never to have been mentioned, or even noticed. And yet, the clustered vaulting shafts standing—in a manner, at once so contrary to English practice, and so peculiarly French—with their bases planted on the capitals of the main piers, and arranged to carry the transverse, diagonal, and wall ribs, are all there, provided with capitals at the base line of the clerestory,—and doing nothing.

WIMBORNE MINSTER, though on a very small scale, had also short Norman aisles to its original choir. Of these the remains may still be seen on either side. At a later date both the choir and its aisles were more than doubled in length.

AT BODMIN PRIORY CHURCH, into which canons of S. Austin were introduced by William Warlewast, Bishop of Exeter in 1120, the choir, as we learn from William of Worcester's measurements, had both north and south aisles. Its width appears to have been about fifty feet.

S. GERMAN'S PRIORY CHURCH, of which only the nave and two western towers now remain, is one of those which would almost certainly have had an aisled choir. It seems, however, to have been more or less completely destroyed after the suppression.

S. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, OXFORD.—In this well-known example the beautiful aisled choir of Transitional character still remains perfect. Both nave and transept are also double aisled.

BRIDLINGTON PRIORY CHURCH.—As at S. German's, though the nave

and its western towers have escaped, being parochial, the choir has perished utterly. Nevertheless, its dimensions have been pretty accurately recorded. It was of the original construction—whether late Norman or Early English does not clearly appear—and of vast size, extending no less than a hundred and fifty feet east of the transept to the base of the farthest pillar that has been discovered. “In the north aisle of the choir were eleven narrow windows and similar ones in the south aisle, every one of them ‘of one lyghte,’ except two windows on the south with ‘five lyghtes apiece.’ In the east end of the choir were eleven windows ‘ten of one lyghte and one of three lyghtes.’” East of the magnificent reredos, which was of great height, richly wrought, and as richly gilded, was the shrine of S. John—“placed in a fair chapel on high, having on either side a stair of stone for to go and come by,” and underneath were five chapels furnished with their respective altars and images. From this last mentioned particular, it would seem that besides north and south aisles, the choir was also furnished with an eastern one. There were a central and two western towers, and the whole length of the church was about 350 feet, with a breadth across the aisles of 68, and a height of about 70 feet.

BEVERLEY MINSTER still preserves its choir as first built. It consists of four bays, with north and south aisles: an eastern transept with eastern chapels; and east of these a Lady chapel—all of the same height, stone vaulted, and of the finest thirteenth century character.

THORNTON ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE, better known perhaps for its interesting fortifications, and beautiful entrance gateway tower than anything else, had a very fine large aisled choir. Like all the rest of the church it was a re-building: the whole of the fabric, as commenced by the founder, William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, in 1139—on whatever plan—having been afterwards removed.

LITTLE DUNMOW PRIORY CHURCH.—This church, which was finished two years before the Austin canons either entered it or were intended to do so, in 1106, must have had its ordinary parochial choir removed and a new one of great size and splendour built for their accommodation before the end of the century—circa. 1186-90. All that now remains of this, however, is the blocked arcade of the south aisle—of rich Transitional work—and the south wall, which has again been re-built in the fourteenth century, not improbably by the architect of the Lady chapel at Ely.

NEWARK PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX, *according to Mr. Walcott's account*, had aisles to the choir and nave all shut off by solid walling. Reckoning the outer chapels of the transepts, the choir—if his plan can be accepted—might almost be said to be five aisled. The case is certainly curious, if true.

BLACKMORE PRIORY CHURCH.—Of this church—which, being also parochial, is perfectly preserved—there is a plan in Buckler's churches of Essex. The choir and nave, which are of the same breadth, are aisled throughout.

ROYSTON PRIORY CHURCH.—The choir, together with the tower, are all

that now remains of Royston church, the western parts having been destroyed shortly after the suppression. It has both north and south aisles.

BREEDON PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—As at Royston, the choir with its aisles and the tower, constitute nearly the sole remains of this once fine church.

WALSINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH.—The whole fabric of this noble church is later than the date of its foundation, and must, therefore, in part, at least, have been rebuilt. But it is aisled throughout, in the choir as well as in the nave.

S. MARTIN'S PRIORY CHURCH, DOVER.—I introduce this church—which eventually became one of the Benedictines—here, because it was planned, and in great part built, for the use of Austin canons by one who had himself been an Austin canon, William de Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury. The choir had north and south aisles of three bays, each terminating in a semi-circular apse which formed a fourth bay eastwards. Beyond these the central choir was projected one bay further eastward still, and finished rectangularly, with massive angle turrets. The transept had double apsidal chapels on either side the crossing, similar in character to those of the choir aisles, the nave also had north and south aisles. A more perfectly developed monastic church could not be imagined, and it was of very early date, being founded in 1130.

HOLLAND, OR UPHOLLAND PRIORY CHURCH.—This fine church which, like S. Martin's, Dover, was built for canons, was afterwards, in 1318, made over to Benedictine monks. It is of moderate dimensions and quite perfect, consisting of a low western tower and a central and two side aisles, under a single roof. The arcades are very grand and lofty, and the whole building, lighted as it is throughout with its original large geometrical windows, divided by massive buttresses, is very striking and impressive.

HOWDEN COLLEGIATE CHURCH.—Fine as this church is as a whole, yet no part of it can compare with its magnificent aisled and clerestoried choir, which was vaulted throughout. Of its class and period—early flowing pointed—it would be hard to find a nobler work.

DORCHESTER ABBEY CHURCH.—As to the plan of the original Norman choir of this singular, but fine church, there is some uncertainty. A fragment of a north aisle, with a western door to the cloister, still exists, and seems, therefore, to point to the former existence of a like aisle southwards; but all traces of this—owing to the erection of a much broader aisle at a later period—have, if it ever existed, now disappeared. The beautiful aisled choir of decorated date, however, is now the chief feature of the church.

REPTON PRIORY CHURCH.—Though the original choir of this church was undoubtedly aisleless, I include it here because it was distinctly the work, not of the canons, but of the foundress; the canons, as soon as they were in a position to do so, rebuilding both it and the nave with aisles.

GUISBOROUGH PRIORY CHURCH.—This was undoubtedly the grandest church that the Austin canons possessed either at home or abroad, being of great richness, three towered, and no less than 380 feet in length. But its chief glory lay in its vast aisled choir—a work absolutely unmatched in sublime perfection by any other in the kingdom, whether monastic or cathedral. Little as now remains, unfortunately, to witness to its former majesty, there is yet quite enough to shew that for monumental grandeur, perfection of form, and richness and delicacy of detail, it was literally without a rival.

Though far from being even approximately complete, the above list of Austin canons churches having aisled choirs—which comprises all I can at present adduce—may yet suffice to shew how far from accurate it is to speak of them collectively or generically as aisleless. Necessarily imperfect as the list is however, it contains—exclusive of the Scotch examples of Holyrood and Jedburgh, and the few belonging to the churches of secular canons mentioned in it—no fewer than thirty-five illustrations of English Augustinian churches, the choirs of which were aisled:—that is to say, close upon one sixth of their number all told. But that this number comes very far short of the actual one may be confidently affirmed. Judging from such examples only as I have been able to give an account of, in connection with the annual incomes of the houses to which they severally belonged, there are no less than two thirds as many more which might reasonably be added; their respective foundations all possessing revenues ranging between two hundred, and nineteen hundred pounds a year, and upwards, and whose churches therefore could hardly fail to be on a scale of corresponding completeness. Such were those of Pentney, Huntingdon, Nostell, S. James, Northampton, Llanthony in Gloucestershire, Taunton, Launceston, Kenilworth, Merton, Nutley, Chich S. Osyth, Ixworth, Newburgh, Bradenstoke, Wigmore, Derley, Newenham Beds, Buttley, Dertford, Missenden, and Syon—twenty-one in all, the choirs of whose churches if aisled, as there is every reason to suppose most of them were, would bring up the number at once to above one fourth. How many belonging to houses of under two hundred a year income like Breedon, Blackmore and Lancercost for example, might also, like them, have aisled choirs, it were needless to speculate about; though that there were such, and not a few either, can hardly be doubted. The question before us, however, it will be remembered, is not as to the exact proportion of aisleless choirs in the churches of canons, but whether there were any with aisled choirs at all; and this, I think, has been sufficiently disposed of, if only by the enumeration of such as are still actually in existence, and about which there can be no dispute. But, to shew that the choirs of many canons' churches were aisled was only part of my undertaking. It was to shew further that aisleless choirs were by no means confined to churches of that class, but were to be found also, and perhaps more extensively, in those of the monks. How far, I cannot, of course, pretend to say exactly, seeing that—just as with the churches of canons—there are such vast numbers of which it is impossible to obtain any sort of information; but, even with the limited opportunities at my command I am able to lay before my readers no fewer than a hundred and sixty examples of Benedictine churches whose choirs were aisleless; or—close upon three-fourths of all the Austin canons churches put together. They are as follows:—

SOME BENEDICTINE AND OTHER CHURCHES OF MONKS, &C., HAVING
AISLELESS CHOIRS.

Aldeby Priory Church, Norfolk.—Benedictine.

Amesbury Abbey Church, Wiltshire.—Benedictine.

Andover Alien Priory Church, Hampshire.—Benedictine. Chancel with north chapel only.

Arthington Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cluniac.

Andwell Alien Priory Church, Hampshire.—Cistercian.

Astley Alien Priory Church, Worcestershire.—Benedictine.

Ausebury Alien Priory Church, Wiltshire.—Benedictine.

Allerton Mauleverer Priory Church: a cell to Holy Trinity Priory, York.—Benedictine.

“The cruciform Church of Allerton Mauleverer has aisles to the nave, but none to the chancel. Originally ‘S. Martin’ has been a beautiful church, and there was at one time some choice stained glass in the windows, but last century’s restoration of it was not a successful one.”—Letter of the Rev. W. Valentine, Vicar.

Aucot Priory Church, Warwickshire: a cell to the Priory of Great Malvern.—Benedictine.

Bardsey Abbey Church, Caernarvonshire.—Benedictine.

Barrow Gurney Priory Church, Somersetshire.—Benedictine.

Baysdale Priory Church, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Beauley Priory Church, Rosshire.—Cistercian.

S. Bee’s Priory Church, Cumberland.—Benedictine.

Buckland Abbey Church, Devonshire.—Cistercian.

Bradwell Priory Church, Buckinghamshire.—Benedictine.

Barwell Priory Church, Lincolnshire.—Benedictine.

Buildwas Abbey Church, Shropshire.—Cistercian.

Bristol, S. James’ Priory Church, Somersetshire.—Benedictine.

Bristol, Dominican Church: William of Worcester says of this church:—

“*Longitudo chori ecclesiæ fratrum prædicatorum continet 26 virgas vel 44 gressus. Latitudo chori continet 8 virgas vel 58 gressus. Latitudo ejusdem continet 21 virgas vel 44 gressus.*” Bristol vol. of the Institute, p. 144. As W. of Worcester’s “*gressus*” contained about 20 inches, it would seem that the building consisted of a nave with two broad aisles, and an aisleless choir—as was usual in such churches—the latter being about 73 feet in length, by 23 in breadth.

Bristol, Franciscan, or Grey Friars’ Church. Of this church William of Worcester says:—“*Chorus excelsiæ continet in longitudine 28 virgas sive 50 gressus. Latitudo chori continet 9 virgas sive 18 gressus. Longitudo navis dictæ ecclesiæ cum duabus magnis alis continet 28 virgas sive 50 gressus. Latitudo dictæ navis cum duabus alis continet 27 virgas sive 52 gressus.*” &c. From which we learn that it consisted of a nave with two aisles, about 83 feet in length by 86½ in breadth; the nave being probably about 32 feet, and the aisles 27 feet wide each; with a choir of the Religious, of the same length as the nave, or 83 feet, and a width of about 30 feet—that is aisleless.

Bristol, S. Mary Magdalene Priory Church of Nuns.—Benedictine. William of Worcester’s measurements of this small and poor church are as follows:—“*Longitudo ecclesiæ religionum S. Mariæ Magdalene continet 27 gressus cum cancella. Latitudo ejus continet 10 virgas (vel)*

20 gressus." That is to say, the church consisted of a nave and chancel, 45 feet in length in the full ; with a width—as it would seem—in the nave, perhaps, of 33 feet, and which therefore must have had a single side aisle. This single aisle might possibly also be continued as a chapel along one side of the choir.

Brecon Priory Church.—Benedictine. A fine cruciform church with a long aisleless choir, designed for vaulting. Judging from the plan given in vol. xi. of this Journal, p. 145, it would seem more than probable that this was originally an aisleless church throughout ; for not only is the west wall of the north transept carried across the east end of the nave aisle, but both the north and south walls of the nave are continued solid for several feet westward of the crossing. The westernmost bay also of the south aisle of the nave is aisleless. For views see *Archæological Journal*, vii., 26.

Bridgewater, Grey Friars' Church, Somersetshire.—William of Worcester says :—"Longitudo Ecclesie Fratrum Minorum de Bryggewater 120 steppys, et ejus latitudo 30 steppys, et latitudo Navis Ecclesie 14 steppys." Thus, the entire length of the church was about 200 feet ; and as 30 "steppys," or 50 feet would be too little for the breadth across a transept, we must necessarily understand the measurement to refer to the nave with its aisles, which latter would be about 14 feet broad each—a very usual and probable proportion. As usual in this class of churches, the choir would be of the same breadth as the nave—about 23 feet, and aisleless.

Bromfield Priory Church, Shropshire ; a cell to the Abbey of S. Peter, Gloucester.—Benedictine.

Bindon Abbey Church, Dorsetshire.—Cistercian. A fine cruciform church, with aisles to the nave ; and the usual short aisleless choir or sanctuary.

Cardigan Priory Church.—Benedictine.

Chepstow Priory Church, Monmouthshire.—Benedictine.

Canwell Priory Church, Staffordshire.—Benedictine.

Carisbrooke Alien Priory Church, Isle of Wight.—Benedictine.

Chester Priory Church of Nuns, Cheshire.—Benedictine. Chancel with one aisle, apparently like the nave.

Clynock Vawr Abbey Church, Carnarvonshire.—Cistercian.

Cranbourne Priory Church, Dorsetshire.—Benedictine. "Cranbourne church is not cruciform, no aisles to chancel ; N. and S. aisles to nave, that in S. being very narrow, probably processional aisle from Priory house, which was on that side of the church."—Letter of the Rev. H. G. Roper, vicar.

Crossraguel Priory Church, Ayrshire.—Cistercian. Apsidal, with large traceried windows, the filling in, however, now destroyed.

Cimmer or Kimmer Abbey Church, Merionethshire.—Cistercian.

S. Cyriac and S. Juliet Priory Church, Cornwall.—Clunian.

Cogges Alien Priory Church, Oxfordshire.—Benedictine.

Coldinghame Priory Church, Berwickshire ; a cell to the Cathedral Priory Church of Durham.—Benedictine.

Cleeve Abbey Church, Somersetshire.—Cistercian, of the usual type.

Cannington Priory Church of Nuns, Somersetshire.—Benedictine.

Calder Abbey Church, Cumberland.—Cistercian.

Davington Priory Church of Nuns, Kent.—Benedictine.

Deerhurst Abbey, afterwards Alien Priory Church, Gloucestershire.—Benedictine.

Deeping S. James Priory Church, Lincolnshire ; a cell to the Abbey of Thorney.—Benedictine. "There is no chancel arch" (the church consists of a double nave) "and there appears no signs of one. The south aisle" (or nave) "extends to half of the chancel ; altogether it is a most curious church and most interesting, and very large, portions of it more in cathedral than in parish church style."—Letter of the Rev. I. George, vicar.

Dudley Priory Church, Staffordshire.—Cluniac.

Dunster Priory Church, Somersetshire.—Benedictine. Choir originally aisleless.

Esholt Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Everdon Alien Priory Church, Northamptonshire ; a cell to the Abbey of Bernay.—"The nave has north and south aisles, but the chancel has none. There are monumental slabs of some of the Priors in the floors of the church"—Letter of the Rev. W. L. Hardisty, vicar.

Ewenny Priory Church, Glamorganshire.—Benedictine.

Elstow Priory Church, Bedfordshire.—Benedictine.

Ellerton Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Edith Weston Alien Priory Church, Rutlandshire.—Benedictine. "The present chancel was only built in 1866, but the old chancel had no aisles, tho' an arch on each side walled up ; whether or no they had ever been open I cannot say, but for various reasons, which I need not now trouble you with, I think not."—Letter of the late Rev. C. H. Lucas, vicar.

Ecclesfield Alien Priory Church, Yorkshire.—Carthusian. A simple aisleless chapel.

Ewyas Harold Priory Church, Herefordshire.—Benedictine.

Easebourne Priory Church of Nuns, Suffolk.—Benedictine.

Finchale Priory Church, Durham.—Benedictine. The choir of this fine and interesting thirteenth century church was aisled originally, except the eastern part or sanctuary, which from the first was aisleless. About the middle of the fourteenth century the aisles of the choir and nave were removed, the arcades filled up, and traceried windows inserted beneath the arches.

Frampton Alien Priory Church, Dorsetshire.—Benedictine. "A cruciform church with aisles to the nave ; aisleless chancel."—Letter of the Rev. B. C. Macdonald, vicar.

Furness Abbey Church, Lancashire.—Cistercian. A somewhat deep but aisleless choir.

Fountains Abbey Church, Yorkshire.—Cistercian. Here, as in other churches of the order, the choir, previous to its rebuilding on a vastly enlarged scale in the thirteenth century, was short and aisleless.

Fairwell Priory Church of Nuns, Staffordshire.—Benedictine. The body of this church was re-built of brick during the last century. The old stone chancel, however, remains, and is aisleless.

Farington Priory Church, Berkshire, a small cell to the Abbey of Beaulieu, Hampshire. Cistercian.

Gloucester, church of the Friars Preachers, or Dominicans.

Gloucester, church of the Friars Minors, or Franciscans.

Grosmont Alien Priory Church, Yorkshire.—Order of Grammont.

Gothland Priory Church, Yorkshire ; a cell to the Abbey of Whitby.—Benedictine. This was a very small cell—originally a Hermitage—the chapel of which was standing in Burton's time,

Hatfield Peverell Priory Church, Essex.—Benedictine.

Handale Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Horkesley Little, Priory Church, Essex.—Cluniac.

Hinckley Alien Priory Church, Leicestershire.—Benedictine. Western tower and spire ; nave with north and south aisles ; aisle-transept ; and aisleless chancel.

Hulne Abbey Church, Northumberland.—Carmelite.

Harley Priory Church, Berkshire.—Benedictine.

Hackness Priory Church, Yorkshire ; a cell to the Abbey of Whitby.—Benedictine.

S. Helen's Priory Church of Nuns, London.—Benedictine.

Hereford, S. Peter's Priory Church ; a cell to the Abbey of S. Peter, Gloucester.—Benedictine. Aisleless chancel, with tower and Lady chapel to the south of it.

Halystane Priory Church of Nuns, Northumberland.—Benedictine. A simple aisleless nave, and aisleless chancel.

Jarrow Abbey, afterwards Priory church ; a cell to the Cathedral Priory of Durham.—Benedictine.

Iniscourcey Abbey Church, Down.—Cistercian.

Isleham Alien Priory Church, Cambridgeshire.—Benedictine.

Jerpoint Abbey Church, Kilkenny.—Cistercian.

Ipplepen Alien Priory Church, Devonshire.—Benedictine. "A handsome western tower, 100 feet high ; nave with north and south aisles ; and aisleless chancel." Letter of the Rev. R. Harris, vicar.

Ivinghoe Priory Church of Nuns, Buckinghamshire.—Benedictine. This was a very small and poor house, containing at the Dissolution, five nuns only, whose annual income amounted in the clear to no more than £14 3s. 1d. The chapel and other buildings seem to have remained almost entire down to the middle of the last century. Cole says :—"The parlour and hall are not bad buildings . . . Behind them stood the church, or chapel." The tower "was about twelve feet square, and the church adjoined to it, or rather stood on one side, and opened into the Priory house by an arch which is yet visible."

Kidwelly Priory Church, Carmarthenshire.—Benedictine.

Kirklees Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Kirkstall Abbey Church, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Kirkstead Abbey Church, Lincolnshire.—Cistercian.

Kington S. Michael Priory Church of Nuns, Wiltshire.—Benedictine. The buildings of this Priory are said to have surrounded a small square court, on the north side of which was the chapel, some arches of the latter, with the other buildings being still visible in the early part of this century. Aubrey says that, in his day, "neither glass, chancel nor monument remained in the chapel."

Lapley Alien Priory Church, Staffordshire.—Benedictine.

Lindores Abbey Church, Perthshire.—Tironensian.

Loders Alien Priory Church, Dorsetshire.—Benedictine.

Lindisfarne Priory Church, Northumberland.—Benedictine. A large cruciform church with central tower ; nave with north and south aisles built in close imitation of those of the mother church of Durham ;—

aisleless transept with a single apsidal chapel in each limb, and an aisleless choir; the latter lengthened at a later period, precisely as that of Bolton Priory Church of Austin canons was. For several excellent views, see Billings's Durham County.

Long Bennington Alien Priory Church, Lincolnshire—Cistercian. A cruciform church, with north and south aisles to the nave; and very large aisleless chancel, which still retains the Prior's seat.

Leominster, or Lymminster Alien Priory Church of Nuns, Sussex.—Benedictine.—“An aisleless chancel of remarkable length.” Letter of the Rev. E. Durnford, vicar.

Lynn Regis Grey Friars, or Franciscan Church, Norfolk.—The remains of this once fine building, which consist merely of the vaulted compartment or bay intervening between the nave and choir, surmounted by a lofty turret of open work, shew distinctly by the adjoining fragments of masonry, that the choir, as usual in the Dominican and Franciscan churches, was aisleless.

Lynn Regis, S. Margaret's Priory Church, Benedictine.

Lambley Priory Church of Nuns, Northumberland.—Benedictine. The site of this small house of six Nuns is now completely washed away by the Tyne, but its chapel, like others of the same sort, was doubtless small and aisleless.

Lammana Priory Church, Cornwall.—Benedictine. A small cell of two or three monks subject to the Abbey of Glastonbury; some slight remains of whose chapel are said still to exist.

Marlow Little, Priory Church, Buckinghamshire.—Benedictine.

Marrick Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Minting Alien Priory Church, Lincolnshire.—Benedictine.

Minster Lovell Alien Priory Church, Oxfordshire.—Benedictine.

Monkwearmouth Abbey, afterwards Priory Church, Durham.—Benedictine.

Monkland Alien Priory Church, Herefordshire.—Benedictine.

Monk, or West Shirbourne Alien Priory Church, Hampshire.—Benedictine.

Mountgrace Priory Church, Yorkshire.—Carthusian.

Monkton Priory Church, Pembrokeshire.—Benedictine.

S. Michael's Mount Alien Priory Church, Cornwall.—Benedictine.

Monmouth Priory Church.—Benedictine. “The Church of S. Mary here was ruthlessly and utterly destroyed, leaving only the tower and spire, at the beginning of the last century.....I do not think there is anything to lead one to believe that the old church was cruciform, but it certainly had aisles to the nave, though not to the chancel.” Letter of the Rev. Wentworth Wilson, vicar.

Malpas Priory Church, Monmouthshire.—Cluniac.

Nunkeeling Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Nunmonkton Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Nuneaton Priory Church of Nuns, Warwickshire.—Benedictine.

Norwich, S. Andrew's Dominican Church. “This magnificent church, built by Sir Thomas Erpingham, is now divided between the townspeople for secular, and a Dutch congregation for religious, purposes; the one occupying the nave and aisles, the other the choir of the Friars. This kind of division seems to have been obtained long before the Dissolution; the nave having all along been occasionally lent to the inhabitants for

public purposes. In its entirety, this desecrated church is not less than 267 feet in length, the nave and western porch being 138 feet, the lower part of the tower (taken out of the western bay of the choir), 14 feet, the choir 100 feet, and the walls 15 feet. The choir, lighted by the splendid side windows of five 'days,' and an eastern one of seven, is almost shut off from the western parts—and aisles."—*Archæological Association Journal*, xiv. 120, and Plan.

Newton Longueville Alien Priory Church; a cell to the Abbey of S. Faith at Longueville.—Benedictine. "The present church has nave with north and south aisles; the north aisle being further extended into an aisle of the chancel, which is known locally as the New College Chancel to distinguish it from the Rector's Chancel." Letter of the Rev. H. C. Blagden, rector.

New, or Sweet Heart Abbey Church, Kircudbright.—Cistercian. "This noble church was founded by Devorgilla, widow of John Balliol, A.D. 1275. It is built altogether on the Benedictine plan; consisting of a nave of six bays with aisles; central tower; transepts with eastern chapels or rather aisles; and a well developed aisleless choir."—*Billings's Scotland*, iv. Plates.

Otterton Alien Priory Church, Devonshire.—Benedictine.

Pille Priory Church, Pembrokeshire.—Benedictine.

Penwortham Priory Church, Lancashire; a cell to the Abbey of Evesham.—Benedictine. "This church is not cruciform; it has no aisles to the chancel; it had no aisles to the nave until the year 1856, when N. and S. aisles were added."—Letter of the Rev. W. E. Rawstone, vicar.

Paisley Abbey Church, Renfrewshire.—Cluniac. A noble church, of which the nave, with its aisles, and a chapel to the east of the destroyed south transept alone remain perfect. The north transept and the choir, which was of great length—123 feet by 23—were aisleless. For views see *Billings's Scotland*, iv.

Preston Capes Priory Church, Northamptonshire.—Cluniac. "The church built" (or partly rebuilt) "in the fourteenth century, is not cruciform; it has aisles to the nave, none to the chancel."—Letter of the Rev. V. Knightley, vicar.

Richmond, Franciscan, or Grey Friars' Church, Yorkshire.

Richmond, Priory Church of S. Martin; a cell to the Abbey of S. Mary, York.—Benedictine. A small aisleless parallelogram of Norman date.

Rumburgh Priory Church, Suffolk.—Benedictine.

Redlingfield Priory Church of Nuns, Suffolk.—This is a simple aisleless parallelogram, like so many others of its class.

Roche Abbey Church, Yorkshire.—Cistercian. A once fine church of very severe type, with the usual aisleless Cistercian choir or sanctuary.

Sewardsley Priory Church of Nuns, Northamptonshire.—Cistercian.

Sompting Priory Church, Sussex.—Benedictine.

Stanley S. Leonard Priory Church, Gloucestershire.—Benedictine.

Sandwell Priory Church, Staffordshire.—Benedictine,

Spetisbury Alien Priory Church, Dorsetshire; a cell to the Abbey of Preaux.

Swine Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Swavesey Alien Priory Church, Cambridgeshire.—Benedictine. It

consists of a western tower, nave with north and south aisles, and aisleless chancel with a Lady chapel attached to the south side. Plan kindly communicated by the vicar.

Sporle Alien Priory Church, Norfolk.—Benedictine. "There are aisles to the nave, and formerly a north aisle to the chancel, with a chapel at the east end." Letter of the Rev. F. Jones, vicar.

Stangate Priory Church, Essex; a cell to the Priory of Lewes.—Cluniac. "The church was, I should imagine, cruciform without aisles—the old roof is untouched—the transepts have, I should imagine, been destroyed when it was turned into a barn." Letter of the Rev. J. N. Parkins, vicar of Steeple.—From enclosed sketch ground-plan, one limb of the transept appears to be perfect, with indications of the other, the whole being aisleless.

Sheppey, Priory Church of Nuns at Minster.—Benedictine. An aisleless Saxon chancel and nave, to the south of which last, a second or lateral thirteenth century nave has been added. Arch. Journal, xl 54.

Snaith Priory Church; a cell to the Abbey of Selby, Yorkshire.—Benedictine. "It is not cruciform, though there are very short chantry chapels on each side which almost form small transepts, but it could not correctly be called cruciform... There are not aisles to the chancel, but there are two good sized chantry chapels, one on each side of the chancel (in addition to the two which form almost short transepts), that on the north side belonging to Lord Beaumont, the other, on the south, to Lord Downe." Letter of the Rev. Chas. Ed. Storrs.

Seton Priory Church of Nuns, Cumberland.—Benedictine. All vestiges of this building, as I learn from the vicar of Camerton—in which parish it was situate—have long since disappeared; though the Editors of the Monasticon say—"There are some remains of the priory chapel with lancet windows." The house was a very poor one—the clear annual income amounting to no more than £12 12s. 0½d.—and the "chapel" was doubtless an aisleless one, as usual.

Tavistock Abbey Church, Devonshire.—Benedictine.

Thetford Priory Church of Nuns, Norfolk.—Benedictine.

Toft Monks Alien Priory Church, Norfolk.—Benedictine.

Thicket, or Thickhead Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Tynemouth Priory Church, Northumberland; a cell to the Abbey of S. Alban's.—Benedictine. The eastern, or monastic part of this compound church has a choir, or sanctuary—which is of three bays in depth, and by far the finest portion of it—richly vaulted with stone and aisleless. The western part, which was aisled, had an open timbered roof only.

Tykeford Priory Church, Buckinghamshire.—Cluniac.

Uphavon Alien Priory Church, Wiltshire.—Benedictine.

Usk Priory Church of Nuns, Monmouthshire.—Benedictine.

Valle Crucis Abbey Church, Denbighshire.—Cistercian.

Wangford, or Reydon S. Peter's Priory Church, Suffolk.—Cluniac.

West Mersey Alien Priory Church, Essex.—Benedictine.

Weedon Pinkney Alien Priory Church, Northamptonshire.—Benedictine.

Wilmington Alien Priory Church, Sussex.—Benedictine.

Wykeham Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Wilberfoss Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Wootton Wawen Alien Priory Church, Warwickshire.—Benedictine.

Ware Alien Priory Church, Hertfordshire.—Benedictine.

Wareham Alien Priory Church; a cell to the Abbey of Lira.—Benedictine. Nave with north and south aisles, western tower, and aisleless chancel, with small attached chapel at south-east. Letter of vicar of Lady S. Mary, Wareham.

Wilton Abbey Church of Nuns, Wiltshire.—Benedictine.

Walsingham, Franciscan Church, Norfolk. Like that of the Dominicans at Norwich, this church consisted of a nave with north and south aisles, and a long choir—the latter of seven bays, and aisleless.

Wix, or Weekes Priory Church of Nuns, Essex.—Benedictine.

Warmington Alien Priory Church, Warwickshire.—Benedictine. This Alien Priory stood, according to tradition, about the centre of the village, in a field just below the church, which is reached by a flight of thirty-four steps. The church, which formed part of the endowment of the mother house of Preaux, and which served probably as that of the Priory as well as the parish, consists of a western tower, nave with aisles under separate gabled roofs, and an aisleless chancel. Letter of the Rev. W. H. Taylor, vicar.

Yeddingham Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Thus may we see by the irrefragable testimony of existing, and other instances, how erroneous is the idea that the Choirs of Austin Canons' Churches as a class were without aisles; or, that the absence of such features in certain of them constitutes a special peculiarity, seeing that among those of the Benedictine and mendicant orders, as many as a hundred and sixty—and those but a portion of the full number—may certainly be specified as falling under the same category.

(To be continued.)

GUNDRADA DE WARENNE.

By E. CHESTER WATERS.

POSTSCRIPT.¹

I return, after an interval of nearly two years to the vexed question of Gundrada de Warenne's parentage, for the purpose of making some small corrections.

It was not altogether without misgivings that I ventured in the first instance to impugn the conclusion of every modern writer who has handled the subject; for those who maintain that Gundrada was the daughter of William the Conqueror are agreed with those who contend that she was only his stepdaughter or his goddaughter, in accepting without question the charters of Lewes Priory as reliable evidence. It has been therefore a great satisfaction to find that my distrust of the charters is shared by those who are best qualified to pronounce judgment, and that the highest authorities are now contented to believe that Gundrada was *not* the daughter of Queen Matilda by William the Conqueror or anyone else, but was the sister of Gherbod the Flemish Earl of Chester, as Dugdale stated in his Baronage two hundred years ago on the authority of Orderic Vitalis.²

There are however still those who refuse to be convinced, and one of the most notable of my critics, Sir George Duckett, has examined the charters from Clugni Abbey preserved in the National Library at Paris, and has since contributed to the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal³ a Paper, in which he insists more confidently than ever that Gundrada was the Conqueror's daughter and Earl Gherbod's foster sister. This is the more remarkable, because (so far as I can see) the only fresh evidence which he has found tends rather to negative this conclusion. His researches have brought to light the original charter of William the Conqueror, confirming to the monks of Clugni the grant by William de Warenne and his wife Gundrada of the Cell and its endowments, which subsequently developed into the great Clugniac Priory at Lewes. The grant was limited to the church of St. Pancras at Lewes with its appurtenances in the vicinity, viz.: land for six ploughs, two at Swanborough, one at a place not named, and three at Falmar; and the date of this confirmation must be fixed in 1076 or early in 1077, for the witness, Robert de Beaumont (afterwards Count of Meulan) is never found signing charters without the title of Count after July, 1077.⁴ Sir George has

¹ See Archaeological Journal, vol. xli. p. 300.

² Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i, p. 74.

³ Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal, vol. ix, pp. 421-437.

⁴ Robert de Beaumont signed in 1077 as Robert Count of Meulan (*Comes de*

Mellent) the Conqueror's charter in favour of St. Stephen's, Caen, (*Gallia Christiana*, vol. xi. Instr. 68) and this charter must have been executed before the month of July, for it is witnessed by, among others, Hugh Bishop of Lisieux, who died on 17 July, 1077.

printed for the first time *in extenso*¹ this interesting charter, which was attested by six Barons and Maurice the Chancellor, and was subscribed by—

William, King of the English. Mathildis, Queen of the English.

Earl William the King's son (*Comes filius regis*).

William de Warenne. Gundrede wife of W. de Warenne.

It is significant that Gundrada does not sign herself "The Countess," as the king's daughter would have done, although her supposed brother the king's son William styles himself *Comes*; whilst the text of the charter makes no reference whatever to any relationship between the king and the benefactors, whose grant he was confirming, although there are two distinct passages, in which we might expect to find the relationship mentioned if it existed. But such considerations had no weight with Sir George Duckett, who almost ridicules the notion of accepting what he calls "Orderic's uncorroborated statement, in disproof of Gundrada's royal parentage." I fear that I have assisted to mislead him by repeating at p. 7 the received error that Orderic is "the only ancient historian who mentions Gundrada's name"; for, as Sir George justly remarks, Orderic is by no means infallible. The fact is however that Orderic is not the sole authority for our knowledge of Gundrada's relationship to Earl Gherbod, for he is corroborated by the independent testimony of a contemporary chronicle of the highest character, viz.: THE BOOK OF HYDE ABBEY which was published in 1866 amongst the Chronicles of the Rolls Series.

The testimony of this Chronicle carries special weight, because the text contains several particulars of Gundrada's husband William de Warenne, which are not recorded elsewhere. For instance, we know from Domesday that William de Warenne had a brother Frederic, who had lands in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire² which had passed to his brother before the Survey was compiled. This chronicle tells us³ that Frederic was treacherously slain in his own house one night by Hereward the outlaw, who had established himself with a band of brigands in the marshes of the Isle of Ely, and for a long time carried on a guerilla war against William de Warenne. The paragraph ends with a notice of the fate of "*Gherbod Earl of Chester the brother of the Countess Gundrada*, who was entrapped by his enemies on his arrival in Flanders, and found there a miserable death."⁴ We learn from this same chronicle⁵ that the Earldom of Surrey (which is mis-described or mis-copied *Asarum* in the MS.) was bestowed by William Rufus on William de Warenne in reward for his faithful counsel and good service in the great revolt of the Barons in the spring of 1088, and that the Earl received his death wound at the siege of Pevensey Castle from an arrow which struck him in the leg.⁶ He was carried home to Lewes, where he lingered for some time; and when he felt his end approaching he divided his estates between his sons, making William

¹ Yorkshire Journal, vol. ix, pp. 433-4.

² Domesday Book, vol. ii, fo. 150-160 and vol. i. fo. 196 b.

³ Liber Monasterii de Hyda, edited by Edward Edwards for the Master of the Rolls, 1866, p. 296.

⁴ Idem p. 296 "*Comes Cestrensis*

decessit Gherbodo, frater Gundrade Comitisse, Flundrianque veniens, inimicorum preuentus insidiis miserabiliter periit."

⁵ Idem p. 298.

⁶ Idem p. 299.

his heir in England and Reginald his heir in Flanders. The fact that the younger son's inheritance was in Flanders raises a strong presumption that his mother was a Fleming; although I am bound to admit that these Flemish estates might have been derived from his uncle Frederic, who was undoubtedly connected with Flanders. For his name is attached to a charter¹ of Guy, Count of Ponthieu in favour of the abbey of St. Ricquier, which was made in 1067 in the presence of the King of France, and the Count of Flanders, with the consent of the nobles of the province.² The County of Ponthieu was within the Flemish territory, but bordered on Normandy, and was in close vicinity to the river Warene, which falls into the river Dieppe below the castle of Arques, and gave name to the family whose castle stood on its left bank. Frederic's high rank amongst the subscribing nobles is proved by his place in the list of witnesses, for his name stands next to that of the young Count of Flanders, and it is significant that he occurs in connexion with the same district as his brother's wife Gundrada, who was the sister of the hereditary advocate of St. Bertin's Abbey at St. Omer. *The Book of Hyde* was printed for the first time in 1866, and was unknown to Stapleton, who published his well known Paper on the family of de Warene in 1846,³ or that great genealogist would not have fallen into the mistake of asserting (as he did) that Frederic was not the brother of William de Warene but of Gundrada.

Stapleton, however, is not the only writer who would have been saved from error by acquaintance with the text of this chronicle; for if I had read it sooner, I should not have denied (as I have done at p. 15), that William de Warene was created Earl of Surrey by William Rufus. Orderic gives us two conflicting accounts of the date of the Earl's creation, for he says in one passage,⁴ that the Earldom was given to him by William the Conqueror; and in another,⁵ that it was bestowed on him shortly before his death by William Rufus. There can be little doubt, however, that the latter date is the true one, since the silence of Domesday, in which William is never styled an Earl, is corroborated by the circumstantial narrative of the Book of Hyde. It is not, however, impossible to explain how it came to pass that William de Warene is styled an Earl in 1076 and 1086 in the cartulary of Battle Abbey,⁶ although he was not created Earl of Surrey until the next reign. For it may be accounted for in this way. The dignity of an Earl in England was personal and official, and was not necessarily connected with any particular country or place.⁷ Moreover, it was the English custom that Earls and only Earls were entrusted with viceregal powers. Now it was the settled policy of the Conqueror to affect the character of a constitutional sovereign, so that when he went back to Normandy in the spring of 1067, and left two Normans to govern England as viceroys during his absence, he qualified them for office in accordance with English usage by creating them both Earls. As time went on, the Conqueror recognised the

¹ Quoted from Acherii Spicilegium by Stapleton in the Archaeological Journal, vol. iii, p. 4.

² "Annuntibus Proceribus mere provincie in presentia Regis, etc."

³ Archaeological Journal, vol. iii, pp. 1-26.

⁴ Orderic Vitalis, lib. iv, cap. 7.

⁵ Idem, lib. viii, cap. 9.

⁶ Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. iii, p. 245.

⁷ 3rd Report of the Lords on the Dignity of the Peerage, p. 121.

danger of increasing the number of Earldoms, but those great officers of state who exercised viceregal power during the Sovereign's absence were always reputed Earls in popular estimation, and probably kept that rank for the rest of their lives without ever being Earls by formal creation. William de Warenne was one of the King's viceregents in 1071,¹ and we can readily believe that from that time forward he ranked amongst Earls, although it was not until fourteen years afterwards that he was actually invested with the hereditary Earldom of Surrey. His colleague in 1074 was Richard, son of Earl Gilbert, the ancestor of the Earls of Clare and Hertford, who similarly ranked amongst Earls without being so styled in Domesday.

It will be observed that throughout this postscript the name of Gundrada's husband is spelt Warenne. This correction has been made advisedly, for the little river in upper Normandy, from which the family took their name, has always been known as Varenne or Guarenne. It has its source in the commune of Omonville-sur-Varenne, and falls into the canal of Dieppe just below the ruins of the Castle of Arques. The chief seat of the family stood on its left bank higher up the stream, and was raised on a mound, which bore the name of Bellencombre (*Bellus Cumulus*). This is now the chef-lieu of a canton in the arrondissement of Dieppe, department of La Seine Inferieure. The family name was commonly spelt in the middle ages with a double *r*, but this was a corruption of English origin and of later date. In Gundrada's time and for several generations afterwards the name was spelt in the French fashion, and all the ancient authorities are agreed in writing it with a single *r*, as Sir George Duckett has set me the example.

I submit these corrections to my critics with the assurance that they do me a favour when they convict me of error, but I must take leave to protest against the assertion that my disbelief in the contents of these Lewes Charters has arisen from any desire "to bolster up an ingenious theory" of my own.² The simple fact is, that this is one of those cases in which the truth has to be deduced from conflicting evidence. We have on the one side the judicial declaration of Archbishop Anselm that Gundrada was *not* the King's daughter, and the independent testimony of two contemporary chronicles that she was the sister of Gherbod the Fleming, sometime Earl of Chester. On the other side we find it stated that she was the daughter of King William or Queen Matilda by three separate documents in a cartulary of Lewes Priory, which was compiled in 1417,³ a period as far removed from the time in which Gundrada lived, as we are now from the reign of Henry VIII. When two sets of witnesses flatly contradict each other, one or the other must be disbelieved; and it appears to me from internal evidence that the first of these Lewes documents has been tampered with, that the second has been falsified by an interpolation,

¹ Orderic Vitalis, lib. ix, cap. 14.

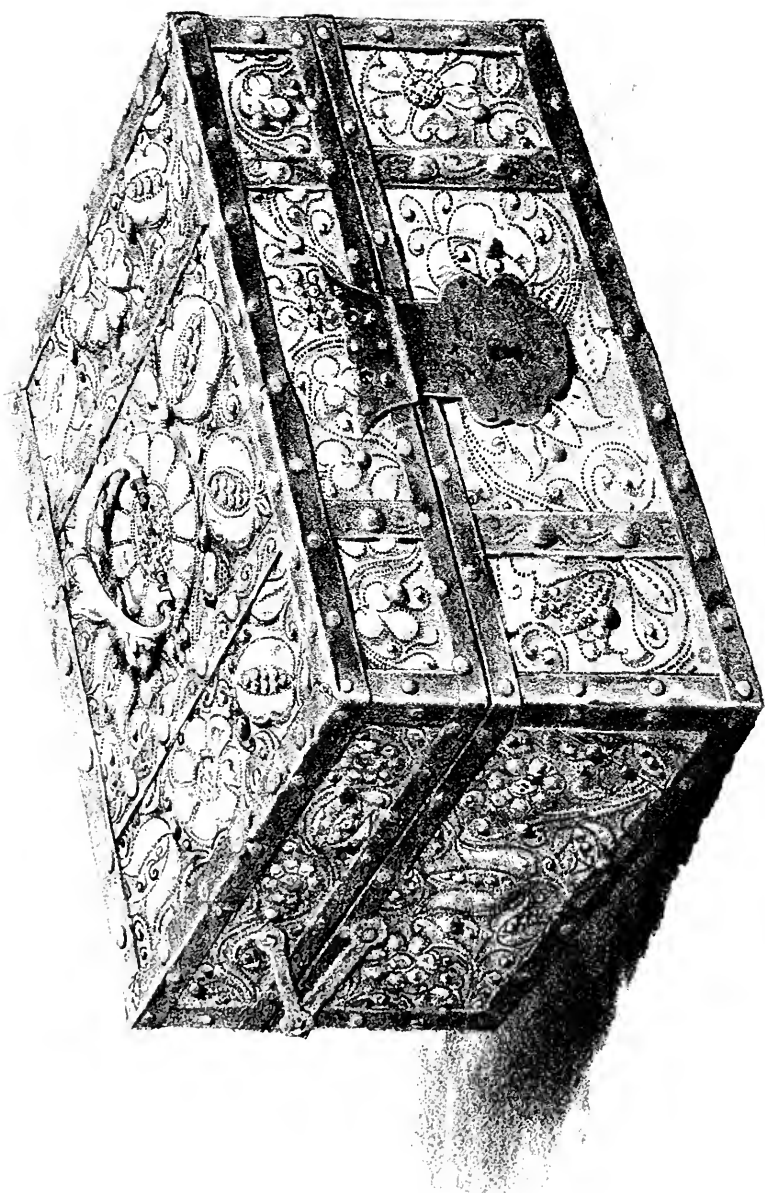
² Notes and Queries, 20 Feb., 1886, p. 157.

³ The cartulary in the Cotton MSS. was compiled, as I have said at p. 14,

in 1444, but Sir George Duckett found at Paris a copy dated 6 Sept. 1417, which was made by direction of Prior Nelond after the suppression of the alien Priories.

and that the third is one of those forged deeds of confirmation, which are familiar to every student of monastic cartularies. I can explain their contents in no other way ; but, however this may be, it cannot fairly be described as “an ingenious theory,” that I am contented to rely on the solemn testimony of St. Anselm when he is corroborated by the only two contemporary chronicles, in which Gundrada is mentioned.

August, 1886.



CASKET FROM SUFFOLK.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 1st, 1886.

R. P. PULLAN, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt read some "Notes from an old City Account Book," prefacing his paper, which is printed at p. 162, with some general remarks as to the development of the comparatively modern companies from the Mediæval Guilds, and proceeding to describe the contents of the book. This proved to be mainly a volume of the receipts and expenditure of the Founders' Company, such as would now be called a cash book, from 1497 to 1576, and beginning with the usual inventory of the possessions of the Guild. Mr. Stahlschmidt had gathered up various other items of interest besides those appertaining to the Company's financial history from the ill-written and ill-spelt pages, all of which details are set forth in his paper.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. Brown spoke of the first appearance and use of Arabic numerals in this country and the advantage and convenience of their introduction. With regard to the quantity of mutton consumed at the feast in 15-16th of Henry VII., it was to be borne in mind that the joints were very small, and that in the time of James I. they were a third the size of those of the present day, as appeared from the returns of Smithfield market.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Stahlschmidt.

Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

By Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt.—An old City Account Book, being a book of the receipts and expenditure of the Founders' Company from 1497 to 1576.

By Mr. F. Roe.—A casket of pine-wood covered with repoussé brass plates, lately obtained from a hawker in the neighbourhood of Ipswich.

Mr. J. G. Waller was kind enough to describe the details of this coffer, which is here illustrated. The repoussé plates covering the outside exhibit the forms of the rose, pomegranate, and some other flowers difficult to recognise at once under their conventional treatment, and recalling the *quus ponsatum* on the effigy of Richard II. The way in which the box is bound with iron and further decorated outside, will be seen from the lithograph.

In the same way that the lining of a helmet is often the most important point of the head-piece, so the lining of the coffer in question,

though only of paper, and somewhat fragmentary, is its most interesting part. Inside the box proper, we have, upon an orange red ground, a pattern in gold of capital design, exhibiting the pomegranate—the apple of Granada—the orange, gourd, grapes, and various other fruits and flowers. The lid of the casket is lined with paper of the same quality and period, on which are shown a series of subjects, unfortunately much defaced, from the Old and New Testament, arranged in pairs and identified by the following inscriptions:—*FUGA. JOSEPH. ÆGIPTO: NATIVITAS. CHRISTI; RESURECTIO. CHRISTI; SERPENS. ISRAELIT.* Below are:—*PISCIS. EVOM. IONAM; BAPTISMA. CHRISTI; MOSES. CUM. LEGE; and ADAM. ET. EVA.*

It will be remembered that pictures of this kind are frequently found painted upon thin copper plates, and fixed to the fronts of the drawers of Flemish cabinets of ebony and imitation red tortoise-shell, such painted subjects being usually the work of inferior Flemish painters of the latter half of the sixteenth century, artists like some of the members of the numerous and industrious family of Franck. The casket under our notice belongs rather to the early half of the century. With more particular regard to the paper lining of the box, it was, of course, printed from flat wood blocks—"wooden cuts" as they used to be termed—like the wall papers of a century and a half ago, and anyone who is so fortunate as to possess genuine old travelling trunks of that period, will find them lined with a degenerate descendant of the earlier "history paper," as it may be called, such as Mr. Roe's casket exhibits. Within a very few years it was difficult to buy a travelling box in France that was not lined with an ancient style of paper, besides being covered on the outside with a skin with the hair on. Wig boxes, and "band" boxes were covered within or without, sometimes both, with "history paper," and deed boxes, for grants of arms, patents of titles, etc., were lined with paper, often of a very beautiful kind, up to the end of the last century. First issues of thin books or pamphlets were also frequently sent out in "fancy" paper covers, often as well designed as the patterns on the dresses of figures on the panels of a Norfolk screen, and this practice has never died out in Italy, as anyone may know who has had a pamphlet bound in that favoured country at the sole taste of an old fashioned binder. The casket measures 14 in. by 9½ in. by 8 in. high.

By ADMIRAL TREMLETT.—Rough Sketches of the Excavations and Discoveries lately made at Gaffr Innis and Loemariaquer, with the following remarks upon them, which were read by Mr. Gosselin:—

"The first sketch is that of four places of sepulture which were discovered in Dr. Closmadeux's garden at Gaffr Innis and near to the house at a depth of *three feet*. They were found side by side and orientated east and west; they were composed of a number of rough pieces of coarse granite cemented together by a mortar of lime and sea shells. In each a skeleton was lying flat on its back, the head being at the west end, the arms were crossed, and the hands lying on the abdomen; near to the skeletons and in *recesses* were some urns of coarse pottery without any ornamentation, but having a great number of perforations; there was a quantity of charcoal in each of them; the skeletons were those of fully grown men; no inscription or any other article was found except a *thin* piece of bronze wire resembling a pin; in fact there was nothing to indicate the date of these interments, but we

may fairly assume that they are of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. They are evidently Christian interments. The chamber A has four recesses, in each of which there was an incense pot ; the one marked c was at the head ; the remainder were of the form D. I have inspected the bones, as also the skull found here. The forehead denotes by its shape great intelligence, and is far superior to that of the others. The remaining chambers are of the form B, each having only one recess for an incense urn, and of the form D one of the skulls is very badly made, the forehead is very low, and the posterior or animal part is very developed. An inspection of this skeleton's bones shewed that that of the right arm had been diseased ; it was spongy, which may have been the cause of death. A small monastery of Templars formerly existed here ; their broken processional cross was found among the ruins a few years ago ; it is evidently one of the twelfth century, and is now in the possession of Doctor Closmadeux. We may, I think, presume that these remains are those of the Abbot and three of the monks. The peculiarity of these interments is the recesses for the incense pots."

"The second is a very rough sketch of a broken Roman votive altar, and part of a Roman column recently found at Locmariaquer by my friends Monsieur Mahé, who is descended from the Abbé Mahé, so well known for his work on the Breton Megalithic monuments. The owner of the field in which they were found has hitherto objected to any one exploring this place, which is named 'Park-er-Beleg,' or the Priest's field, and it was only very late in the season that he gave permission, so that very little has been done, but it will be resumed next summer. It will be observed that at the edge of the broken part of the altar are the lower parts of the letters IV ; coins of Antoninus, Faustina, and others were found. Stags, antlers, and numerous bones, a statuette of Læina seated in an osier arm-chair and nursing two children, a Roman cistern and a quantity of Roman pottery was also found here. Next summer the place will be properly explored."

The meeting was also indebted to Admiral Tremlett for the exhibition of full-size drawings of two discs of serpentine, measuring, the one 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter with a central piercing 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and the other 5 inches in diameter, with a central piercing of 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. These had been lately found at Quiberon, in digging for the foundation of a new fort. Two similar objects have been received at the British Museum, from Shanghai. These examples are either serpentine or jade, and of unknown use. One of the same character, but almost oval, was found in the dolmen of Mané-en-Stroek at Locmariaquer, together with quite a hundred celts. Admiral Tremlett also communicated the information that the dolmen of Men-er-rhétual at Locmariaquer had lately been restored, and that when he was last there he was shown a quantity of pottery, coins, Roman and modern, and great numbers of broken statuettes of Venus Anadyomene and Latona, which had been found there. Our obliging correspondent thought that this collection might perhaps be accounted for by the fact that when the land was brought under cultivation, the farmers threw all bricks and other refuse and ruins into the dolmens to get them out of the way. This was the usual proceeding, and there still remain in the district dolmens full of stone and refuse from the land. But this was not done at Carnac, where the farmers are more careful. It is not so easy to account for the coins, inasmuch as there were also a number of French coins found in the dolmens in question.

The meeting was under further obligation to Admiral Tremlett for the opportunity of seeing drawings of three stone cists lately excavated by Dr. Cloismadeux, from a depth of six feet of sand at Quiberon, as well as sketches of the pottery urns that had been found, together with human skeletons, in the same receptacles. The pottery was found in shards, which were all collected and found to make into ten articles. Of these, three were "food vessels" of the usual type, and the rest urns with or without small handles, the whole series being quite free from ornamentation of any kind. The skeletons were in a good state of preservation, the knees were bent up to the chin, and the skulls, *dolichocephalic*, strongly marked. Dr. Cloismadeux explored eight cists at Quiberon, with similar results ten years ago. No metal of any sort was found in any of these cists. Admiral Tremlett called attention to the form of the skull, which is very peculiar: the French having as yet only found *brachicephalic* ones, it would seem that those under our notice belonged to strangers to the country. It is to be remarked that cists of this description have been discovered in no other part of Brittany. Their formation is of the most primitive fashion, consisting only of two long stones for the sides and two short ones for the ends.

A vote of thanks was passed to Admiral Tremlett for his communications.

May 6th, 1885.

The Right Hon. EARL PERCY, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. Stuart Poole gave a lecture on "The value of Archaeology in the study of the Bible." This was a most eloquent and learned discourse, during which Mr. Poole spoke of the great interest and success of the work which Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie and his able coadjutor, Mr. Griffith, had carried out for the Egypt Exploration Fund, on the site of the city of Naukratis, and to the work now being carried on by the former and Mr. Ernest Gardner on the same site. The speaker also took occasion to pay a well-merited tribute to the exertions of Miss Amelia B. Edwards, to whom the work and fund were so much indebted. In the discussion which followed, the President, Mr. Pullan, the Rev. H. M. Searth and the Rev. R. M. Blakiston took part.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Poole.

Antiquities and Works of Art.

By Mr. Seymour Lucas, A.R.A.—A fine Corporation Sword of the fifteenth century and of the following dimensions: Length of blade, 1ft. 4in.; breadth at hilt, 2½in.; do. at point, 1in.; length of hilt, 1ft. 6in.; do. of haft, 1ft. 5in.; do. of pommel, 2½in. In a letter to Mr. Gosselin, the Baron de Cosson communicated the following remarks upon this weapon:—

"As the sword came from the neighbourhood of Gloucester, we at first thought it might have belonged at a former period to that city, but since then I have learnt the names of the Mayors of Gloucester for 1593-15, and they do not any of them correspond to the portion still legible of the name of the Mayor who repaired the sword in 1594.

"The blade of the second is clearly of the fifteenth century and of very fine workmanship. It bears on either side an armourer's mark consisting of an animal running, something like the German wolf mark, and the Spanish Perillo or dog mark, and with this is a crown. The cross guard is also of

the fifteenth century, and very graceful in form and in its ornamentation, which consists of little flowers stamped in the metal. On the blade close to the cross-guard is an inscription stating that the sword was repaired in 1594, and the repair probably consisted in the engraving of this inscription in the midst of scroll work of that period, and the addition of the present pommel and wooden grip. The pommel is clearly of much later date than the rest of the sword, and it is probable that the original one had got lost, and that the grip had got into bad condition. The inscription reads—

IOHN-MOR/////////
MAIER - THIS - SORD
DID - REPAIER 1594

“I should much like to find out who this Mayor was. I do not know if any list of the Mayors for the year 1594 may exist. Perhaps you may get a hint to-morrow as to the best way of searching for this one. The sword is a very fine and interesting relic, and although one may regret that it has been altered from its primitive form, yet but for the alteration we should know nothing of its history. I have seen other Corporation swords which have undergone repairs of this kind, and which also bear the record of the restoration. The blade of this one has all the appearance of a fighting blade.”

Mr. J. G. Waller added some observations corroborative of the Baron de Cosson's remarks, but expressed a doubt as to the sword being actually a fighting weapon.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Lucas and the Baron de Cosson.

It may not be improper, with a sword of great size under consideration, to take this opportunity of mentioning the large dimensions of the sword worn by Sir John Swinford in his fine alabaster effigy at Spratton in Northamptonshire. He died in 1371, and the figure measures from the top of the bascinet to the tip of the sollerets 6 ft. 6 in. The entire length of the sword is 4 ft. 4 in., the blade is 3 ft. 4½ in. long, and, including the scabbard, is 3½ in. wide at the hilt. Deducting the height of the bascinet, the knight would stand, “in his stocking,” about 5 ft. 10 in. The sword would therefore be an unusually pondrous one, and its dimensions may be contrasted with the following sizes of the swords of the British Army as set forth in the Dress Regulations for 1864:—

Life Guards.—Entire length 3 ft. 9 in.; blade 3 ft. 3 in.; width 1 in. full.

Heavy Dragoons.—Length of blade 2 ft. 5½ in.; width 1¼ in.

Infantry and Royal Engineers.—Length of blade 2 ft. 8½ in.; width at shoulder 1½ in. and 12 in. from shoulder 1 in.

By Mr. J. Irvine.—A series of very interesting drawings and plans of Lichfield Cathedral, showing further evidences of the early work, which were not known to Professor Willis when he drew up his paper upon the Cathedral, and which had been revealed during the progress of the late restorations. These were shortly commented upon by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Irvine.

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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ANGELS.¹

By R. P. PULLAN, F.S.A.

The few brief notes on this most interesting subject were originally written for the *Journal* in 1847, soon after my election as a member of the Institute, but kept amongst our papers, until lately when Mr. Hartshorne sent them to me for revision. But as lapse of time does not in any way invalidate facts connected with archaeological research, they may possibly be of interest to those who care about the adornment of our churches, although they have not the advantage of freshness. Since they were written, Mrs. Jameson's excellent book on Sacred and Legendary Art has appeared, and, guided by the indications contained in it, I have taken opportunities of inspecting the chief examples of this branch of iconographic art on the Continent, and consequently have been able to add a few observations about them to the original remarks which have reference almost entirely to English examples.

There is no occasion to give a disquisition on the existence, or the nature of the "heavenly messengers" which the word *αγγελλοι* means literally translated. As to their existence all believers in the truth of Holy Writ acknowledge that there are superhuman beings acting as agents between God and man—that there are ranks and orders among them—such as Cherubim, Seraphim, Archangels and Angels, and that some of the higher members of the heavenly hierarchy bear names such as *Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael*. As to their nature, it

¹ Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, June 3rd, 1886.

is to a great extent a mystery. All that we can learn about them is admirably summed up by Mrs. Jameson, who gives texts to prove the exactitude of her statements, which texts I need not take up time by quoting. She says truly that it is necessary to give a brief summary of the Scriptural and theological authorities relative to the nature and functions of angels before we can judge of the manner in which these ideas have been attended to, and carried out in artistic similitudes. Thus the angels are represented in the Old Testament :—

1. As beings of a higher nature than men and gifted with superior intelligence and righteousness.
2. As a host of attendants surrounding the throne of God, and as a kind of celestial court or counsel.
3. As messengers of His will conveyed from heaven to earth, or as sent to guide, to correct, to instruct, to reprove, to console.
4. As protecting the pious.
5. As punishing by the command of the Most High the wicked and disobedient.
6. As having the form of men ; as eating and drinking.
7. As wielding a sword.
8. As having the power to slay.

“In the New Testament” she says “they are far more familiar with us as agents, more frequently alluded to, and more distinctly brought before us than in the Old Testament.” All that concerns us at present, however, is the mode in which they were symbolized in art in the early and middle ages. The artists of those times depicted them as youthful and beautiful, *i.e.* according to their ideas of beauty and without indication of sex, and with wings emblematical of power and swiftness of locomotion. The Cherubim of the Ark and those of Solomon’s Temple are described as having wings. Hence the iconographers had sufficient authorities for appending wings to human forms.

There is also sufficient authority for dividing them into different classes. Dionysius, the Areopagite, who is supposed to have been the friend of St. Paul, divides them into three hierarchies :

1 Seraphim.	2 Domination.	3 Princedoms.
Cherubim.	Virtues.	Archangels.
Thrones.	Powers.	Angels.

Later writers differ in the order of their classification. For iconographic purposes (as it is not of theological importance) I think the clearest classification is that of Sylvanus Morgan and Randle Holme, which is preferable to that contained in Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels. It is the following :—

- “ 1. Order of *Seraphim*, whose chief is Uriel, with the ensigns of a flaming heart and sword.
- “ 2. *Cherubim*. Chief, Jophiel. They are shown as young to exhibit their perpetual strength, having wings to signify their swiftness of motion and unweariness, with garments white to show their purity, or gold to show their sanctity, and girt to show their readiness. (Holme.) The cherubim are chiefly found represented in the most holy places—around the altar on the frontals, embroidered on copes and other similar vestments. Pugin says they should be of a bright red colour, and should be used for the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, as they signify the immediate presence of God under the old law.
- “ 3. *Archangels*. Chief, Michael. Ensign a banner or a cross, or with a cross in one hand and a dart in the other. (Holme.) Sometimes St. Michael carries a buckler on his left arm. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries St. Michael was frequently painted in a full suit of armour. In an early picture by Raffaele he is armed *cap-a-pie*. In that remarkable specimen of the approaching change of taste, shewn in the admixture of Italian with Gothic details—the tomb of Henry VII.—he has a Roman breastplate and sandals.
- “ 4. *Angels*. Chief, Gabriel. Ensign, a book or staff. They are clad in white robes with jewelled borders, either of sapphire to signify celestial contemplation; of ruby, divine love; crystal, purity; or emerald, unfailing youth.

- “ 5. *Thrones*. Chief, Zaphkiel. Kneeling with a palm and crown.
- “ 6. *Principalities*. Chief, Hamiel. Ensign, a sceptre, and a girdle across the breast, he being the guardian of kingdoms.
- “ 7. *Powers*. Chief, Raphael. Ensign, a thunderbolt, a flaming sword or heart.
- “ 8. *Dominions*. Chief, Zadkiel. Ensign, a sceptre, a sword and a cross. The sword in the right hand, the sceptre in the left.
- “ 9. *Virtue*. Chief, Hamiel. Ensign, a crown of thorns in one hand, and the cup of consolation or a bulrush in the other.”

This classification by the old herald may seem a little fanciful, but it is, notwithstanding, the best authority for the painter or sculptor, who wishes to represent the heavenly hierarchy, which frequently was a subject used for the decoration of churches.

At Wells, the nine orders of angels occupy as many niches on the West front. They are engraved in Carter's *Ancient Sculpture*. In the South Porch of Chartres Cathedral and in the Cathedral of Orvieto, may be found the whole hierarchy in painting and sculpture, but as a rule, seven orders of angels only are employed in early Christian decorations.¹

Figures of angels were amongst the most frequent and appropriate sources of ecclesiastical decoration in the middle ages. They are found in a vast variety of situations, attitudes, and dresses;—as supporting the pillars of the nave and chancel; as exhibiting the emblems of the Passion, as joining in a hymn of triumph with the collected harmony of all instruments; as sustaining the pillows of recumbent Saints; as conveying souls to judgment; as trooping round the Divinity thurible in hand; as attendant upon earthly pilgrims, and lastly on all the more precious furniture of the Church. In all cases there is a certain conventionality about them which the archaeologist recognises as the true source of their beauty. There is generally also a grace and contour in their wings,

¹ Mrs. Jameson mentions the seven angels in the choir of St. Michael's at Ravenna, in the Last Judgment by

Orcagna, at Pisa, and in a picture by Taddeo Gaddi, at Florence.

a sweetness of devotional expression in their countenances, and a richness of effect in the intricate folds of their drapery, which please the eye of the artist whether he be an antiquary or not.

Dress.—Some of the earliest representations of angels are to be found in diptychs¹; there they are clothed in long flowing robes without girdles. In Saxon MSS. they have long tunics with full sleeves and an upper garment wrapped round the waist and carried over the shoulder. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries an albe with or without apparels was the most common dress employed. Occasionally a jewelled anice was added. In an illustration of Mr. Way's legend of St. Werstan in the second volume of our Journal an example of this simple but beautiful style of dress is given. Stoles were used, if the angels were represented as officiating; and in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries embroidered copes stoles and dalmatics gave still greater richness to their figures.

The woodcuts in some of the black-letter volumes issued before the Reformation afford a great variety of angelic costume. For instance, in Schledels Chronicon printed at Nuremburg in 1493, there is a fine cut representing the creation of angels. The angels are grouped in a circle around the sacred Monogram in all sorts of attitudes, all are in albes except two, one of whom wears a cope and the other a dalmatic. Other interesting figures of similar character may be found scattered throughout the book. In a woodcut in the Nova Legenda there are archangels robed in dalmatics richly ornamented, and wearing stoles. The title page has some figures plumed all over. Similar plumed angels may be seen in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, and at Winwick, Lancashire. Pugin, however, pronounces them to be inconsistent with Catholic tradition.

Situations and Attitudes.—Angels bearing shields are, perhaps, the most common of all on monuments and as corbels. The bearings on the shields are generally sacred emblems, but frequently, in later times, the arms were those of the reigning sovereign or of donors to the church. Demi-angels holding shields may be seen in very many Perpendicular churches acting as corbels to the principals

¹ See Gorius, Thesaurus Diptychorum.

of the roof, as brackets for niches, or in screens or cornices. Henry VII.'s Chapel is adorned with rows of these, some in armour, others plumed, bearing between them the badges of the Tudor family. Astbury Church, Cheshire, has beautiful examples of these corbels under the roof of the south aisle. The shields have on them the crown of thorns, ladder and spear, and other emblems of the Passion. The Royal arms in the Hall of Croydon Palace are sustained by angels.

Altar Tombs.—Angels are often found ranged in niches round altar tombs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Playing upon Musical Instruments.—Angels playing upon musical instruments come next in point of frequency. The old designers seem to have delighted in representing the heavenly choir wherever they could be admitted with propriety. What a rich effect they give to the noble choir of Lincoln ranged in the spandrels of the triforium, and also to the exquisite *jube* of York, which is crowded with ranks of angels in niches singing from scrolls, every fifth playing on a harp or guitar, cittern or cymbals! Above them there is another row, sedent, with outstretched wings. These occupy the lowest member of an elaborate frieze, and have organs, bagpipes and violins in addition to the instruments above mentioned. The nave of Manchester Cathedral offers an admirable series of minstrel angels surmounting the demi-columns, from which spring the arched spandrels of a rich panelled ceiling. They all wear albes with amices or folding collars. Their hair is curled in those peculiar masses which characterize angels of the later styles. They are fourteen in number, and bear instruments like those in the Minstrels' gallery, which fills a bay of the nave of Exeter Cathedral—viz.: organ, trumpet, clarionet, single and double bagpipes, fife and drums, guitars, dulcimers, harps, etc.

In Dibdin's *Literary Reminiscences* vol. 2, there is a plate copied from a French MS. of angels surrounding the Blessed Virgin, some singing, others playing upon harps and guitars.¹

¹ Mr. Pullan exhibited to the meeting a photograph of some lovely little angelic figures playing in concert around the Nativity, by one of the talented

Robbia family. Nothing can exceed the beauty of these figures, which are coloured after nature in the original terra cotta.

Figures on Tombs.—The cushions on which the heads of bishops, priests, and kings repose in sculptured effigies, are generally upheld by diminutive angels habited in long flowing robes; such are those on the tombs of Archbishops Walter de Grey, and Thomas Savage at York, of Edward II at Gloucester, and several at Salisbury.

Censing Angels.—Censing angels are often to be seen in the upper lights of stained glass windows and also painted on walls and roofs, signifying that they convey the prayers of the faithful from earth to heaven. On either side of an empty niche above the central doorway of the rood screen at York there is an angel with a thurible. Similar figures also occur on the roof of Gawsworth Church, Cheshire. A good example of a censing angel remains in a window of St. Martin Micklegate, York (see Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture). In the archivolt of the tomb of Dagobert, formerly at St. Denis there were according to Montfauçon full length figures of angels bearing thuribles.

Carrying souls to Judgment.—On various monuments we find a symbol of the soul being borne to judgment under the likeness of a naked figure carried upwards in a sheet held by an angel at each end. This is the case on the pediment of the Percy tomb at Beverley, on that of Alymer de Valence in Westminster Abbey, and on the side of Bishop Bridport's monument at Salisbury. Montfauçon gives a similar example from the life of St. Louis existing in his time in the glass of the sacristy of St. Denis. Dibdin gives one taken from a MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna of the thirteenth century. Carter gives another from a brass engraved in his Ancient Sculpture.

Angels Attendant on Our Lord.—The aureole surrounding figures of Our Lord sculptured in the tympana of doorways is frequently supported by angels, as in that of Essendine Church, Rutlandshire, and in the west door of Rochester Cathedral. In the window of the north aisle of Gresford Church there is a figure of our Saviour in the midst of an aureole rayonné, with white angels on a ruby ground. Many earlier specimens of the arrangement may be found in the Thesaurus Diptychorum.

Various other positions of Angels.—Diminutive figures of angels were used as the terminations of label moulds, as at Beverly, Christ Church, and Magdalen Colleges,

Oxford. They formed the pendants to stalls as at Chester and Manchester; crowned pinnacles as at Hampton Church, Oxfordshire; served for poppyheads, as at All Soul's Chapel, Oxford, and in fact were used for all appropriate purposes of church decoration; but the finest specimens of these beautiful figures in England were perhaps those which formerly existed round St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster. Their albes were adorned with jewelled apparels at the wrists and arms, their wings were painted in imitation of peacocks' feathers, they wore coronals with elaborate crosses, and held draperies covered with rich diapers.

There is no doubt but that pictorial art in the middle ages was more developed on the continent than in England, and in Italy more than in any other country. It is to Italy therefore we should look for the most perfect examples of the iconography of angels. Since writing the foregoing notes, I have had many opportunities of inspecting pictures of angels in all parts of that region of fine art.

Græco Italian art at Monreale presents us with gorgeous angels robed in enriched priestly and regal garments, stiff as regards their Byzantine character, but of grand proportions and striking effect.

These are excelled in stateliness by Cimabue's magnificent figures in the upper church of Assisi, which are the most noble of their kind.

The frescos of the Campo Santo at Pisa are full of angels, especially that of the Last Judgment by Orcagna. These too are grand looking creatures.

Giotto's angels are not ethereal, but somewhat heavy, like his human beings.

Fra Angelico, as his name would lead us to believe, was the most perfect in his representation of the heavenly beings, and many of my hearers will be familiar with the reproductions of the angels playing on musical instruments which surrounded the Madonna of the Uffizzi, at Florence. Clad in long embroidered robes of various colours, with faces refined and passionless, with curls of golden hair and wings of rainbow hues these lovely creations of the recluse's mind are perhaps the highest possible realizations of these superhuman creatures.

In the ceiling of the chapel of Orvieto, in the gallery Belle Arti, and in the Convent of St. Marco in Florence similar productions of his pencil may be seen but none equal to those of the Uffizzi. The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin is perhaps second, as regards the groups of angels to those already mentioned.

Almost equal to them and perhaps possessing more animation are the remarkable groups from the Capella Riccardi at Florence. These surrounded a picture of the Nativity which has been unfortunately removed. Botticelli's angels have more of earth about them, and have evidently been painted from models while those of Angelico must have been the creations of his own imagination. Borganogne's angels in the choir of the Church of San Cristoforo at Milan come next in order as regards beauty.

The finest and most powerful picture of a choir of angels is that of Gaudenzio Ferrari covering the dome of the church of Saronno near Milan. Here we have an infinite variety of attitude and of expression. Some are standing, some sitting, some kneeling, all engaged in the work of praise.

But for sweetness of devotional expression, and for life-like effect produced by the union of colour with relief, none have ever surpassed the angels of the Robbia family.¹

In some of the figures the attitudes are a little exaggerated, but on the whole these charming representations of the heavenly host are unsurpassed.

Perugini Luini, and Raffaele in his early days, were the last to paint angels with any traces of the conventional forms of the middle ages about them. Those of Luini, in the Family of Tobit, and in the Burial of St. Catherine in the Brera are, for tenderness of expression, far superior to those of Raffaele's later conceptions.

After the time of Raffaele the study of the classical school of art led to a change in forms and draperies. Angels were depicted as strong young men, with arms and legs bare, sometimes puffing at trumpets with inflated cheeks, and sprawling amongst clouds, or as Rubens

¹ In confirmation of this opinion Mr. Pullan exhibited photographs from the Nativity in the Museum of Florence, by

Andrea, and that from Casentino, by Luca della Robbia.

occasionally painted them, robust young women with ruddy complexions and fully developed forms. Cherubs as baby's heads with wings, but without bodies, or if they had bodies, they became the *puttini* imitated from Cupids, so common in the works of the later painters' forms. So on until our own times when the acme of absurdity is reached in a recent woodcut in which a dishevelled woman bearing on her shoulders with difficulty and distress an enormous globe is supposed to represent an angel. Nowhere is to be seen evidence of the purity, power and refinement which characterize the heavenly messengers in the early days of art.

Note.—Mr. Pullan exhibited a design for the decoration of the dome of St. Paul's in which an attempt to introduce the angelic host has been made. The subject chosen for illustration is the magnificent

hymn of St. Ambrose. Blue Cherubim, red Seraphim, with crowds of hymning angels are represented in the upper part of the dome, which is understood to symbolize the highest region of Heaven.

ENGLISH MILITARY EFFIGIES AND THEIR RELATION TO
THE HISTORY OF ARMOUR, WITH REFERENCES TO
SOME EXAMPLES IN DERBYSHIRE.¹

By the BARON DE COSSON, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

When Mr. St. John Hope asked me to write some notes on the Military effigies of Derbyshire, I hoped to be able to see beforehand all those of which he gave me a list, forty-seven in number. The time at my disposal only allowed me to see twenty-four of these, but I chose those which seemed to me more especially interesting from their date and preservation.

I was well repaid for my trouble, for besides learning how beautiful the county of Derby is, I found the study of its effigies to be a most interesting and instructive one. It is deeply interesting from two points of view.

In the first place our English effigies are the most important and most carefully wrought work now remaining to us of the English school of sculpture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Monumental effigies in our churches have often escaped destruction where other, and, it may be more important works of the sculptor's art, have been ruthlessly destroyed.

And a careful study of what effigies I have been able to see, has convinced me that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a really excellent school of sculpture existed in this country, a school which could hold its own with that of any other country at the same date, Italy alone excepted, for we know that at that period Italy was quite half-a-century in advance of the rest of Europe in all matters of fine art.

Of this school of English sculpture, what were probably the greatest works, have all been swept away by circumstances with which antiquaries are all acquainted.

At one time our churches were filled with works of

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Derby Meeting, August 3rd, 1885.

painting and sculpture. Of the painting but a few mutilated fragments remain, and of the sculpture the monumental effigies are what have suffered least from zeal and fanaticism, although they have not entirely escaped the scarcely less destructive carelessness and indifference with which they were regarded during a long period of time.

When I say that the English sculptor could have held his own against him of other countries, it must be remembered that in order to make a just comparison, we must only compare his work in effigies (about the only example of his work now existing) with the effigies of other countries; not with those works, in which imagination, sentiment, and the more attractive artistic qualities could be displayed, and I have no hesitation in saying that effigy for effigy, the work of the Englishman, is equal to that of the German, the Frenchman, or the Fleming.

As I have said the more attractive works of the English sculptor have disappeared, and if we enquire why if so fine a school of sculpture existed in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it did not progress and develope at the period of the Renaissance, as happened in other countries, I will venture to suggest that the complete cessation of a demand for its work, and the continual destruction of the works already existing which took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, brought it to an abrupt and premature end. To the soft and delicate modelling and the admirable technical execution of the alabaster effigies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, succeed those wooden looking dolls in stiffly folded dresses which kneel with stony gaze on the monuments of the reigns of the Stuarts.

So complete, so final was the extinction of all English art, that during long years the arts of painting and sculpture in their higher forms were almost exclusively practised in England by foreigners, who brought to this country the art of the Renaissance, then already in rapid decay abroad, and from the teaching of these foreign professors of an art already in its decline, has the art of England suffered, almost to the present day, so much so that for many long years no great art that was truly national in its character could be said to exist in the land.

Now if we go back to our effigies, and I fear I have strayed too far from them, we shall find first, that they possess very great interest as works of English art, and therefore form an interesting subject of study to the student, whilst the next point which gives them a strong claim upon our attention (and it is one which is especially interesting to me), is the marvellous faithfulness with which they reproduce the armour worn when they were made, and the manner in which they teach us the story of the gradual growth and development of defensive armour in this country.

Thoroughly to appreciate this wonderful accuracy, it is necessary to have a very complete technical knowledge of real armour, to have seen, to have examined, to have weighed, to have felt as much real armour as possible, to have endeavoured to learn how the armour was made, what means of manufacture the mediæval armoured possessed, to have thought out the why and the wherefore from a constructive and mechanical point of view of each piece found, and of each form given to it. And here I may repeat what I have said in previous papers, that in all really fine armour of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was a good and workmanlike reason for each piece, and still more so for the special form given to it, and that those pieces and those forms often give proof of the greatest thought and ingenuity in constructive design.

After the end of the fifteenth century, it is true that we often find extravagancies of form and construction, due to special fancies of the armoured or of the wearer, but these were sure signs that the decline of the armoured's art was rapidly drawing nigh.

I venture to say that if anyone makes the thorough study of real specimens of armour which I have mentioned, and for that he must have seen as many collections and museums as possible, for in each one he may learn something new and unexpected; he will then be able to say almost with certainty on looking at any work of art, whether the armour presented therein was faithfully and exactly copied from armour then worn, or whether it was only generally accurate in form and fashion without caring about constructive details, or lastly whether as was sometimes the case, it was the result of the fancy and

imagination of the artist, who not infrequently thought more of exhibiting those qualities, than of showing his knowledge of armour.

Now, the great value of monumental effigies to the student of armour is, that down to the end of the fifteenth century, they almost universally belong to the first of these classes.

The business of the sculptor was to make a simple and accurate presentment of the man; to show him to us as he was when alive. Not as was so often the case at a later date, to show him to us in clothes which he never wore, habited as no human eyes had ever seen him habited.

Truth in a tomb, was then thought becoming, nay, imperative, not the fanciful posturing and theatrical bombast which in later ages often proclaims falsehoods which the silent dead beneath, however humble-minded he may have been in life, has now no power to recall.

I do not say that pompous epitaphs always proclaim falsehoods, some of the dead who lie beneath them may have possessed all the virtues with which they are credited, but when a gentleman of the reign of Queen Anne is represented in Roman armour, a distinct falsehood is proclaimed, and so when the late Prince Consort was shown in the armour of the fifteenth century on his monument at Windsor Castle, he was shown as wearing that which he had never worn in his life.

It may be said that the Roman armour was allegorical of the Roman virtue of the gentleman in the full bottomed wig, and that the fifteenth century armour was emblematical of the Knightly and Christian virtue of the Prince Consort, but how much simpler, how much more dignified, how much less ridiculous to future generations, are those monuments which show a man as he was, in the apparel he was proudest of perhaps, and tell nothing but the plain truth to posterity.

How grand is the dignity of the effigies at Norbury and at Longford! There is the Knight laid low at last, clad in the harness in which he has fought for king and country, his hands joined in humble prayer.

And when there is an inscription, it contains no vain-glorious vaunting of his virtue, but simply—"Here lies so

and so, of such a place, soldier or knight, who died on such a day in such a year. May god have mercy on his soul."

Who amongst even the best of us would not rather have such an epitaph, than one declaring that we were all virtue and perfection.

When at Tissington, near Ashburne, I saw an epitaph to a twice married Fitzherbert, dated 1619, which pleased me exceedingly.

"Love, Justice, Honour here
All at once in one appear ;
Let the reader silent be,
And do homage on his knee
To this Reverend Esquire,
Y^e hath now his full desire
Of that peace he ever loved—
In his life and death approved—
Layd here with his two loyall friends,
Most renowned in their ends."

The idea of asking the stranger who entered that village church to bend the knee, not to God, but to the Reverend Esquire, struck me as very delightful.

These fine early effigies then, not only interest us by their admirable workmanship, but they also set us an example of good taste and plain truthfulness in our commemoration of the dead.

But to us archæologists their truth and faithfulness make them especially valuable, for they tell the story of the growth, development, and decline of that defensive armour, which in the middle ages chiefly exercised the ingenuity and skill of the worker in steel. That mechanical ingenuity and invention which now is applied to the construction of machine guns, torpedoes, and iron-clad ships, was then exercised in devising weapons, engines of war and defensive armour for the human body. It was the same long struggle between the arms of offense and the armour of defense, and if we may learn from the struggle that is past, we may predict that in the future the guns and torpedoes will win the day.

It has been usual to divide this history of armour into

the period of pure chain mail armour, the period of chain and plate combined, and the period of plate armour, admitting a transitional period between each of these; but although this is a good rough division, still I cannot say it satisfies me.

In the history of armour we shall find certain periods where there is a *dominating type* of armour to which all other examples approximate more or less, during a considerable period. To this succeeds a shorter period of change and experiment, and after that another dominating type appears. Of course, as in the fashion of dress, there were always slow and gradual changes during the reign of the type; just as during the reign of crinoline, the crinoline varied slightly in form, nevertheless there was a distinct crinoline period. So in armour there are distinct periods when all the armour approximates to one type, which periods are followed by shorter times of unrest and experiment before another type gets established. Individual fancies will occasionally furnish us with extraordinary examples, but these do not affect the matter any more than occasional monstrosities affect the systems of botany and natural history.

At the time of the Conquest, defensive armour would seem to have consisted of a conical helmet and a long shirt of chain mail or scale armour, but it is only in the next century that the military effigies come to our assistance.

They first help us by showing us the appearance of those knights who fought against the Saracens under the Lion-hearted Richard, and at this period we have a very distinct type of armament.

The head piece of various construction usually approximates to the cylindrical and flat topped form. The hawberk or shirt of mail is long, reaching to the knee, whilst it also covers the arms and hands. The legs and feet are completely covered by the chausses. A long surcoat without sleeves is put on over the hawberk, it is confined to the waist by a small belt, but below the waist is open down to the front. The shield is long, reaching from the shoulder to the knee, and the sword is hung to a broad strap high on the hips.

I have seen no effigy of that type in Derbyshire, but at

Norbury we have a fine example of the next type which forms a distinct land mark in the story of armour. Here we have a rounded hood or coif of mail laced round the forehead and up one side. The surcoat is shorter showing the knees, which are protected by the stout and often quilted breeches worn over the chausses; whilst in addition we frequently see a plate of metal over the knee, the forerunner of the defenses of plate which so altered the appearance of the knight in the next century. To this period probably belongs the headless effigy in banded mail at Newton Solney, although it differs in the way in which the sword is hung, from the general type of this period.

This second period of chain armour with its rounded hood, broad sword belt, and shorter hawberk may begin about 1250 and end about 1300. The first of our series of English brasses, that of Sir John d'Aubernoun, 1277, shows a splendid example of this type of armour.

With the fourteenth century begins a somewhat long and very interesting period of transition not without its distinctive features, however, but it is a period of much change and many experiments.

We have what are called ailettes for the protection of the shoulder tried and discarded. It had been discovered that hard knocks with a mace or an axe would inflict much damage on the knight through his hawberk, even though it had a good quilted gambison under it, so plates of steel were devised to be fixed on the most exposed points such as joints.

It was soon found that thin plates of steel placed on the outside of the hawberk on the arm, and over the chausses on the shin, would render the knight much less vulnerable, and also that if the summit of the steel head-piece were made somewhat conical, a blow delivered straight down on it would probably glance off. And thus was the pointed bassinet originated, a head-piece which remained in use for a very extended period.

During this transition period we often find chains attached to the breast of the knight to secure his sword from being wrested from his grasp and his helmet from being torn off his head and cast to the ground, for from an earlier period it had been customary to put a large

helmet over the smaller head-piece ordinarily worn, when in the heat of battle or for the tourney.

Of this transitional period, which may date from 1300 to 1335 or 1340, I have seen no example in this county, but it is well known from the brasses of Bacon, Septuans, Fitzralph, and Sir John d'Abernoun the younger, and from a number of effigies in other parts of the country.

About the year 1335 or 1340, the military equipment of an English knight settled down into a type which barely changed until the end of the fourteenth century, and the main features of which dominated in the military equipment through the first half of the next century.

Of this type there are some very fine examples at Newton Solney, in an effigy which may date from about 1370, at Longford, in two effigies of the Longfords, said to date from 1357 and 1402, and at Ashburn, in the effigy of Edmund Cokayne, who, although he died in 1403, is armed in a somewhat earlier fashion. The main features of this type are the beautiful pointed bassinet, with a camail of mail to it, the tight surcoat much padded on the breast, and often as at Longford emblazoned with the knight's armorial bearings, the horizontal sword belt formed of square plaques of embossed metal low down on the hips, and the arms and legs covered with close-fitting plate armour simple in form, and showing the mail beneath at the joints, gauntlets, and sollerets.

What was the growth of the armour covering breast and back during the long period when the close surcoat was worn, is, so far as effigies go, a sealed book. We know that when the surcoat first closes up it covers a simple hawberk, and when a hundred years later it is discarded, it discloses a very complete and well constructed breast and back plate of steel. In one case only do we get a glimpse at an intermediate stage. In a fine monument at Ash Church, Kent, dating from about 1335, the lacing of the surcoat at the side permits us to see a portion of the body defence, and it is clearly seen to be composed of rectangular plates like tiles

¹ The only remains of an actual cuirass of the 11th century which exist are, as far as I am aware, those found in the

ruins of the Castle of Tannenberg and engraved and described by Hefme, "*Die Burg Tannenberg und ihre Ausgrabungen.*"

riveted into a flexible garment, perhaps of leather or quilted stuff.'

The monument of Sir Thurstan de Bower at Tideswell is a grand, though much mutilated example of the next type of armour, whilst that of Sir Thomas de Wendesley at Bakewell, is a good example of the transition to it, he still having a camail of mail and a surcoat, although the decoration of his bassinet, and of the armour on his limbs belong more to the fully developed type as seen at Tideswell, and of which, perhaps the finest example extant is on the right side of the chancel at Longford.

The features of this fourth type are that the bassinet is more acutely pointed, whilst over the forehead and round its edges are richly decorated work probably in gilt engraved and embossed brass. An enriched orle or wreath surrounds the bassinet, probably to keep the tilting helm steady when placed over it. A bavie of plate over a chin piece of the same material, with a corresponding piece behind, take the place of the camail. The breast plate is composed of two pieces strapped together in the middle high up on the breast, and the back plate is of similar construction.

The skirt is composed of two sets of semicircular plates strapped together at the sides, one set hanging from the breast and one from the body. The lowest of these plates in front is sometimes divided in the middle so as to form rudimentary tassets. The sword belt is still horizontal and highly decorated. The arm pits are often covered by small plates of shield-like form. The elbow and knee pieces show a tendency to become more ample, and the edges of the armour on the limbs are usually ornamented with richly decorated bands of metal.

After a short transition during which the bassinet loses its acute point and becomes round topped, we come to the fifth type shown in our effigies and of which two such splendid examples exist in the chancel at Norbury in the monuments of Sir Nicholas and Sir Ralph Fitzherbert and to which the miniature effigy of Thomas Cokayne at Youlgreave, and that of John Bradbourne at Ashburne also belong.

Here the head piece (not often shown in effigies) was a sallad or an armet. There was a high collar or standard

of mail round the neck, the breast plate fitted close to the form of the body, there was usually a lance rest on it, and the shoulder piece on the right side was cut away to allow of the passage of the lance, for the shoulder pieces had now greatly developed in size, and were additionally strengthened by reinforcing pieces. The elbow pieces usually attached to the dress below by aiglettes or points tied outside had also become very large as had also the wings of the knee pieces. In fact all the joints are well protected by the development of the pieces of armour near them. The skirt was shorter than before, and to it hung four tassets—two large ones in front and two rather smaller ones at the sides.

The thigh pieces had a plate hinged to their outer edges so as more completely to encase the thighs, and the sollerets became very pointed, those ridiculously long points called poulaines being often further attached to them when the knight was on horseback. It is not unusual for the armour of this period to be beautifully ribbed, sometimes spirally, sometimes fanwise, and the many existing examples of armour of the second half of the fifteenth century, show it to have been marvellously flexible and light, and made of a splendid quality of steel, which allowed it to combine that lightness with great strength. Such it remained to the end of the fifteenth century, when a complete change in fashion took place,¹ and indeed from this date onwards, the history of armour is so well known or may be so completely studied from existing examples, that we need not enter on it here.

I have briefly drawn attention to those facts which may be learned from our English effigies, and in no county, I imagine, can they be better learned than in Derbyshire.

It must be a matter of lasting regret that Charles Stothard did not come into Derbyshire and portray its beautiful effigies in his work, which may be said to be a continued source of wonder to the student of these remains by its almost faultless accuracy when compared with any similar work of its date, and which will remain

¹ Exemplified by a complete suit of fluted armour of the early years of Henry the eighth's reign which the author

exhibited in the temporary museum at the Derby meeting.

a pattern and a standard of what such works should be. If what I have said about these English effigies should prove an incentive to any able draughtsman to render the beautiful ones remaining in Derbyshire useful to all archaeologists and to preserve them for posterity by accurate delineation, I shall feel that I have not spoken in vain, and that he who ever he may be will deserve the gratitude of all future students of the military history of this country in the same measure that we owe it to Charles Stothard.

To place what I have said in a practical form, I should be much tempted for the sake of convenience and ease of memory, to give to each of the five dominating types shown in the armour on English military effigies and brasses anterior to the year 1500, a name connecting it with an important military event in English history.

The first two types might be called after two Crusades with which they are associated, or after the English kings who took part in them, and as we probably owe much of the fashion prevailing in the chain mail period to the contact of Europeans and Saracens during the Crusades, the names would not be inappropriate. The three last types I would name after well-known conflicts in English military annals.

In a complete history of English armour from the time of the Conquest, there would be a first or Conqueror's type followed by a period of transition brought about by the first Crusade.

I will venture, therefore, subject to more mature consideration respecting the exact date at which each type begins and leaves off, to divide the armour shown on effigies and brasses anterior to the year 1500, into the following types and periods of transition, illustrating them by the plates in Stothard's "Monumental Effigies," (edition of 1876),¹ Boutell's "Monumental Brasses and Slabs" (1847), and such effigies in Derbyshire as I have myself studied.

¹ These were displayed on a board in the order given when the paper was read.

FIRST TYPE, 1190 (?) to 1225. (*Type of the Third Crusade, or Cœur-de-Lion type*).

Illustrated by the effigies in the Temple Church. (Stothard plates 10 and 15).

TRANSITION, 1225 to 1250.

Illustrated by the effigy of William Longespée, (S. 17, 18), and the effigy in Gloucester Cathedral called Robert Duke of Normandy, (S. 22, 23).

SECOND TYPE, 1250 to 1300. (*Type of the Fourth Crusade, or Edward I. type*).

Illustrated by the effigies in Goberton church, (S. 37.); Hitchendon church, (S. 39.); of Robert de Vere, + 1221, but which seems to date from circa 1275, (S. 36.); William de Valence (S. 44, 45.); Edmund Crouchback, (S. 42, 43.) (and in Derbyshire, by the fine effigy in Norbury church attributed to Sir Henry Fitzherbert, and two effigies in Newton Solney church, one of which is in handed mail.

The earliest of our series of brasses also belong to this period, beginning with that of Sir John d'Aubernoun (Boutell page 27). Sir Roger de Trumpington (B. 30.), and Sir Robert de Bures (B. frontispiece).

TRANSITION, 1300 to 1335 or 1340.

This is a period of much experiment and change. Scarcely two of the monuments which illustrate it are alike, and this great variety may be instructively compared with the uniformity of effigies and brasses during the long duration of the next dominant type. This transitional period is illustrated by the effigies of Robert du Bois (S. 57.), Aymer de Valence (S. 48, 49.), a Blanchfront (S. 71, 72.), John of Eltham (S. 55, 56), an effigy in Ash church (S. 61, 62). Sir Oliver Ingham, + 1343, but whose armour seems of earlier date (S. 66, 67), and by the brasses of Sir Robert de Septuans (B. 35), a Bacon (S. 51, and B. 36), a Fitzralph (B. 37), Sir John de Creke (B. 39), Sir John d'Aubernoun the younger (S. 60 and B. 41), and a brass at Sheppey (S. 54).

THIRD TYPE, 1335 or 1340 to 1400. (*Crecy type*.¹)

In the effigy of Sir Roger de Kerdeston, + 1337 (S. 63, 64), this type, which lasted longer than any other, is already developed, and it is illustrated by the effigies of Sir Humphrey Littlebury (S. 75, 76), Edward the Black Prince (S. 85, 86), Sir Thomas Cawne, a most admirable example (S. 77), Sir Roger du Bois (S. 58), Sir Hugh Calvely (S. 98, 99), Sir Guy Brian (S. 97, 98), and in Derbyshire by two most admirable effigies in Longford church, by that of Edward Cokayne at Ashbourne, by one at Newton Solney, and by the exquisitely wrought half length figure of Sir Godfrey Foljambe at Bakewell; whilst the brasses of this period are too numerous to mention.

¹ If I find this date too early, I would call this the Poitiers type, but I leave this for further study.

TRANSITION 1400 to 1415.

The effigy of Michael de la Pole (S. 108), and in Derbyshire the fine effigy of Sir Thomas Wendesley at Bakewell, illustrate this period. I shall no longer refer to the brasses as they are too numerous.

FOURTH TYPE, 1415 to 1435. (*Agincourt type*).

Admirable examples are seen in the effigies of Sir Edmund de Thorpe (S. 112), Ralph Neville (S. 89, 90), and Phelipp Lord Bardolf (S. 110, 111), and in Derbyshire, this type is illustrated by a beautiful effigy in Longford church, by that of Sir Thurstan de Bower at Tideswell, and by that of Sir John Cokayne at Ashbourne.

TRANSITION, 1435 to 1445.

The effigy of John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel (S. 119, 120), and in Derbyshire an effigy at Kedleston attributed to John Curzon, + 1406, but the armour of which seems rather to belong to 1435-45, illustrate the changes that were taking place.

FIFTH TYPE, 1445 to 1480, or perhaps 1500. (*War of the Roses type*).

The effigy of Robert Lord Hungerford (S. 129, 130) is a very fine and complete example of this type; whilst in Derbyshire two most admirable ones exist at Norbury, in the effigies of Sir Nicholas and Sir Ralph Fitzherbert. A Curzon effigy at Kedleston, and those of Thomas Cokayne at Youlgreave, and John Bradbourne at Ashbourne, belong to this type which is further illustrated by numerous brasses.

The wonderfully wrought effigy in gilt brass of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, cast by William Austin, citizen and founder of London about 1452, belongs to the period of the Roses type, but I have an almost complete conviction and proof that the original suit of armour which William Austin reproduced with such marvellous fidelity was of North-Italian and most probably of Milanese manufacture, so I do not include it in the list of those monuments which illustrate the development of English armour.

After the Cœur-de-Lion and Edward I. types, where chain mail forms the universal form of defence, we have a most interesting transitional period, when experiments are tried with plates on various joints, soon extending themselves to the limbs, whilst the Crecy, Agincourt, and Roses types show the development and gradual perfection of the process of covering the whole of the human body with a flexible covering of steel plates.

This is a much more complex and difficult problem than is usually supposed.

To combine great strength of resistance in the armour, with absolute freedom in all the varied motions of our limbs, to form all these moving plates so that in whatsoever position the limb was, the covering should still be complete and impenetrable, was a task needing great inventive faculties, but it was achieved with a rare success and completeness by the skilled armourer of the second half of the fifteenth century, and I do not think that it would be possible at the present day, with all our mechanical appliances, to obtain a more perfect result, taking in view exactly what was then needed.

Strange to say, although in the first half of the sixteenth century the decoration and artistic beauty of armour reached their highest perfection, still, from a mechanical and scientific point of view, the best armour anterior to the year 1500 is always finer than that which follows it, and the decline in its practical usefulness goes on rapidly all through the sixteenth century, although often masked by the splendour of artistic decoration lavished on the finer examples now remaining to us.

TREASURE TROVE.¹

By T. H. BAYLIS, Q.C., M.A.

The subject of Treasure Trove is based on ancient law, or custom, and thus properly belongs to the antiquarian branch of archaeology. I may, therefore, be permitted to offer a few remarks which may afford some useful information; for how soon may not any one of us find hidden or other treasure and be at a loss to know what to do with it and what is the responsibility!

This was illustrated last night, when a valuable diamond bracelet was found by the Treasurer of our Institute on the floor of one of the rooms of this Town Hall, which had been dropped by one of the guests, during the hospitable entertainment of the Mayor and Mayoress who kindly took charge of it. Fortunately the owner was discovered the same night, no doubt to her great and unexpected joy, as it was found without lighting a candle or sweeping the floor, or seeking diligently for it.

That "Finding is keeping," we have been accustomed to hear and to say from our earliest childhood, and it is true, to a certain extent only, like many other maxims.

Treasure Trove is an exception to this saying. It becomes necessary, therefore, to define Treasure trove, and who has a right to it.

It is easy to infer that the word "trove" is derived from the French word "trouvé." But we must state what kind of treasure is meant by the words "Treasure trove," and where must it be found, and how about the owner, and how it differs from other findings.

¹ Read in the Antiquarian Section, at the Chester Meeting, August 13th, 1886.

- 1st. This word "Treasure," in connection with Treasure Trove, is confined to *gold or silver* money, coins, plate, or bullion, *not* copper, lead, bronze, or other metals, or things.
- 2nd. It must be found *hidden* in the earth, or in walls, beams, chimnies, or other secret places above the earth but affixed to the soil. If found *on* the earth, or *in* the sea, or *not hidden*, it is not Treasure Trove.
- 3rd. When the owner thereof, or his representatives, cannot be ascertained.
- 4th. *Then* and then only it belongs to the Crown or the grantees of the Crown.

The earliest mention of Treasure Trove of which I am aware, is that in the third chapter of Job, v. 21, where, speaking of death, Job says: "Which long for death but it cometh not, and dig for it more than for hid treasures."

Josephus says, that Solomon *laid up* vast treasures in the tomb of his Father David, which remained untouched till the time of Hyrcanus, who, on an occasion of public emergency, opened one of the cells and took out 3000 talents of silver. Much wealth was afterwards extracted from another cell by Herod (Antiq. L. vii, c. 15 s. 3). He says, *laid up* not "hidden." It was not Treasure Trove, as it was not hidden, but *deposited* simply.

If gold or silver be found, which has been deposited,—not hidden—in a tomb, coffin or other place; or when gold or silver coins have been deposited openly, and with no secrecy, as in the foundation stone of a building to mark its date, when found it would *not* be "Treasure Trove."

In time of war, or common or special intestine danger or insecurity, it has been the practice for persons to hide valuables which are not portable, hoping to survive and, when all danger is past, to recover their hidden treasure—but alas! how many have not survived or have not returned, leaving the hiding place a secret. From these causes operating for

thousands of years, it may easily be understood that vast treasures still remain hidden.

In very ancient times "Treasure Trove" belonged to the owner of the soil. This may be inferred from the passage in Job; as well as from the parable, wherein the Kingdom of Heaven is likened unto *a treasure, hid in a field*, the which, when a man hath found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth, and selleth all that he hath, and *buyeth* that field. This he would not have done, if the Lord, or King, would have been entitled to take it from him. We learn also in the Talmud, that it was the rule with the Jewish, as with most other nations, for found treasure to be the property of the owner of the land in which it was discovered.

Most of us have read the fable of the farmer, and his sons, when, on his death bed, he told them to dig deep a certain field for hidden treasure; this they would not have done, unless they would have been entitled to it when found.

That the finder was entitled was also the rule of the Civil Law. But, afterwards, probably by usurpation, or vis major, the King claimed and took Treasure Trove, and it became a part of the King's prerogative and revenue, and according to Grotius he was entitled to this hidden treasure by the *jus commune gentium*, for *it is observed* (he adds) not only in England, but in Germany, France, Spain, and Denmark. When the King became entitled he might dig in the land of a subject for Treasure Trove, for he had the property therein when found.

That the Crown of England became entitled to Treasure Trove for very many centuries past is evident from the Statute of 4th Edward I (1275-6) which directs the Coroner to hold an Inquest, to enquire among other things where Treasure is said to be found.

"A Coroner ought also to enquire of treasure that is found, who were the finders, and likewise who is suspected thereof, and that they be well perceived, when one liveth riotously, hunting taverns, and hath not do so of long time, hereupon, he may be attached for this suspicion by 4, 5, or 6 or more pledges, if he

can be found; and how many soever be found culpable by inquisition in manner aforesaid, they shall be taken and delivered to the sheriff, and shall be committed to the Gaol."

There have been frequent prosecutions for this offence. In January 1863 some rings, and other pieces of gold, were ploughed up in a field at Mountfield, Sussex. The ploughman sold them for 5s. 6d., *i.e.* at 6d. per pound for old brass. The purchaser knew their value, and the circumstances under which they were found and sold them for £529 13s. 7d. He was indicted at the Assizes and found guilty for unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly concealing the Treasure Trove. *Reg. v. Thomas and Willett*, 33 L. L., 22 M. C.

So in 1867, (an Irish case) a man was indicted for having secreted in a palliasse Treasure Trove, *viz.* : Coins of Queen Elizabeth, King Charles, and the Commonwealth, and sold them for 4s. 10d. per ounce for old silver. *Queen v. Poole*, 2 Irish R., C.L. 36.

A most remarkable instance of Treasure Trove occurred at Aberdeen, in May last, in excavating in Ross Court, Nipper Kirk Gate (one of the oldest parts of the City) where from 12,000 to 14,000 old coins were found in a bronze urn, filled to the brim, of various dates and countries; English coins of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II predominated, but there were also Scotch coins of the reigns of David and Alexander, French coins and Ecclesiastical moneys - varying from the size of a modern 3d. piece to a shilling. They were hidden probably about the time of the Battle of Barra, fought near Inverary, between the forces of Edward of England and Robert the Bruce.

The owner of the ground in which the find was made, refused to give them up, but the Queen's Remembrancer instructed by the Procurator Fiscal of the City to claim them, on behalf of the Crown, forced him to do so. The report will be found in the *Times* of the 3rd. June, and *Illustrated News* of the 12th June last, and other Newspapers. Very recently also, the Treasury, claimed and added to the National collections several old English gold coins of various dates which were

found in cutting up old beams in a farm house in a cavity carefully prepared for their reception.

As we are here at Chester, I may mention, in order to show that Treasure Trove is restricted to gold and silver, the recent discovery of Roman remains exhibited in the Chester Museum, we saw yesterday. In June last in excavating for the Chester Gasworks at a depth of 23 feet below the surface, a pig of Roman lead was discovered in a state of excellent preservation. The inscription it bears along the upper surface is as follows: "Imp. Vesp. Avg V. T. Imp. III," while on the side is inscribed "De Ceangis." Its weight is 199 lbs.

The lead was a tribute from the tribe in North Wales, known as the Ceangi, and was cast during the fifth consulate of the Emperor Vespasian, and the third consulate of Titus—that is, in A.D. 74. Many bones of men and animals, fragments of Roman tiles and pottery, and Roman coins of the time of Vespasian and Titus, in good preservation, were found near—(see the Times June 12th, 1886.) There is no question that this, being *Lead*, was not Treasure Trove, and the Crown had no right to it.

Another recent discovery which was not Treasure Trove, viz., that of an ancient oak boat, supposed to be at least 2000 years old, embedded in alluvial soil of the River Ancholme at Brigg, North Lincolnshire, at a depth of 4 feet at one end and 6 feet at the other, may, on account of its unusual antiquarian interest be alluded to here.

It was discovered by the Brigg Gas Company in making excavations. The land had been leased to them in 1885, for 99 years, with powers to excavate the soil to the depth of 15 feet for the purposes of the foundations of a Gasometer, and to remove the soil when excavated.

It was held by Mr. Justice Chitty, that the boat belonged to the owners of the soil; on the well-known rule of law, that what is fixed to the soil, belongs to the soil; even by the operation of natural causes (*Elwes v. The Brigg Gas Company*, 2 L. Times Rep. 782.)

But "finding is keeping" is true, in many cases, *e.g.*, a chimney sweep having found a jewel, took it to the shop of a jeweller, who kept it; and it was held that the sweep was entitled to it as against the jeweller, and all the world, except the true owner. (*Armory v. Delamire*, 1 Strange, 501 Smith L. cases, vol. i, p. 374.)

So when a customer found in a shop a bundle of bank notes, accidentally dropped by a stranger, he was held to be entitled to them (*Bridger v. Hawkesworth*, 21 L. J., 2 B. 75.)

So our Treasurer, would have been entitled to keep the diamond bracelet found by him on the floor, if the owner had not and could not be found.

But "finding is keeping" is not the case, when the owner of lost property is known, or can reasonably be ascertained by the finder. If the finder wilfully and knowingly appropriate the lost property, he may be indicted for stealing it—the secrecy, with which he did it, would be strong evidence of guilt.

The oft cited case is that (*of Merry v. Green*, 7 M. and W. 672) in which it was held that the purchaser of a bureau at a sale, having found therein bank notes and money, in a secret drawer, and appropriated it, would be guilty of a felonious taking, if he had express notice that the bureau only, or if he had no reason to believe that more than the bureau was sold; but if he had reasonable ground for believing that he bought the bureau with its contents, he had a colourable right, and it was no larceny.

In connection with Treasure Trove, I must not omit to allude briefly to the Divining Rod, by the aid of which in certain hands, with certain fluids, it was pretended (as a magnet will attract iron) that hidden treasure might be found; and no doubt in some instances the Rod was made to point to treasure hidden for the purpose, thus practising on the credulity of weak minds.

A remarkable instance of the Divining Rod having been used, occurred at St. Denis, for the purpose of discovering the Cathedral funds said to have been secreted in 1793. The operator having taken care previously to get ten credulous shop-keepers to advance

100 f. each, with the promise of a share of the spoil. The account will be found in the *Times* of 25th September, 1882.¹

Counterfeit coins have been frequently sold as "Treasure Trove," which required the skill and experience of the numismatic, to detect as modern Birmingham or other ware.

In consequence of the right of the Crown to Treasure Trove, it has very frequently happened, that most valuable finds have not reached their hands, but have found their way into the crucible, or been sold for their value. It is now the practice of the Crown to pay to the finder of Treasure Trove the full bullion value thereof, in pursuance of an order Dated the 10th July, 1871. This does not hold out a sufficient inducement to the finder to deliver it up. He often retains or disposes of it for his own profit (although illegally); for the bullion value may be small, especially if silver, but of very great value as a scarce coin.

It is hoped that the Crown will reward the finder and owner of the soil by a per centage based on the value of the Treasure Trove, and that if rare and curious objects of Treasure Trove are handed by Government to the British Museum, the transfer will be made at a price commensurate with what has been given for them.

Although therefore, according to the old saying "finding is keeping," it is true to a certain extent only, like many other maxims; for it is not so with Treasure Trove, where the thing found appertains to the soil, as in the case of the oak ship or pig of lead, or where the true owner is, or reasonably can and ought to be found.

Since reading the above paper, the following tentative order has been issued by the Treasury. It embodies so important a relaxation, that it should be inserted here.

¹ In Brand's *Pop. Antiq.* 623, and *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series VI. 325, will be

found a more detailed account of the Divining Rod.

“ WHITEHALL,

27th August, 1886.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State to acquaint you that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, being desirous to render as effective as possible the assistance which is given to the efforts of Antiquarian Societies for the preservation of objects of general interest, by the assertion of the claim of the Crown to coins and antiquities coming under the description of Treasure Trove, have reconsidered that practice, as intimated to you in the Circular of 15th July, 1871, of paying to the finder of articles of Treasure Trove, on behalf of the Crown, the full bullion value of such articles.

Their Lordships with a view to encourage the finders of coin and ornaments to notify the fact of their discovery to the Government, are ready to modify their existing regulations; and to return to the finders, who fully and promptly report their discoveries and hand over the same to the Authorities, the coins and objects which are not actually required for national institutions, and the sums received from such institutions as the *antiquarian* value of such of the coins or objects as are retained and sold to them, subject to the deduction of a percentage at the rate, either

1. Of 20 per cent. from the antiquarian value of the coins or objects retained; or,
2. A sum of 10 per cent. from the value of all the objects discovered, as may hereafter be determined.

This arrangement is tentative in character; and the complete right of the Crown, as established by Law, to all articles of Treasure Trove is preserved.

I am to request that you will have the goodness to make this alteration in practice generally known, more especially to Pawnbrokers and other similar dealers within your jurisdiction.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

GODFREY LUSHINGTON.

To the Chairman of Quarter Sessions.

This order does not interfere with the relative rights of finders and owners of the soil. They remain as heretofore, and can only be regulated by an Act of Parliament, similar to “The Indian Treasure Trove Act, 1878,” which enacts that “Treasure” in that Act means anything of any value, hidden *in the soil* or in any way *affixed thereto*.

That the finder must (under severe Penalties), give notice in writing to the Government “Collector,” whenever any treasure exceeding in amount or value ten rupees, is found of the nature and amount or, approximate value of such treasure, of the place where it was found, and of the date of the finding; and the Col-

lector is to give notification requiring claimants to appear, and this enables him to settle disputes between the finder and claimant, and to divide the treasure between them, or to declare Treasure Trove to be ownerless and deliver such treasure to the finder.

By section 16, power is given to acquire the treasure, on behalf of the government, on payment to the persons entitled, a sum equal to the value of the materials of such treasure or portion thereof, together with one fifth of such value. I am indebted to Mr. Justice Pinhey, late judge of the High Court of Bombay, and a member of this Institute, for referring me to the Indian Act.

NOTES ON THE ROMAN AND EARLY ENGLISH LAW OF TREASURE TROVE.

By Professor E. C. CLARK, LL.D.

The English Common Law of Treasure Trove appears, like many other parts of our common law, to be derived partly from a Teutonic and partly from a Roman source. I have been obliged to consider the latter somewhat at length, as it has been incorrectly stated by several of our English authorities.

I can find no authentic record of the law of treasure under the Republic. In the tyrannical reign of Nero, the story of Caesellius Bassus (Tacitus Ann. xvi, 1-3) seems to indicate, but not very clearly, an imperial right to finds of ancient treasure. It is recorded (Zonaras xi, c. 20, page 583) to the credit of Nerva, that he declined to exercise such a right in the case of Atticus, the father of Herodes Atticus.

The first legislation on the subject, known to us, is a constitution of Hadrian, which, "on grounds of natural equity," gives to the finder of treasure, in his own ground, the entire ownership. If the finder be a stranger, and the discovery be accidental, half goes to the finder and half to the owner of the ground, whether the latter be a private person, a municipality, or the *fiscus*. (Just. Inst. 2. 1. 39. see too Spartianus, Hadrianus c. 18).

This law, which is to be placed between 117 and 138 A.D., appears to claim a right for the Emperor, but to waive that right in favour of the owner of the soil and the accidental finder. It is clear that the former was to be *solely* entitled, if the finding was the result of deliberate search.

A constitution of the Divi Fratres (L. Verus and M. Aurelius), therefore between 161 and 169 A.D., gives the half of treasure found in all public or consecrated places to the *fiscus*. In all other cases, it releases the finder and the owner of the ground from any obligation to inform the public authorities; imposing, however, a fine of double the total amount, where a half is due to the *fiscus* and has been embezzled (Dig. 49. 14. 3. 10, 11.) This law is quoted by Callistratus, writing between 193 and 198 A.D., and was therefore, doubtless, in force at that time.

The meaning of *Thesaurus* seems to be assumed as known in these enactments; but disputed cases, of course, arose. On one of these, Cervidius Scaevola (A.D. 180-192) tells us that money lost or left behind him by an ascertainable owner is *not Thesaurus* (Dig. 6. 1. 67); and Paulus, Scaevola's pupil, about 220 A.D., defines *Thesaurus* as an ancient deposit of money of which there is no memory; for it only becomes the property of the finder because it does not belong to any one else; so that in the case of an ascertainable depositor it is no *Thesaurus*. (Dig. 41. 1. 31. 1). I have explained the last words of this passage rather with reference to their general effect (which is undoubted) than their literal meaning. I take the *immemorial* character of the deposit, with Savigny (System B. 4, sec. 196 note *a*), to indicate simply that the owner, or his representative, cannot be ascertained in the present time; and I believe that the term *finder* is used generally; in contradistinction to the original owner of the money, and to the *fiscus*; not to the present owner of the land.

A statement in Lampridius' Life of Alex. Severus, who reigned from 222 to 235, A.D., leaves the same doubt as to the exact meaning of *finder* (c. 46): but the view of good authorities has been that this emperor restored or confirmed the law as settled by the Divi Fratres. A second restoration of the same law, as against imperial encroachments, may be gathered, from the fourth Eclogue of the poet Calpurnius, to have taken place under the Emperors Carus and Carinus (A.D. 282-3). Similar alternations of treatment continue down to the time of Theodosius the

Great. Constantine, in the year 315, enacted that all treasure found should be brought into the *fiscus*, under penalty of examination by torture in case of concealment: of treasure so brought in, the finder was to receive one half. On the other hand, two constitutions of Theodosius restore all Treasure Trove, however found, to the owner of the land, if also the finder: if the finder be not the owner, he takes three fourths, the owner one. But any intentional search in another person's land is prohibited (A.D. 380 and 390). These laws form L. x, Tit. 18 of the Code of the second Theodosius, published in 438 A.D.

A constitution of the Emperor Leo, in the year of his death (A.D. 474), restores the law of Hadrian, expressly depriving the finder of his half, when the search is intentionally made in another's ground, (Novellae Leonis, 51). Finally, this law of Leo was included by Justinian in his Codex (L. x, Tit. 15), of which the second issue appeared in A.D. 534.

In several of these later laws the term *mobilia*, occurs, instead of the *pecunia* of Paulus. I think it probable that *Thesaurus* would have been, ultimately, taken to cover *any* moveable articles of value: but I do not give much weight to the word *mobilia* which is, in fact, an alteration from *monilia* in the oldest authority, the Codex Theodosianus.

Coming to the second or Teutonic source of our common law, I find it extremely difficult to say how far the law of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom was independently evolved, and how far it was borrowed, perhaps through intercourse with the Frankish sovereigns, from a Roman original.

Kemble (Saxons in England B. 2, Ch. 2.) represents the Anglo-Saxon Sovereigns as claiming to themselves all Treasure Trove, and supports his view by the charters in which the right to "hoards whether above or within the earth" are occasionally granted away.

A general confirmation of the old law of England, as the law or laws of King Edward (Confessor), may be confidently attributed to William the Conqueror and Henry the First. The so called Laws of William the Conqueror, however, which probably belong to the

reign of Henry the First, contain no mention of Treasure Trove. The “*Leges regis Henrici primi*,” of which the part with which we are concerned was drawn up, by a private hand, either under Stephen or in the early part of Henry the Second’s reign, contain a claim to “*Thesaurus inventus*,” among the rights of the King (Ch. x, Thorpe p. 518). Lastly the “*Leges regis Edwardi Confessoris*”—a compilation dating from the latter part of the reign of Henry the Second, and which has been attributed to Glanville himself—have the following clause: “Treasures out of the earth belong to the King, unless found in a church or burial ground. And, if found there, gold belongs to the King; silver, half to the King and half to the church, where the silver was found, be it rich or poor” (Ch. xiv, Thorpe p. 448).

The treatise on the laws and customs of England which is more certainly attributed to Henry the Second’s Justiciar, Ranulph Glanvill, enumerates, among the offences prosecuted by the Crown, the fraudulent concealment of Treasure Trove (L.I. cap. 2.), which does not appear to have been then limited to any particular metal (*ib.* L. xiv, cap. 2). The Old Scotch *Quoniam Attachiamenta*, probably founded on Glanvill, merely tells us (c. 48) “To the King belong, by direct operation of law, all treasures hidden under the earth and in other places, of which the owners are unknown.”

In the English authorities hitherto quoted there is little or no direct trace of any Roman original for their law of Treasure Trove. Their claim for the crown would seem rather to be derived from some such *feudal* doctrine as that of ultimate ownership—nay the only true ownership—of land, being vested in the Lord Paramount. Such a doctrine is not properly of Italian growth. In the Lombard feudal law of the Twelfth century, the rules as to Treasure Trove are the Roman ones. (*Liber Feudorum*, 2, 56). The famous glossator Azo, it is true, when speaking of the *dominus soli* as entitled to Treasure, defines him, in one passage, as the *proprietary*, not the *feudatory*. (*Summa in decimum librum Codicis*, fol. 955). In the main, however, he retains the rules of Roman law, as settled by Justinian’s Codex. In this same author’s *Summa* on the second book of the

Institutes, he adopts Paulus' definition of *Thesaurus*, and adds that, having become a *res nullius*, it is, according to rule, the property of the occupant, *i.e.*, the finder, he being bound, however, in equity to give half to the *dominus soli* (fol. 1086).

I have mentioned this Italian author in particular, because his *Summa Institutionum* is considered by Güterbock to have been the original of considerable portions of our own Bracton. Azo died in 1230; Bracton wrote his *De "Legibus &c."* in 1262-8. On this particular subject however, although Bracton borrows his definition of Treasure Trove and his "natural law of occupancy" from the Roman jurists through the Italian, he represents the right of the finder to have been transferred, by *jus gentium*, to the King, and entirely ignores that of the owner of the soil. (Bracton L. 3, sec. 4, fol. 120). Fleta repeats this curious argument, as well as the definition of Bracton (L. 1. cap. 43. sec. 2): and Britton (L. 1. cap. 18, p. 66 of Nichols) represents the Sovereign as declaring his pleasure that "treasure hidden in the earth, and found, be ours." These two last-named works were most probably written in the reign of Edward the First, whose statutory provisions on this subject are referred to by Mr. Baylis.

Coke (3 Instt. c. 58) limits Treasure Trove to *gold* or *silver*, apparently on the authority of the *Customier de Normandie* ch. 18. This may be a misapplication of a passage about gold and silver on a *wreck*, in the previous chapter. I find no other such limitation in the *Customier*, except what might perhaps have been inferred from an absurd derivation of *Thesaurus* as *thesis auri*. Elsewhere (2. Instt. fol. 577) Coke says that the money of England is the treasure of England, and *therefore* nothing is said to be Treasure Trove but gold and silver. On such foundations does our Common law occasionally rest!

Blackstone (1, ch. 8. sec. 13 pp. 295-6) states the English Common law as appearing in Coke, Britton and Bracton, correctly; he follows the last named author's expressions and definitions derived from the Roman law, as if they accurately stated that law it-

self, which they do not; and he employs the argument about a change effected by *jus gentium*, which however, he refers to Grotius ("De Jure &c." L. 2, cap. 8, sec. 7). According to this last authority, the laws of the Roman Emperors varied considerably on the subject of Treasure Trove: but the *peoples of Germany* assigned treasures, with other ownerless property, to the prince, and that principle is now common law and a kind of *jus gentium*. A considerable amount of truth is contained in Grotius' account, as is generally the case with that painstaking and conscientious writer.

The main principle recognised by the Roman law was that treasure found belonged to the owner of the land, subject to a right of the innocent finder to retain one half. As the only legislation on the subject was in imperial times, the sanction of these rights was represented as an act of grace on the part of the Emperor. Such representation, and the actual encroachments occasionally made by more tyrannical Emperors, may possibly have furnished a model to the sovereigns of modern Europe. But I am more inclined to believe that the sovereign's exclusive claim originated, as Grotius intimates, among the Teutonic nations, and was merely backed by arguments and phrases derived from the language of Roman law rather than from its spirit.

As a matter of history, then, I am disposed to trace our law to the gradually increasing power of the Teutonic chieftain, as he developed into the feudal overlord. Our Treasure Trove must be found in the earth, or in buildings &c., which are technically "parts of the freehold." It has little, if anything, to do with *bona vacantia* or title by occupancy. We may, however, refer to the Roman law, as an indication of justice or reasonableness. For such indication, I should set little store by arguments merely based upon so-called "natural law" or the "law of nations." The latter was appealed to by the Romans on behalf of slavery; in the mouth of Grotius, it simply means, on this subject the practice of certain northern nations. "Natural" law, or rights, often indicates, with the Romans, what their jurists thought reasonable and fair: but I take the legislation of a prince like Hadrian, so persistently renewed, to be a better

guarantee for good sense and general utility, than reference to either the law of nature or the law of nations. I think the owner of the soil would be now considered, by most people, the person properly entitled to valuable or interesting articles found therein, subject to a reasonable reward for the finders—often persons in his own employ. For retaining the claim of the sovereign at the present day I can see no reason, but the questionable ground of expediency, on public archaeological considerations. I should rather say that such a claim is against public feeling, whence its evasion raises no moral scruple and is therefore systematically practised. It is useless to the state, unless we return to the barbarism of melting down ancient money in order to coin new. It only leads to the concealment and distraction of valuable archaeological finds. On the other hand a statutory regulation of the relations between the finder and the owner of the ground would save the rights of the latter and check much small dishonesty on the part of the former. If it were authoritatively declared that the finder should receive something approaching to the bullion value of a hoard, from the owner of the soil, he would get as much as he now gets from an ordinary country dealer, without the present underhand transaction and robbery, and without the delay of application to the police or any other authority. Objects of antiquarian interest not coming under the head of Treasure Trove, if parts of the freehold, belong, I apprehend, to the owner of the soil. If otherwise, they should be legally made his property, subject to a reward for the finder, the estimation of which would, I admit, require a little consideration, but would not involve any insuperable difficulty.

Another slight complication, of a different character, would still arise, as to the interpretation of the term, "owner of the soil," in the case of copyhold. But as this inconvenient tenure is probably doomed, the difficulty in question might not be of long duration.

I am here, I know, arguing against the opinion of leading antiquaries, with whom the undoubted desirability of forming great national collections of archaeological objects, seems to outweigh every other consideration. If the same ignorance and carelessness

were to be anticipated, from owners of the soil, which has been evinced in past times, my view, too, would be that of extending and enforcing the claims of the Crown. But, surely, every archæological excursion shews us, in place of that ignorance and carelessness, a daily increasing and more intelligent interest. The owner is, with few exceptions, proud of his collection, liberal and hospitable in exhibiting it. It is at least questionable whether the retention of archæological objects *in situ* has not a greater instructive and educational value than their absorption into some vast central collection. And I doubt whether that feeling of injustice, which prompts evasion of the Crown claims, will be any more alleviated by the fact that a pot of coins, which most landowners would naturally consider to be theirs, has gone into the national Museum, than by the fact that it has gone into the national melting-pot.

EPITOME OF THE CHARTERS OF THE CITY OF CHESTER, DATING FROM 1120 TO 1836.¹

By C. BROWN.

Before giving a short epitome of the Charters at present in the possession of the Corporation of Chester, I may be permitted to refer to the lamentable fire which destroyed the Old Town Hall on the evening of the 30th of December, 1861. Fortunately the greater part of the muniments were saved, together with the ancient Corporate Plate, and the Portraits of former Mayors, and Benefactors of the City.

The Records remained for several years in a state of disorder in the old City Gaol, but, in the year 1878 a sub-committee of the Council, of which I was a member, was appointed to endeavour to bring them into order. We fortunately obtained the services of Mr. John Cordy Jeaffreson, of the Public Record Office, who succeeded in doing so, and afterwards tabulated and arranged them in the Muniment room of this Town Hall, where they are opened to inspection under certain restrictions.

Mr. Jeaffreson in his report states, "few cities possess Archives so numerous and valuable as those which, after suffering severely from Fire, Damp, and other causes, have lately been arranged and deposited in the Muniment room of the Corporation. They consist of Charters, Municipal Books, Letters, Civic Grants, and Leases, and upwards of fourteen hundred sets of filed documents; the entire collection may be roughly computed to have in its several divisions more than 200,000 separate writings."

CHARTERS AT PRESENT IN THE MUNIMENT ROOM OF THE CORPORATION IN THE TOWN HALL, CHESTER, JULY, 1886.

1. Charter of Henry II (1160) to the Burgesses of Chester to buy and sell at Durham, as they were wont to do in the time of Henry I.
2. Charter of Ranulph Earl of Chester to his men of Chester and their heirs (Randle the 1st was surnamed de Meschines and was Earl from 1120 to 1128).
3. Charter of Ranulph Earl of Chester to his citizens of Chester.
4. Charter of Ranulph Earl of Chester (Randle Blundeville 4th Earl) to the Citizens of Chester.
5. Reign of Richard I (1192) Charter of John Earl of Moreton (afterwards King John) to the citizens of Chester, for their protection, and freedom of trade with Ireland.
6. The same reign—a second Charter of John Earl of Moreton to the citizens of Chester with the same object.

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Chester Meeting, August 13, 1886.

7. 3rd May 3 of John (1202) Charter of the King to the citizens of Chester, in which he styles himself King of England, and Lord of Ireland, and "requests all Justices, Constables, Bailiffs and faithful people in the whole of Ireland, to grant the citizens of Chester liberty to trade in Ireland as in the time of our Father King Henry 1."
8. Reign of Henry III (1216 to 1272) Charter of John le Scot Earl of Chester and Huntingdon to the citizens of Chester. After the death of this Earl the title of Earl of Chester was conferred by Henry III on his infant Son, afterwards King Edward I, and has since been borne by the eldest Son of the Sovereign in addition to that of Prince of Wales.
9. 8th December 22nd, of Henry III (1238) Charter of Inspeximus and Confirmation by that Monarch to the citizens of Chester confirming the charter.
10. Same date—another charter to the citizens confirming the charter of Ranulph Earl of Chester.
11. 23rd of October, 23rd Henry III, another Charter by the King to the citizens confirming a previous Charter of Ranulph Earl of Chester.
12. 12th June, 28 Edward I. Charter of Edward I to the Citizens confirming the Charters granted by Henry III in the 22nd year of his reign. There is a duplicate of this Charter with the great seal attached to it.
13. 16th Edward II (1323) Indenture of the agreement between the Mayor and Citizens of Chester and John Clypeston for the building of the New Tower, now called the Water Tower, which still exists in a perfect state.
14. 1st December, 1st Edward III (1327) Letters Patent by Edward III of Inspeximus and Confirmation of the charter of the franchises and privileges of the Citizens of Chester dated by his Grandfather Edward I at York in the 28th of his reign (1300).
15. 25th of Edward III (1352) Writ by Edward Prince of Wales (the Black Prince) to the Mayor and Citizens of Chester on his grant for life to Richard Earl of Arundel of the fee-farm of one hundred livres yearly, coming from the said City to the said Prince.
16. 9th March, 28th Edward III (1355) Charter by Edward Prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, of Inspeximus and confirmation of the Charter of his Father Edward III in the 1st year of his reign, confirmed at Worcester the Charter touching the liberties of the citizens of Chester dated by Edward I at York 12th June in the 28th year of his reign. This Charter is dated by the Black Prince at Chester and defines the liberties of the city of Chester.
17. Edward III Claims of Robert of Eton in respect to the Segeantry of the River Dee.
18. 10th April, 1st Richard II (1377) Charter for the remission for ten years to the Citizens of Chester of the yearly payment of £73 10s. 1½d. part of the £103 10s. 1½d. due every year to the King and his heirs, for the yearly fee-farm of £100, due from the same citizens by virtue of a Charter by Edward I.
19. 10th December, 3rd Richard II (1380) Letters Patent touching the

- liberties of the Citizens of Chester, and the boundaries of their city, dated at Chester by the King's Father, Edward the Black Prince 9th March 28th Edward III. Dated at Westminster "per manum nostram."
20. 25th July, 2nd Richard II (1379) Remission of the Murage hitherto paid to the King, and also the King's profits from the passage of the river Dee until the ruined Bridge over the same river shall have been restored.
 21. 31st March, 18th Richard II (1395) Letters Patent of a precept under the seal of the King's Exchequer of Chester addressed to all his Bailiffs, faithful subjects and tenants in the Counties of Chester and Flynt, enjoining them to pay all Murage for the repair of the City's Walls and Pavements. Dated at Chester.
 22. 19th July, 22nd Richard II Letters Patent confirming the Charter of 28th Edward III. This differs from other Charters by having the Seal of the Principality of Chester appended to it, instead of the Great Seal.
 23. 23rd February, 2nd Henry IV (1401) Letters Patent, in the form of a Writ, addressed to the Princes' Bishops, Abbots, and faithful men of his whole County of Chester by the Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester confirming the Charter of the 3rd of Richard II. "Dated per manum nostram apud Kenyngtyn."
 24. 3rd November, 5th Henry IV (1404) Pardon to all and each of the King's lieges of the City of Chester of all treasons &c. committed by them "cum Henrico Percy."
 25. 5th March, 8th Henry IV Grant for five years to the Mayor and citizens of Chester, by Henry Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester of all the Murage profits.
 26. 20th November, 4th Henry VI (1426) Letters Patent by Henry VI confirming previous Charters.
 27. 4th August, 23 Henry VI Letters Patent of release and quit claim for a term of fifty years to the citizens of Chester of the yearly payment of £50, being the half of the annual rent of £100.
 28. 20th November, 35th Henry VI (1457) Letters Patent of pardon and release to John Southeworthe and Henry Kyrn, late Sheriffs of the City of Chester and others, of the payment of the fee farm rent.
 29. 21st March, 1st Henry VII Letters Patent of remission for ever to the Citizens of Chester of £80 of the £100 annual fee farm rent due to the King.
 30. 6th April, 21st Henry VII (1506) The Great Charter of Henry VII to the Citizens of Chester, made out of pure affection &c., granting among other things that henceforth the whole land of the City (the King's Castle within the Walls being excepted) be exempt and separate from the County of Chester, and be henceforth styled the County of the City of Chester, that the citizens may henceforth yearly elect 24 Aldermen, and 40 Common Councilmen, that one of the Aldermen may be elected to the office of Recorder, that the Citizens may yearly elect two Sheriffs, that out of the King's presence the Mayor of Chester may have the Sword borne before him with the point erect, that the Sergeants of the Maces of the Mayor and Sheriffs, adorned with the Royal

- Arms, may be borne in the presence of the King &c. &c. That the Mayor for the time being, and the Alderman who have passed the Chair, be Justices of the Peace, without any other commission.
31. 1th May, 20th Henry VIII (1529) Letters Patent by Arthur Plangagenet Viscount Lisley K.G. Vice Admiral of England to the Mayor and Citizens of Chester confirming the Grants made by Hugh Lupus Earl of Chester, and confirmed by successive Kings, of all Lands and Ports within the liberties of the City of Chester, being exempt from the Lord Admiral's jurisdiction.
 32. 13th July same reign and year. Charter of a grant for ever by the Friars Minors of Chester of the Nave and three Aisles of their Church, to the Merchants and Sailors of Chester, for a place in which to store and repair Sails and other things requisite for their Ships.
 33. 20th February, 30th Henry VIII (1539) Copy of a grant of pardon to William Danyson, David Midelton. and others, Merchants of the City of Chester, for ignorantly shipping certain "Dikers of Leather," in violation of the King's enactment against such exportation of leather.
 34. 4th June, 38th Henry VIII (1547) Letters Patent by the King's Council in Star Chamber ordering the manner of electing a new Mayor in place of William Holcroft who died during his year of office.
 35. 3rd April 1562 Articles and Orders set forth by Mr. John Cowper, Mayor. Seven orders on a skin of parchment, signed "John Cowper, Mayor."
 36. 14th June, 16th Elizabeth (1574) Letters Patent of the Queen confirming the Great Charter of King Henry VII.
 37. 11th October, 20th Elizabeth (1578) Warrant of Edward Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral, for the release from arrest of a certain Ship of the port of London named the Greyhound, now lying under arrest in the port of Chester.
 38. 3rd October, 28th Elizabeth (1586) Bond of John Robinson, Merchant, James Wilkinson, officer of Sir Francis Walsingham, and Robert Thornton, Gentleman, in the sum of £100 to hold the Mayor and citizens, and the Sheriffs, harmless in all suits respecting a seizure of a cargo of corn made on a warrant of the Earl of Derby in execution of orders for restraining the exportation of Corn beyond the Seas.
 39. 30th Elizabeth (1588) Warrant of Charles Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, to Vice Admirals, Sheriffs and others for the execution of a decree of Julius Cesar, Doctor of Laws, and Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, in the suit of John Hendeman and Everard Shrowder against Roger Darwall and others.
 40. 30th May, 1590. Commission by the Archbishop of Canterbury appointing John Darbye, of the City of New Sarum, to be an apparitor of the said Court in Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire.
 41. 4th May, 44th Elizabeth (1602) Indented certificate that Owen Jones, Mercer and citizen of Chester, duly appointed by John Ratcliffe, Mayor, has received from Vincent Skyuner Esqr out of

- the Treasury of the Exchequer "one standard Bushell, Gallon, Quarter, and Pinte of brasse" and has paid the charges for the same.
42. 7th February, 2nd James I (1605) Letters Patent by the King confirming the Great Charter of Henry VII and granting further power.
 43. 25th May, 12th James I (1615) Indented Certificate that James Bingley of His Majesty's Exchequer has given to John Blanchard a Citizen of Chester, duly authorized to receive the same, "one standard brazen Bushell" to be used as a standard Bushell measure, in lieu of a certain other standard Bushell measure delivered out of Queen Elizabeth's Exchequer in the 44th year of her reign, no longer fit for use.
 44. 14th March, 15th James I Grant during pleasure by Charles Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, to Henry Harpur Gentleman of the Mastership of St. Giles's Hospital, Boughton.
 45. 19th September, 8th Charles I (1633) Commission to the Mayor and Sheriffs to collect contributions for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.
 46. 20th December, 9th Charles I another commission from the King for the same purpose.
 47. October 1635 Warrant of the Vice Admiral's Court to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Constables, to cause all Seamen, Fishermen, and others to appear before the Judge of the Admiralty, or his deputy, at the Court to be holden at the house of John Tilston of Eastgate Street on the 9th inst.
 48. 10th January, 17th Charles I (1642) Commission addressed to the Mayor and Recorder of Chester, for the time being, also to Charles Walley, William Gammell and Robert Harvey, Aldermen of Chester, authorising them to administer to all Commanders, Officers and Souldyers, which pass through the City to serve in the wars against the Rebels in Ireland, a certain Statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, and the oath of allegiance contained in an Act of the 3rd of James I.
 49. 23rd June, 1658 Grant by Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, of the patronage and care of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens.
 50. 6th June, 16th Charles II (1676) Letters Patent of Charles II to the Citizens of Chester for the renewal and confirmation of the liberties and powers granted by a Charter of the 21st of Henry VII.
 51. 26th November 1670 Indented Certificate that Thomas Willcock Mayor of the City of West Chester has received from the Exchequer several measures of brass for the use of the people of Chester.
 52. 4th February, 37th Charles II (1697) Letters Patent of the King for the re-constitution of the Corporation of the County of the City of Chester, containing the following clause, no table for the names of the excepted persons.
 53. 16th September, 4th James II (1689) Letters Patent of the King for the re-incorporation of the Citizens and City of Chester, as a Corporation, to be henceforth styled the County of the City of

Chester, with a Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common Councillors, and divers subordinate officers, and appointing Thomas Stanley, Bart. to be the first Mayor, and Richard Levinge the first Recorder—the names of the first Aldermen and Councillors are also stated. It might be stated here that the first Mayor of Chester (Sir Walter Lynnett) was appointed in 1257, and that from that date up to the present time there is an unbroken list of the names of the Mayors, painted on panels in the Town Hall.

54. 26th October same year Letters Patent of Pardon from King James II to the Mayor and Citizens in respect of an Indictment against them in Hilary term of the 36th of Charles II, with the remission of all pains and penalties thereon.
55. 5th September 1st William & Mary (1690) Commission to William Street, Mayor and others, to put in execution an Act lately made granting to their Majesties an aid of twelve pence in the pound for one year for the necessary defence of these realms.
56. 12th February, 8th William III (1697) Commission to Henry Lloyd, Alderman and others to be Commissioners for putting in execution an Act for an "ayd to His Majesty by levying a Land Tax."
57. 5th March 12th William III (1701) Commission of Gaol Delivery for the City of Chester addressed to William Earl of Derby, Chamberlain of the County Palatine of Chester, William Bennett Esquire, Mayor and others.
58. 24th July, 3rd Anne (1605) Commission by Hugh Lord Viscount Cholmondeley, Lord Lieutenant of the County Palatine of Chester to John Hurleston, Esq., to be a Captain of a company of Militia of the said County.
59. 20th October, 17th George II (1705) Grant to John Dutton of Englishcomb to Somerset of the custody of the person of Samuel Catherall late of Oriell College Oxford a lunatic.
60. 7th November, 44th George III (1804) Grant to the Mayor that he may appoint as his deputy any one of the Aldermen who shall have served the office of Mayor.
61. 27th February, 6th William IV (1836) Grant that a separate Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace may be holden in and for the Borough of Chester.

It will be seen that the above Charters cover a period of upwards of seven hundred years.

The foregoing epitome of the Charters of the City of Chester is chiefly compiled from Mr. Jeaffreson's report to the Corporation, to be found in the "Historical Manuscript Reports" at the Town Hall.

ENGLISH MEDIEVAL CHALICES AND PATENS.

By W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, M.A., and T. M. FALLOW, M.A.

(Continued from page 161).

Having described in detail the general characteristics of English Medieval Chalices and Patens, we now proceed to give a full description of every known existing example.

CHALICES.

TYPE A.

1. BERWICK ST. JAMES, WILTS, now in the British Museum, but in constant use till 1879. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $5\frac{7}{8}$; diameter of bowl and foot, $4\frac{7}{8}$.

The bowl is broad and shallow, with quasi-lip; the stem and knot are plain and circular, and in one piece; the foot is also plain and circular, with a broad spread and vertical edge. A rude cross has been scratched on the front.

The gilt portions of this chalice are the lip and interior of the bowl, the knot and stem, and the edge of the foot.

[See Proc. Soc. Antiq. London. 2d. S. VIII. 152.]

2. CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH I. Silver; height, 5; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$; of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

The bowl is broad and shallow, with quasi-lip; stem and knot, plain and circular; foot, also plain and circular.

This chalice was found, with its paten, in the grave of a bishop, in 1825. It is in very bad condition.

Date, late twelfth century.

3. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH I. Silver gilt. Original height doubtful; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{8}$; depth, $1\frac{5}{8}$.

The bowl is broad and spreading; the stem and knot plain and circular; the foot has perished.

Found, with its paten, in the grave of bishop Grostôte (1235-1253) in 1783.

* All measurements are given in inches and fractions of an inch; it has therefore been considered unnecessary to repeat the word "inches" after each dimension.

TYPE B.

4. YORK MINSTER I. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$; of foot, $4\frac{1}{16}$.

The bowl is broad and shallow; stem fluted, with octagonal knot, and wrought in one piece; foot, plain and circular with broad spread.

The parts of this chalice which are gilt are the lip and interior of the bowl, and the knot and stem.

Found with a paten in a grave of an archbishop in the early part of the last century.

Has been repaired, and is occasionally used.

5. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH II. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $4\frac{7}{8}$; diameter of bowl and foot, $4\frac{1}{16}$; depth of bowl, $1\frac{7}{16}$.

The bowl is broad and shallow with quasi-lip, and gilt inside; the stem is circular, with engraved indented pattern and eight-lobed knot, wrought in one piece and gilt; foot, plain and circular.

This chalice was found in 1791, with its paten, in the grave of bishop Richard de Gravesend (1258-1279).

6. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH. Silver gilt.

Height, $3\frac{7}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{5}{8}$; of foot, $3\frac{1}{16}$.

The bowl is broad and shallow; stem circular with eight-lobed knot; foot plain and circular, but almost decayed away.

This chalice was found, with its paten, in 1763, in the grave of bishop Thomas de Bitton (1292-1307). From its small size, it was probably made for an episcopal coffin chalice.

TYPE C.

7. YORK MINSTER II. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $5\frac{3}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{5}{8}$, and of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$; weight, 5 oz. 15 dwt.

The bowl is broad and shallow; stem circular, with eight-lobed knot, wrought on a separate piece; foot circular, with twelve round-ended lobes radiating from the stem over the spread, and overlapping a second series of lobes.

The interior and edge of the bowl, and the stem and knot are gilt.

This chalice and its paten were found in the grave of an archbishop, in the early part of the last century.

It has been repaired and is occasionally used.

8. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH. Silver gilt.

Height, $4\frac{5}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$; of foot, $3\frac{3}{4}$.

The bowl of this chalice is broad and shallow; stem, circular, with eight-lobed ribbed knot, wrought on a separate piece; foot circular, with eight pointed lobes radiating from the stem over the spread, and with an indented pattern on the vertical edge.

This beautiful example was found, together with the paten, in the supposed grave of bishop Nicholas Longespée (1292-1297) in the last century.

9. CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH II. Silver gilt.

Height, 5; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$; of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

The bowl is broad and shallow, with distinct lip; the stem is short and circular with circular knot; the foot is circular, but has the spread ornamented by eight trefoil-ended lobes radiating from the stem and almost overlapping a similar but larger series of lobes.

This chalice was found, with its paten, in the grave of a bishop. Date, *circa* 1290.

TYPE D.

10. YORK MINSTER III. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of bowl and foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$; weight, 6 oz. 1 dwt.

The bowl is plain and conical; stem circular, with well-worked eight-lobed knot; foot plain and circular with vertical edge, and with a crucifix engraved on the spread. (This is the earliest instance of such an ornament).

The parts of this chalice which are gilt are the inside and lip of the bowl, the stem and knot, and the crucifix on the foot.

This chalice and its paten were found in the early part of the last century in the grave of archbishop William de Melton (1317-1340).

It has been repaired, and is occasionally used.

Date, *circa* 1335.

TYPE EA.

11. HAMSTALL RIDWARE, STAFFORDSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $4\frac{1}{4}$; diameter of bowl, 4; and of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

The bowl is conical; the stem and knot are circular and all in one piece, the former ribbed, and with a cusped ornament, the latter "writhen" with acute sections twisted spirally from right to left; plain mullet foot (the earliest existing example), with chamfered edge having a bead-molding on lower part.

The gilt portions of this chalice are the inside and edge of the bowl, and the stem and knot.

Date, *circa* 1350.

TYPE EB.

12. GOATHLAND, YORKSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $5\frac{3}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$; of foot, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$.

The bowl is shallow and conical; the stem is hexagonal and unusually massive, with plain hexagonal knot; mullet foot with blunted points and vertical edge with double band of cross-beading. The spread of the foot commences below the knot, and on its front compartment is engraved the monogram *ihc*.

The gilt portions of this interesting chalice are the inside and rim of the bowl, the knot, and the front compartment and moldings of the foot.

Date, *circa* 1450.

TYPE FA.

13. NETTLECOMBE, SOMERSET. Silver gilt.

Height, $5\frac{1}{16}$; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{1}{16}$; and of foot, $4 \times 3\frac{1}{8}$.

Bowl deep and conical; stem hexagonal with hollow-chamfered moldings at junctions; knot six lobed with small traceried openings above and below between each lobe, and the points terminating in lions' faces; mullet foot with plain spread and hollow-chamfered edge with reed-molding. On the front compartment of the foot is engraved a crucifix (without a cross) amidst leafwork, inserted from behind and once enamelled.

Hall marks: (1) the maker's, (2) the leopard's head crowned, (3) a Lombardic double-cusped capital B, the London date-letter assigned to 1479-80.

This chalice is fully described and illustrated in *Archæologia*, xlii 105.

14. HINDERWELL, YORKSHIRE. Silver parcel-gilt.

Height, $6\frac{1}{8}$; diameter of bowl, 4; of foot, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 4$.

Bowl deep and conical; stem hexagonal, the upper half of less thickness than the lower, with ogee moldings at junctions; knot of Nettlecombe type with cinquefoils on the points in square lozenges, probably enamelled originally; mullet foot with plain spread and chamfered edge, beautifully molded and set with a rich band of quatrefoils in the upper half. The gilt portions of this chalice are the inside and rim of the bowl, the knot, and the front compartment and edge of the foot. No hall marks. Date, *circa* 1490.

15 AND 16. BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD.—A pair precisely alike in every respect. Silver-gilt.

Height, $6\frac{1}{8}$; diameter of bowls, $4\frac{3}{8}$; of feet, $4\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$.

Bowl broad and deep, somewhat square at bottom; stem hexagonal, with ogee moldings at junctions; knot six lobed with blind-traceried compartments between the lobes above and below, and with the points ending in angel-masks; mullet foot with plain spread and chamfered edge, set with a beautiful minute band of roses and foliage. There is no crucifix on the foot of either chalice.

Hall marks: (1) a small black-letter a, the London date-letter for 1498-99, (2) apparently the leopard's head crowned, but badly struck and nearly effaced.

TYPE FB.

17. BESWICK, YORKSHIRE. In the custody of Lord Hotham, as patron. Silver parcel-gilt.

Height, 5; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{5}{8}$; of foot, $5 \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.

Bowl deep and conical; stem hexagonal with ogee-molded bands at junctions; knot of usual six-lobed type, but with the traceried compartments alternately blind and pierced, and points terminating in seeded roses, set in square lozenges; mullet foot with crucifix amidst leafwork on the front compartment, and richly molded chamfered edge, set with a band of four leaved flowers. The points of the foot have characteristic knobs; one of these, however, is now lost, and the plate with the crucifix is much damaged.

There are no hall marks. Date *circa* 1500.

18. BACTON, HEREFORDSHIRE. Silver gilt.

Height, $5\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of bowl, 4; and of foot, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$.

Bowl plain hemispherical; hexagonal stem with molded bands at the junctions; somewhat coarsely worked six-lobed knot with open un-cusped compartments, and angel-masks on the points; mullet-foot with crucifix amidst leafwork on the front compartment, and molded chamfered edge, with knops on the points somewhat more spreading than usual.

On the compartments on either side of that with the crucifix are engraved the words *john* and *capull* respectively. John Capull was probably the donor or owner of the chalice.

There are no hall marks. Date *circa* 1500.

19. In the possession of the Very Rev. the DEAN OF CHESTER. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, 5; diameter of bowl, $2\frac{7}{8}$; depth, $1\frac{7}{16}$; diameter of foot, $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{16}$.

Bowl hemispherical, but doubtful if original; hexagonal stem with ogee bands at the junctions; six lobed knot with pierced and cusped compartments and lozenge shaped facets with angel masks; mullet foot with crucifix between leaf work on a hatched ground, and vertical molded edge. The points of the foot terminate in knops, originally of the usual form, but now much flattened and smoothed round.

Hall marks: (1) the maker's; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) the Lombardic capital T, the London date letter for 1496-7.

The gilt portions of this chalice are, or were, the inside, the bowl, the bands of the stem, the knot, the front compartment and edge of the foot, and the knops of the latter.

Nothing is known of the history of this interesting chalice.

20. HORNBY, LANCASHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, 7; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{7}{16}$; depth, $2\frac{1}{3}$; diameter of foot, 6; weight, $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

Bowl broad and conical with engraved band inscribed:—

Calice: salutaris: accipia: et: nomen dñi Invocabo (leaf.)

(For *Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen domini invocabo*).

The last letter of the first word has no mark of contraction. The stops are small four-leaved flowers.

Stem hexagonal with ogee-molded bands at the junctions.

Knot similar to that on the Hinderwell chalice, but the points end in square lozenges set with cruciform flowers.

Mullet foot with plain broad spread, and molded and reeded edge.

The front compartment has on a hatched ground the crucifix, with kneeling figures of SS. Mary and John. The points of the foot terminate in ornate knops of which an engraving is here given.

Under the foot is inscribed:—

Ristore mee to Caton.



There are no hall marks. Date *circa* 1500.

This is a most beautiful chalice, and in an excellent state of preservation. It formerly belonged to the parish church of Caton, but has long been preserved and is now in daily use in the neighbouring Roman Catholic church of Hornby.

21. OLD HUTTON, WESTMORELAND. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, 6; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$; and of foot, $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$; weight, 8 oz, 13 dwt.

Bowl broad and conical; stem hexagonal, with molded bands at junctions with bowl and foot; knot six lobed with usual traceried openings, and points terminating in very bold angel-masks; mullet foot plain and spreading with crucifix amidst leafwork on front compartment, and molded and reeded edge. The points of the foot have knops similar to those on the Hornby chalice, but somewhat lighter in character. One of them is a recent restoration.

This fine vessel is described and engraved, but on too small a scale, in *Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle* p. 114.

There are no hall marks. Date *circa* 1500.

22. BLASTON, ST. GILES, LEICESTERSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{5}{8}$; depth, $1\frac{3}{8}$; diameter of foot, $4\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{7}{8}$.

Bowl plain and conical; stem hexagonal with ogee moldings at junctions; knot six-lobed of usual type with traceried openings, and the points terminating in daisies; plain spreading mullet foot with reeded chamfered edge, and the crucifix amidst leafwork engraved on the front compartment. (This is, however, a restoration). The points of the foot terminate in knops of the Hornby type, but closely resembling a Lombardic capital M surmounted by a *Marguerite*, or daisy.

On a silver plate beneath the foot is engraved "ST. GILES CHAPEL, BLASTON, LEICESTERSHIRE." This was inserted about forty years ago when the vessel was repaired by Messrs. Hardman.

The following parts of this chalice are gilt; the inside of the bowl, the knot and moldings of the stem, and the front compartment of the foot with the molded edge and knops of the latter. There are no hall marks. Date *circa* 1500.

23. CLAUGHTON, LANCASHIRE. Silver gilt.

Height 7; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$; of foot, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3$.

Bowl deep and conical (with calix of open leaf-work added by Pugin); hexagonal stem with ogee moldings at the junctions; ornate six-lobed knot of usual type, with traceried openings and points terminating in square lozenges, set with four-leaved flowers enamelled; mullet foot, with front compartment containing enamelled plate with the crucifix and SS. Mary and John let in from behind, and probably in part a restoration. The other compartments of the foot are engraved alternately with *ihc* (twice) and *xpc* (thrice), the enamelled plate occupying the place of the third *ihc*. The points of the foot have the characteristic knops, similar to those on the Hornby and other chalices of type Fb.

There are no hall marks. Date *circa* 1500.

This chalice is said to have formerly belonged to the parish church of Poulton-le-fylde, but has now been for a long time in the hands of the Roman Catholics at Cloughton.

24. LEOMINSTER, HEREFORDSHIRE. Silver gilt.

Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of bowl, $5\frac{1}{2}$; and of foot, $5\frac{1}{6} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$.

The bowl is broad and conical, and engraved similarly to the Hornby chalice with the legend **Calice** (leaf), **salutaris** (leaf), **accipia** (leaf), **et** (leaf), **nomē** (leaf), **dnī** (leaf), **inuocabo** (leaf).

The stem is hexagonal, but encased with beautiful pierced tracery with buttresses at the angles; the lowermost member is a thick lobed piece worked into facets on each side. The knot is six lobed, with pierced traceried compartments of unusual richness; the facets are square lozenges containing five-leaved flowers, once enamelled. The compartments of the spread of the mullet foot are alternately inscribed **ihc** and **xpc**, it is clear however that one **ihc** is an insertion let in from the back, and replacing a crucifix, as in the Cloughton chalice. The edge of the foot is vertical; it is plainly molded, but has in the centre a rich band of pierced quatrefoils. The lowermost member is a flat plate which originally had knops on the points, now all cut off.

This is without question the most elaborate and splendid English chalice now remaining. It is fully described, though not quite accurately engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv., page 489, where its date is assigned to the early part of the fifteenth century; but a comparison with the Hornby and Cloughton chalices, of which it is simply an elaboration, shews that its date is more probably *circa* 1500. It has recently been wholly regilt.

25. LITTLE FARRINGTON, OXON. Silver parcel-gilt.

Height, $5\frac{1}{6}$; diameter of bowl, 4; of foot, $4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$.

Bowl nearly hemispherical; stem hexagonal with ogee moldings at junctions; knot six-lobed of the usual type, with traceried openings, and the points ending in human faces; plain mullet foot with front compartment engraved with the crucifix on a field diapered with hatched and flowered squares alternating. The edge of the foot is vertical with an effective beaded band, and its points formerly terminated in knops, now all broken off and the fracture filed smooth.

The parts of this chalice which are gilt are the lip and interior of the bowl, the stem and knot, and the front compartment and vertical edge of the foot.

No hall marks. Date *circa* 1500.

26. COMBE PYNE, DEVON. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $6\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{6}$; depth, $2\frac{3}{16}$; diameter of foot $5 \times$.

Bowl broad and conical, with added calix; original stem and knot lost, and replaced by a plain hexagonal stem with a plain circular band round the centre; mullet foot with **ihc** engraved on the front compartment, and plainly molded vertical edge having the usual form of knop on the points.

The following parts of this chalice are gilt: the lip and inside of bowl,

the front compartment with the margin of the spread of the foot, and the vertical edge of the latter with its knops.

No hall marks. Date *circa* 1500.

27. WEST DRAYTON, MIDDLESEX. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, 7; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{3}{4}$; depth, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of foot, $4\frac{3}{4}$.

Bowl hemispherical and lipped, but not original; hexagonal stem with hollow-chamfered moldings at junctions; six-lobed knot with blind traceried compartments, and lozenge shaped facets with four-leaved flowers; mullet foot, with crucifix between flowering plants, and beneath a low triple canopy on front compartment. The foot has a vertical edge with a delicate stamped flowering pattern, and originally had knops on the points, now all cut off. On the spread of the foot is inscribed in black letter:—

Orate | p. aiaþ; | Johis p; | rpyll. et | Johanne | uxor' ei'. |

John and Joan Porpyll were undoubtedly the donors of the chalice, but nothing is known of them.

This chalice bears the following hall marks: (1) the maker's, a female head; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter k, the London date letter for 1507-8.

TYPE G.

28. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD. Gold.

Height, 6; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{7}{8}$; and of the foot $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.

Bowl deep and conical, with a small engrailed calix at the base; the stem is hexagonal, but unusually stout, with molded bands at the junctions and a cable molding on the edges; the knot is more globular than those generally found, but has the usual traceried openings, each of two lights, and square lozenge facets set with flowers.

The foot is sexfoil in outline with a vertical molded edge, but the compartments of the spread have cusped tracery in the narrow parts, forming canopies to engraved and enamelled subjects. These are as follows:—

St. Jerome.

St. Margaret.

St. Mary Magdalene.

A bishop holding
an arrow.

Our Lady and Child.

The Crucifix, on a
rocky ground.

This magnificent chalice, which is quite unique in its way, was given to the college with a paten on its foundation in 1516, by the founder, Richard Foxe, bishop of Winchester (1501-1528). It is the only English medieval gold chalice that has escaped the hands of the spoiler, and it is satisfactory to know that its true value, archaeological and artistic, is thoroughly appreciated by its guardians.

It bears three hall marks: (1) a nondescript fleur de lys; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter k, the London date letter for 1507-8.

29. LEYLAND, LANCASHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, 6; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$; depth, $1\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of foot, $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.

Bowl wide and shallow, and somewhat broad at the bottom; plain hexagonal stem with flat plates at junctions; knot of usual six-lobed type, but with blind compartments and good angel-masks on the points; foot sexfoil, but the spread, though hexagonal at the junction with the stem, is circular in plan, and descends with an ogee curvature on to the flat of the principal member, which is sexfoil with vertical edge, set with a band of delicate flower-work. On the front of the spread is engraved a crucifix, between flowering plants on a hatched field. The lowermost member of the foot is a flat sexfoil plate, quite plain.

On the back of the bowl is inscribed:

Restore, mee, to, leyland, in, Lankeshire.

The history of this chalice is unknown, but it is clear that though now in Roman Catholic hands, it originally belonged to the parish church at Leyland. It is not in use owing to the shallowness of the bowl.

There are three hall marks: (1) a Lombardic capital A, the London date letter for 1517-18; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) two links of a chain. This same maker's mark occurs on the Jurby chalice and the Great Waltham paten, both of the date 1521-2.

30. JURBY, ISLE OF MAN. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $6\frac{7}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{8}$; depth, $1\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of foot $4\frac{5}{8} \times 4$.

Bowl, broad and shallow; plain hexagonal stem with hollow-chamfered moldings at the junctions; knot and sexfoil foot exactly similar to the Leyland chalice, but the front of the spread has a simple crucifix only.

This chalice is not in such good preservation as the Leyland example. It has three hall marks: (1) A, Lombardic capital D, the London date letter for 1521-2; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) two links of a chain, as on the Leyland chalice.

31. GUERNSEY ST. SAMPSON. Silver gilt.

Height, $6\frac{9}{16}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{5}{16}$; of foot, $4\frac{9}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.

Bowl, broad and shallow; plain hexagonal stem, with ogee moldings at junctions; six-lobed knot of usual form with traceried openings, and bold four-leaved flowers on the points. Sexfoil foot with ogee spread and reeded edge, similar in form to the Leyland chalice. The crucifix on the front of the spread has a flowering plant on each side and a hatched field. Under the foot is inscribed the following original record of the weight:

uncC
xvj | iii | p

and

SVM " ECCLÆ " DIVI SAMPSONIS 1 . 6 . 1 . 4 .

There are two hall marks, but both are illegible. Date *circa* 1520.

TYPE II.

32. From the chapel at PILLATON HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE, and now in the possession of Lord Hatherton. Silver gilt.

Height, 7; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{3}{8}$; depth, 2; diameter of foot, $4\frac{1}{16}$.

Bowl broad and shallow, with legend:

* *Pater* * *de* * *celis* * *deus* * *misereere* * *nobis*

the stops being four-leaved flowers.

Stem hexagonal, quite plain, with small buttresses at the angles.

The knot is beautifully worked with small traceried openings, so disposed as to give to it an appearance of being twisted, and each of the six facets ends in a four-leaved flower. Foot sexfoil, with molded vertical edge rising from a flat sexfoil plate. The upper part of the foot is circular, and descends upon the sexfoil part with an ogee curvature as in the Jurby and Leyland chalices. The crucifix commonly found here in late chalices is omitted in this case, and the only ornament is the engraved legend running round,—

sancta * *maria* * *ora* * *pro* * *nobis*

the stops, as before, being four-leaved flowers.

Round the junction of the foot and stem is an open cresting of pierced work.

No hall marks. Date *circa* 1525.

This chalice and its paten were discovered in 1750 in a closed cupboard in Pillaton Hall, with nearly £10,000 in bullion. (See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 2nd series, X. 260).

33. WYLYE, WILTS. Silver gilt.

Height, $6\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{12}$; of foot, $4\frac{5}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$

The bowl is broad and shallow, with a narrow band inscribed in small black letter.

✠ *Calicem . salutarí . accipium . et . in . nomi* (sic).

The stem is hexagonal with cables on the edges.

The knot is six-lobed, of usual form but somewhat flattened, with plain and unpierced compartments between the lobes, which terminate in angel masks.

The spread of the foot is circular and engraved with a crucifix between flowering plants, and the legend in capitals:

IN DOMINO CONFIDO.

The spread descends with an ogee curvature upon the base, which is in the form of a flat wavy-sided hexagon, with reeded vertical edge rising from a similarly shaped flat plate. The junction of stem and foot is concealed by an open cresting or parapet, with buttresses at the angles.

Hall marks: (1) The leopard's head crowned; (2) the maker's, a nondescript fleur-de-lis; (3) a Lombardic capital H, the London date-letter for 1525-6.

34. TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD. Silver gilt.

Height, $7\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{5}{8}$; depth, $2\frac{3}{8}$; diameter of foot, $5\frac{5}{8}$.

The bowl is broad and conical, and has a band inscribed in Gothic capitals:

✠ *CALICEM SALVTARIS ACCIPIAM ET NOMINE DOMI.* (sic.)

The stem is hexagonal and of beautiful pierced quatrefoil tracery throughout, its length strengthened by cables on the edges.

The knot is broader and flatter than usual, but retains the usual six lobes, which end in flowers, and have plain blank compartments between them.

Round the upper part of the foot is a pierced cresting with bottle-shaped buttresses, from which the spread descends with first an ogee curve, and then a quarter-roll, but circular in plan, on to the wavy-hexagon base. The latter has a vertical edge with a beautiful minute floral pattern, and rises from a plain flat plate of wavy-hexagonal outline. On the spread of the foot is engraved a crucifix between leaf work, which interrupts a band inscribed similarly to that on the bowl:—

CALICEM ; SALVTARIS \diamond ACCIPIAM.

This magnificent chalice, with which is preserved its paten, is said to have originally belonged to the great Benedictine abbey at St. Albans, and after the dissolution to have come into the hands of Sir Thomas Pope, who gave it to his new foundation of Trinity College, Oxford. It bears the following hall-marks : (1) the maker's, a saint's head ; (2) the leopard's head crowned (3) a Lombardic capital K, the London date letter for 1527-8.

PATENS.

NOTE. In parcel-gilt patens, the gilt portions are, as a rule, the outer rim, the engraved spandrels, and the central device. In all cases where the gold has been otherwise applied, the fact is noted in the description of the paten itself.

The hall-marks in most cases are on the upper surface of the rim of the paten, but in two cases (Stow Longa and Gissing), they have been struck on the under side of the rim.

Those patens marked * have their chalices also preserved.

We have given with each paten what seems to us its most probable date, but in several cases the indications as to date are very conflicting, and we have experienced no little difficulty in arriving at a decision.

Patens of Types C, D, and E, where the exact chronological sequence must always remain uncertain, have been arranged alphabetically.

TYPE A. (FORM I.)

Quatrefoil Depression.

1. *CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH I. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, 5.

Device : Agnus Dei facing to dexter, the right foreleg bearing staff with banner, which is held obliquely. No ground beneath the feet. Head has small circular nimbus. All within a plain band bearing the legend in uncial letters : + AGNVS DEI : QVI TOLLIS : PECATA : MVNDI : MISERERE NOBIS.

Spandrels plain.
Plain edge to rim.
No marks.

Date, late twelfth century.

This paten was found in a bishop's grave in the south choir aisle of the cathedral church in 1825, with a chalice, etc.

2. *LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH I. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{3}{4}$.

Device : Within a plain circle, 2 inches in diameter, the figure of a bishop, the right hand raised in blessing, the left holding a crozier.

Spandrels plain.

No marks.

Found with a chalice in the grave of bishop Grost te (1235-1253.)

3. *YORK MINSTER I. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{3}{4}$.

Centre plain without device.

Spandrels plain.

Single rib to edge of rim.

No marks.

Found with a chalice early last century in the grave of an archbishop. Has been repaired, and is in occasional use.

4. WORCESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Device : Manus Dei with cruciform nimbus, the hand issuing from the folds of the sleeve ; nimbus with foliated cross : all within a plain circle.

Spandrels foliated.

Single rib to edge of rim.

No marks.

Found in a grave assigned to bishop Walter de Cantelupe (1237-1266)

TYPE B. (FORM I or II)

Multifoil depression, other than quatrefoil or sexfoil.

5 WYKE, HAMPSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{5}{8}$.

First depression very slight, second depression octofoil.

Device: Agnus Dei in a sunk circle in the centre, facing the dexter ; an upright staff with banner held by the right foreleg. No ground beneath the feet. Around the rim is the legend + CVNTA : CREO : VIRTUTE : REGO : PIE : TATE : REFORMO.

Spandrels foliated.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1280.

The gilt portions are the rim-legend, the spandrels, and the central device.

6. *LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH II. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Single depression in the form of a square and quatrefoil combined.

Device : Manus Dei within a plain circle of zigzag.

No Spandrels.

Plain edge to rim.

Found with a chalice in the grave of bishop Gravesend (1258-1279.)

7. *YORK MINSTER II. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$.First depression of ten foils, second depression circular.¹

Device : Originally there was engraved in the centre a flying bird, but the plate is now lost.

No Spandrels.

Plain edge to rim

Found early last century with a chalice in the grave of an archbishop ; has been repaired, and is in occasional use.

8. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$.

First depression slight, second depression octofoil.

Device : Manus Dei.

Spandrels plain.

Plain edge to rim.

Found with a chalice in the supposed grave of bishop Longespée (1292-1297.)

9. CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH II. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, 5.

Single octofoil depression.

Device : Manus Dei issuing from the folds of a sleeve, with sun and moon on either side. All within a plain circle of zigzag or short rays.

No spandrels.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1290.

Found with a chalice in the grave of a bishop in the cathedral church

TYPE C. (FORM I.)

Sexfoil depression with plain spandrels.

10. BEIGHTON, NORFOLK. Silver, (formerly) gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Device : Manus Dei issuing from the folds of a sleeve, and with cruciform nimbus on a hatched field. All within a circle of twelve short rays, a pellet within and between each ray.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date : middle of fourteenth century.

¹ This is the only instance of a paten with two depressions, the first of which, and not the second is multifoil in outline.

11. BISHOP'S SUTTON, HAMPSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: The monogram *ihc* in small floriated black letter. All within a circle of seventeen short rays, a pellet within and between each ray.

Slight beaded molding to edge of rim.

No marks.

Date *circa* 1440.

This is a very graceful paten.

12. CROMER, NORFOLK. Silver.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: Manus Dei, which issues from the folds of a sleeve, and is immediately surrounded by pointed rays of glory. All within a circle of twenty four short rays on a hatched ground.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1500.

On the rim has been engraved *Cromer Parish, 1768*.

13. *EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.¹ Silver.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{8}$.

Device: Manus Dei.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Found in 1763, with a chalice in the grave of bishop Thomas de Bitton (1292-1307).

14. FOXLEY, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{16}$.

Device: Manus Dei which issues from the folds of a sleeve, and is surrounded by clouds. All within a circle of sixteen short rays; with three pellets triangularly within and between each ray.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1350.

15. *HAMSTALL RIDWARE, STAFFORDSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{5}{8}$.

Device: Manus Dei issuing from clouds, and within a feathered circle.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date: *circa* 1350.

Said to have been turned up, with its chalice, by the plough in a field adjoining the churchyard.

16. *YORK MINSTER III. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: Manus Dei issuing from a sleeve, and with cruciform nimbus. All within a plain circle.

¹ This paten has actually one *depression* only, the *sexfoil* being merely engraved.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Found early last century with a chalice in the grave of archbishop William de Melton (1316-1340).

Date, *circa* 1335.

TYPE D. (FORM I.)

Sexfoil depression with engraved spandrels.

17. BACTON, HEREFORDSHIRE. Silver gilt.

Diameter, 5.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with straight hair which falls on the shoulders. Beard forked. Glory of straight lines enclosed in an ellipse round the head. Shoulders in a mantle fastened before by a diamond shaped morse. All within a double circle of six short blunt rays, three pellets triangularly within and between each ray.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Plain molded edge to rim.

No hall-marks.

Date, *circa* 1490.

18. BANNINGHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$.

Device : Vernicle. Face alone, with cruciform nimbus. Hair wavy, no beard or hair on the cheeks. All within a wreathed circle.

Spandrels with varying rayed leaf devices.

One mark *incuse*, and doubtful, probably that of the maker.

Date, *circa* 1520.

19. BEDINGFIELD, SUFFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with straight hair falling on the shoulders. Beard forked. Shoulders in mantle; the upper half of a diamond morse in front shewn; cruciform nimbus to head with short straight lines of glory inclosed in an ellipse, all within a circle of sixteen short split rays.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

20. BEECHAMWELL (NORFOLK.) Silver.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with straight hair falling on the shoulders. Beard forked. Floriated cruciform nimbus and straight lines of glory within a separate circle to head. Shoulders and breast in tunic. All within a plain circle, the field of which is tooled (perhaps for enamel, no trace of which remains.)

Spandrels, angular and with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks : 1, the maker's, a nondescript fleur de lys, as on the Wylke chalice; 2, the leopard's head crowned; 3, damaged, but a London Date letter, *circa* 1520.

21. BEESTON-NEXT-MILEHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Device : The monogram *ihc* in black letter, within a circle of twenty short rays.

Spandrels of three types, those opposite alike, with rayed leaf, wedge, and strap ornament.

Molded edge to rim.

One mark, but doubtful, and as on Holkham paten.

Date, *circa* 1520.

22. BEESTON REGIS, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.

Diameter, 6.

Device : Vernicle. Large and boldly designed bust with straight hair falling on the shoulders, which are covered with a mantle fastened in front with a cruciform morse. Beard forked. Cruciform nimbus (a cross patonce) to head. All within a circle of eleven short blunt rays. Three pellets triangularly (*cp* Bacton paten) within and between each ray. Diameter of device 2 inches.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim, with slight beading.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1450.

23. BRANCASTER (NORFOLK.) Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with long straight hair. Beard long and forked. Shoulders in a mantle. Floriated cruciform nimbus in an ellipse. All within a circle of fifteen short split rays, between each of which is a shorter ray, the circle interrupted by the device at the lower part.

Spandrels with a leaf on stalk.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

24. BRISTOL ALL SAINTS. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{4}$.

Second depression of *seven* foils.

Device : The monogram *ihc* in black letter, and within depressed centre.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Reeded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1525.

25. CASTLE BROMWICH, WARWICKSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{1}{8}$.

Device : Manus Dei. The hand unconventional and without accessories, in a plain hatched circle.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

26. CASTON, NORFOLK. Silver (originally gilt, or parcel gilt.)

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{16}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with twisted hair falling straight. Beard pointed, cruciform nimbus and straight lines of glory to the head. All within a circle of fourteen short split rays interrupted at the bottom by the device.

Spandrels with varying rayed leaf.

Band of very small split rays to edge of rim.

One mark (doubtful) as on North Tuddenham paten.

Date, *circa* 1520.

27. CHEWTON MENDIP, SOMERSET. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{4}$.

Device : Agnus Dei facing to dexter, standing on rocky ground, and unconventional. With right foreleg bears staff with streamer, the cross on the top of which is within a plain circle carrying the legend in Lombardic capitals ECCE AGNVS DEI IESVS.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molding with minute four-leafed design to edge of rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1500.

(A fine medieval secular cup is preserved with this paten, and is in use as the chalice. It bears London hall-marks for 1511-2, and is figured, with the paten, in *Archæological Journal*, vol. v. p. 330.)

28. COFTON HACKET, WORCESTERSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, 6.

Device : Vernicle. Very rude and uncertain. Character of hair and beard doubtful. Within a circle of twelve short rays.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

29. COLEBY, NORFOLK. Silver.

Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with straight hair falling on the shoulders. Beard sharply forked. Cruciform nimbus and straight lines of glory in a broad ellipse. Shoulders covered with a mantle, fastened in front with a diamond shaped morse. All within a circle of thirteen short split rays.

Spandrels with wavy leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

30. *COOMBE PYNE, DEVON. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{16}$.

Device : Vernicle. Face only, with plain cruciform nimbus, hair curled. Beard forked, but blunt. All within a plain double circle.

Spandrels with wedged leaf.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1500.

In addition to the usual gilt portions there is a large gilt cross patonce in the field of this paten; a feature which, so far as is known, is unique.

31. COSSEY, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Device: Vernicle. Bust with straight hair falling towards the shoulders. A curled lock in centre of the forehead. Beard doubtful. Diamond shaped morse in front. Immediately round the head are nine short split rays. All within a plain circle.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge (partly lost) to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) maker's, doubtful; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic capital T; the London date letter for 1496-7.

32. EARLS COLNE, ESSEX. Silver gilt.

Diameter, 6.

Device: Full figure of Our Lord standing, with a background of hills and trees. His right hand raised in blessing, the left holding orb and cross. Cruciform rays to the head. All within a plain circle.

Wide spandrels with rayed leaf.

On the rim above the device is a plain circle with a cross pattée.

Molded edge to rim.

One mark *incuse*, a floriated cross, (perhaps for the maker.)

Date, *circa* 1520.

33. FELBRIGGE, NORFOLK. Silver gilt with enamel.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{4}$.

Device: (Enamelled on a separate plate inserted from behind) a figure of St. Margaret of Antioch, (the patron saint of the church.) She is crowned and stands beneath a canopy. In her right hand is a cross, the lower staff end of which is pressed in the open jaw of the dragon. The left hand holds a closed book. Surrounding the enamelled plate is a circle with twenty one short rays on a hatched ground.

Spandrels with double leaf on stalk.

Raised edge to rim, with sixty-five short rays on a hatched ground, pointing inwards to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

A very beautiful paten.¹

34. GISSING, NORFOLK. Silver.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: Vernicle. Face only, with long straight hair curled at the ends.

¹ Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, 1480-1500, bequeathed to the Minister (1498) a silver image of St. Margaret. The conventional treatment is so similar to that on the Felbrigge paten, that it is of interest to cite the description from his will:—"imagine[m] Sancte Margarete deauratam stantem super draconem habentem in una manu crucem in altera librum et in capite coronam."

Surtees Soc., *Test. Ebor.* iv. 138 *et seq.*

Beard forked and curled. Plain cruciform rays to the head, which is unenclosed by any surrounding circle.¹

Spandrels wavy with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall marks on under side of rim: (1) a heart, a well known maker's mark;² (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) date letter (doubtful), London, *circa* 1525.

35. HAMSTERLEY, DURHAM. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{11}{16}$.

Device: Vernicle. Bust with wavy hair falling on shoulders. Beard forked. Cruciform nimbus in perspective over the head. Shoulders in tunic. All on a hatched ground, and within a plain circle.

There is a plain circle or interval between the first and second depressions.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's mark, doubtful; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic capital B, the London date-letter assigned to 1519-20.

36. HANWORTH, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{7}{8}$.

Device: Vernicle. Face only, with long wavy hair. Beard forked. Face with cheek marks and wrinkled. Floriated cruciform nimbus to the head, the limits of which slightly exceed a plain enclosing circle.

Spandrels with varying leaf device, freely treated.

Very slight molding to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1450.

37. HAPPISBURGH, NORFOLK. Silver (probably whole gilt originally).

Diameter, $4\frac{1}{8}$.

Device: Vernicle, (on a separate plate inserted from behind, and formerly enamelled, no trace of which remains.) Bust with twisted hair falling straight on the shoulders. Beard slightly forked. Shoulders in tunic. Cruciform nimbus in a separate circle to the head. All within a plain circle.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Legend in black letter pounced on the rim:— ✚ Accipite * ex * hoc * omnes * hoc * est * ent * corpus * meū * quod * p * vobis * tradetur *

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) an animal; (2) the leopard's head crowned: (3) a small black letter q, the London date-letter for 1504-5.

38. HARTSHORNE, DERBYSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: Vernicle. Bust with straight hair. Beard forked. Cruciform nimbus in an ellipse to the head. Shoulders in a mantle, fastened before

¹ This treatment of the central device is, so far as is known, unique.

² *Cp. Old English Plate*, 2nd Edit., p. 267.

by a plain button, all within a circle of eleven short rays, interrupted above by a nimbus, below by the vernicle.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) a plain capital Roman B, in beaded circle; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) Date letter—illegible. Date: *circa* 1520.

39. HEWORTH, DURHAM. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{9}{16}$.

Device: Vernicle. Face only. Hair long and wavy. Beard forked. Cruciform nimbus of floriated lines, as also straight lines of glory to the upper part of the head. The lower part bounded by a segment of a plain circle.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, a man with spear; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter r, the London date letter for 1514-5.

40. HOCKERING, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: Vernicle. Bust with straight hair curled at the ends. Beard forked. Cruciform nimbus. All within a plain circle.

Spandrels with seeded flower of three petals.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

41. GREAT HOCKHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$.

Device: Vernicle. Face only, with long wavy hair, curled at the ends. Beard peaked. Cruciform rays to the head in an ellipse, which exceeds the upper portion of a plain circle, enclosing the device.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, two links of a chain, as on Leyland and Jurby chalices and Great Waltham paten; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter m, the London date letter for 1509-10.

42. HOLKHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{5}{8}$.

Device: Vernicle. Bust with long wavy hair. Shoulders in a tunic. All within a circle of fifteen short hatched rays.

Spandrels in three pairs, those opposite alike, with rayed leaf, wedge and strap ornament.

Molded edge to rim.

One mark, but doubtful, and as on Beeston-next-Milcham paten.

Date, *circa* 1520.

43. *LEOMINSTER, HEREFORDSHIRE. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$.

Device: Vernicle. Bust with twisted hair falling straight. Beard peaked. On either side of the face is a leaf pointed upwards. Straight

lines of glory around, and small cross above the head, in a plain ellipse. All within a double circle of nineteen short rays, between each of which are three pellets triangularly.

Spandrels differing. Those above and below the vernicle with leaves and pointed flower. The others with five petalled rose and leaf ornament.

Edge of rim with two bands of short rays.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1500.

44. MERTON, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device : Agnus Dei facing to dexter. No ground below the feet. Over the fore-shoulder rises an upright pole with banner. The field is tooled in grooved lines, perhaps for enamel, no trace of which remains. All within a circle containing thirty plain dots.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1470.

45. MUNDIAM, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Device : Vernicle. Face only, of unusual design. Hair twisted and curled at the ends. Beard forked. Clouds of glory surrounding the vernicle. Cruciform nimbus. All within a narrow circle of foliated ornament.

Spandrels in pairs, those opposite alike, with seeded flowers and leaves.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1530.

46. *NETTLECOMBE, SOMERSET. Silver gilt with enamel.

Diameter, $4\frac{3}{4}$.

Device : Vernicle (Enamelled on a separate plate, in dark red and on a green ground, and let in from behind.) Head with straight hair. Beard rounded. Cruciform nimbus. All within a plain circle. The back of the enamelled plate is engraved with the monogram *ihc* (cp., Winchester college inventories).

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks : (1) a dimidiated fleur-de-lys ; (2) the leopard's head crowned ; (3) a Lombardic capital B, the London date letter assigned to 1479-80.

47. NORTH TUDDENHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$.

Device : Vernicle. Small and very rude. Bust with straight hair. No beard or hair on the face. Cruciform nimbus. All within a plain circle.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Very slight molding to edge of rim.

One mark, as on Caston paten.

Date, *circa* 1520 (?).

48. OULTON, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{7}{8}$.

Device : Vernicle. Face only, unconventional and with crown of thorns on the brow. Hair wavy and curled. Beard undivided and blunt. Cruciform nimbus and rays surrounding the face. All within a wreathed band, and beautifully designed and engraved.

Spandrels with small double leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1525.

49 and 50. **BRAZENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD, a pair. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $6\frac{13}{16}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust, with hair falling over the shoulders. Beard pointed. Plain rayed nimbus. All within a circle of ten short rays on a hatched ground.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

No marks.

Date, probably 1498-9, same as the chalices to which the patens belong.

51. *From the chapel at PILLATON HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE, and now in the possession of Lord Hatherton. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{7}{8}$.

Device : the monogram ihc in small black letter, on a hatched ground.

Spandrels have alternately a rose and two leaves, and a twisted stalk with two leaves ; round the rim, in black letter, is the legend

*Sancta * trinitas * unus * deus* (leaf) *miserere* (leaf) *nobis* (leaf.)

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1525.

52. PILTON, SOMERSET.¹ Silver gilt.

Diameter, 6.

Device : Vernicle. Face only, with long straight hair, curled at the ends. Beard with three points. Cruciform nimbus with all the limbs shewn. All within two plain circles.

Spandrels with rayed leaf

Round the rim, in black letter, commencing with a cross pattée in a circle and a monogram of the letters I.D. is the legend :—*orate. pro. bono. statu. d. j. dier. vicarius. hius. loci.*

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date *circa* 1520.

53. RUNTON, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{5}{8}$.

Device : The monogram I.H.C. in Lombardic letters, with contraction above and five crosses within a hatched circle, enclosed by a band of twenty one short rays.

¹ This paten is incorrectly figured in *Specimens of Ancient Church Plate*, as having the second depression *octofoil*. Our endeavours to identify Dan. J. Dier have proved unavailing.

Spandrels with three leaves on stalk sprayed outwards from the centre of the paten.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1490.

54. SAHAM TONY, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with straight hair. Beard forked. Shoulders in loose vest. Floriated cruciform nimbus, the two side limbs alone shewing. All within a circle of seventeen short split rays.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

55. SIERNBURNE, NORFOLK. Silver.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with straight hair. Beard forked. Cruciform nimbus in a small ellipse to the head. Shoulders in cloak fastened before with cruciform morse. All within a circle of twenty four short rays.

Spandrels with a wedged leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

56. SHIRLEY, DERBYSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, 5.

Device : Vernicle. Bust rudely designed, and with very little hair on the head. Full forked beard. Cruciform nimbus. All within a circle (interrupted at the lower part) of eight short rays on a hatched ground.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Two hall-marks : (1) a cross fleury in a shield ; (2) a Lombardic capital Q, the London date letter for 1493-4. (The absence of the leopard's head is not easily explained.)

57. In the possession of the Rev. T. Staniforth. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{7}{8}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with straight hair, a central lock on the forehead. Beard forked. Plain nimbus in perspective. All within a band of thirteen short split rays.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall marks : (1) some animal, (query a cow) couchant ; (2) the leopard's head crowned ; (3) a small black letter b, the London date-letter for 1517-8.

58. STOW LONGA, HUNTINGDONSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $4\frac{3}{8}$.

Device : Vernicle. Face only, with long straight hair, curled at the

ends. Beard forked. Cruciform nimbus in perspective, interrupting above the circle which surrounds the device.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) a fish in oval;¹ (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic capital O, the London date-letter for 1491-2.

This paten has unfortunately been "restored," and it affords another warning against entrusting such work to ignorant hands. It was pronounced to be Dutch, and the central concave field has been flattened, thus destroying the graceful form of the paten, and entirely altering its character.

59. SUFFIELD, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: Vernicle. Face only, very small and with twisted hair which follows the outline of the head. The forehead is wrinkled. Circular nimbus with straight lines of glory to the head. All within a band of twenty short sharp pointed rays.

Spandrels with device of a seeded flower and double leaf.

Molded edge with a small beaded ornament to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1480.

60. TITTLESALL, NORFOLK. Silver.

Diameter, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Device: Vernicle. Bust with twisted hair. Beard forked. Shoulders bare. Cruciform nimbus and straight lines of glory in an ellipse to the head. All within a circle of sixteen short rays. Well designed and engraved.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1525.

61. THURGARTON, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Device: Vernicle. Face only. Hair wavy and twisted, following the outline of the face. Curled lock in centre of the forehead. Centre of beard curled in a lock, the sides drawn off and curled with the ends of the hair of the head. Cruciform nimbus, the three upper limbs only shewn, although space for the fourth below the face is unoccupied. All being on a dotted ground within a plain circle.

Spandrels with wedged leaf.

No marks.

Edge to rim (partly lost) almost plain.

Date, *circa* 1520. ?

62. TUTTINGTON, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$.

Device: the monogram *thc* in small black letter, within a plain circle

¹ Cp *Old English Plate*, 2nd Ed., p. 267.

which floriated inwards from the field of the paten on either side of the monogram.

Spandrels with three small leaves on stalk, sprayed outwards from the centre of the paten.

No marks.

Date *circa* 1470.

A very graceful paten.

63. *WEST DRAYTON, MIDDLESEX. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{16}$.

Device: Vernicle. Bust with long wavy hair. Beard forked. Shoulders in a tunic. Cruciform nimbus, (a cross pattee) shaded. All within a plain circle.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, a female head; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter **k**, the London date-letter for 1507-8.

64. WOOD DALLING, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{8}$.

Device: The monogram **ihc** in small black letters, within a circle carrying a wavy line which forms twelve short blunted rays, a pellet being within and between each. Centre of paten deeply depressed.

Spandrels with rayed leaf. Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1420.

65. WYMONDHAM, NORFOLK. Silver.

Diameter, 6.

Device: Vernicle. Bust with twisted hair, curled at the ends. Beard forked, but blunt. Cruciform nimbus in an ellipse. All within a circle of sixteen short rays.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

TYPE E. (FORM II.)

66. BERWICK ST. JAMES, WILTS, now in the British Museum, but in constant use till 1879. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, 6.

Depression, concave.

Device: the monogram **ih̄s** in black letter, in a plain circle.

Slightly molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

67. BESWICK, YORKSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, 5.

Depression, angular.

Device : the monogram *ihc* in small black letter, on a hatched ground, within a plain circle.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1490.

68. *CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD. Gold.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Device : Vernicle. Bust slightly to sinister, with long hair and flowing beard. Straight lines of glory in the form of a cross to the head. Shoulders in mantle. All within a plain hatched circle.

On the rim above the Vernicle is a cross in a circle, rayed from the centre.

Three hall marks: (1) a nondescript fleur de lys; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter *k*, the London date letter for 1507-8.

69. HINDERWELL, YORKS. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$.

Depression, concave.

Device, *Agnus Dei*, on ground, with growing grass and flowers. The head, with cruciform nimbus, is turned over the shoulder. The right foreleg bears the staff with a streamer. The upper part of the device is bounded by the segment of a plain circle, which is partly interrupted by the nimbus to the Lamb's head. Well designed and finely engraved.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1490.

70. PASTON, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{7}{8}$.

Depression angular.

Device : *Manus Dei*, issuing from the clouds, in which appear three stars. All within a circle of twenty seven short rays on a hatched ground. In the field of the paten are faintly incised two concentric circles from the radius of the centre.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1450.

71. PRESTON, RUTLAND. Silver gilt.

Diameter, 6.

Depression angular.

Device : *Manus Dei* issuing from the folds of a sleeve, with a cruciform nimbus, and within a wreathed circle.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1480?

72. SALL, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$.

Depression concave,

Device : The monogram *ih̄s* in small black letter, much defaced, and hardly legible, within a plain circle.

The concave portion of the paten begins at the inner edge of the rim, and continues to the central device. This paten is in a very bad condition.

Molded edge to rim.

One mark, doubtful.

Date, *circa* 1500?

73. WALMER, KENT. Silver gilt.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$.

Device : The monogram *ih̄c* in small black letter, on a hatched ground, and within a plain circle, surrounded by six short rays. The field of this paten is bossed up as a six-petalled rose.

Slight molding to edge of rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1490.

TYPE F. (FORM I.)

Sexfoil Depression with a long rayed device.

74. CLAUGHTON, LANCASHIRE. Silver gilt.

Diameter, 6.

Device : The Majesty, or Christ sitting on the rainbow, *manibus extensis*. All within a plain circle, with the ground tooled as if for enamel, no trace of which remains.

Field of paten filled with long, narrow, divided rays encircling the device.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Round the rim in small black letter (the words divided by conventional leaves) is the legend : *saluum me fac Domine in nomine tuo*.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1500.

This fine paten has unfortunately been beaten inside out to form the cover to a ciborium, and a plain upright Latin cross fixed to the centre of the device.

75. CLIFFE-AT-HOO, KENT. Silver gilt and enamelled.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$.

Device : The Holy Trinity enamelled in dark blue, within a plain circle, which is surrounded by long straight rays covering the field of the paten.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Round the rim in small black letter is the legend (the words divided by conventional ivy leaves) : *Benedicamus patrem et filium cum spiritu sancto*.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1525.

76. KIRK-MALEW, ISLE OF MAN. Silver gilt.

Diameter, 6.

Device : Vernicle. Face only, with long hair curled at the ends.



PATEN.—TYPE E.
WALMER, KENT.
($\frac{1}{2}$ size).

Beard divided and curled. All within a plain circle, which is surrounded by long, straight-sided rays, which fill the field of the paten.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Round the rim is the legend, in small black letter : *sancte iupe ora pro nobis.*

Slightly molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1525.

77.* TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD. Silver gilt.

Diameter, 6½.

Device : Vernicle. Face only, with straight long hair. Beard peaked. Cruciform nimbus and straight lines of glory in a plain circle and within an outer border of clouds. All within a plain circle surrounded by long, straight-sided rays alternately longer and shorter, the shorter rays having a trefoil at their points, thus filling the field of the paten.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Round the rim, in capital letters of the sixteenth century : ✠ CALICUM SALVTARIS ACCIPIAM ET NOMINE DOMINE IN VOCABO.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks : (1) the maker's, a saint's head ; (2) the leopard's head crowned ; (3) a Lombardic capital K, London date letter for 1527-8.

TYPE G. (FORM II.)

Circular depression, with a long-rayed device.

78. GREAT WALTHAM, ESSEX. Silver gilt.

Diameter, 6¾.

Device : Vernicle. Face only, with twisted hair. Beard forked. Straight lines of glory in a plain ellipse round the head. In the centre over the head is a device of doubtful import ; on either side of the vernicle are eight short rays. All within a plain circle, around which are ten long rays, and ten flames of glory, filling the field of the paten to within ¼ inch, which is left plain.

Round the rim in black letter is the legend : ✠ Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu. Followed by a heart, the left side pierced and bleeding.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks : (1) the maker's, two links of a chain, as on Leyland and Jurby chalices and Great Hockham paten ; (2) the leopard's head crowned ; (3) a Lombardic capital D., the London date letter for 1521-2.

79. SALISBURY ST. EDMUND, WILTS. Silver gilt.

Diameter 6.

Device : Vernicle. Bust with straight hair, which falls curled. Beard rounded. A portion of the crown of thorns on the brow. Cruciform nimbus in perspective. All within a circle of wavy watered design. This is surrounded by twelve alternate rays and flames, shaded at their lower part, which fill the field of paten.

Round the rim in black letter is the legend : ✠ Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto, the words divided by varying devices and the legend badly spaced, so that 'spiritu' is omitted.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, T.W.; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic capital Q, the London date letter for 1533-4

It will be seen that no less than 34 of the patens belong to churches in the county of Norfolk. For information as to most of these and for much help throughout, our best thanks are due to the Rev. C. R. Manning, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Diss. We also take this opportunity of expressing our obligations to the custodians of the various vessels generally, for help and facilities afforded us, and especially to the Revs. W. A. Bulbeck, of Leyland, and G. Fisher, of Hornby, for enquiries they kindly made among the Roman Catholic clergy of Lancashire and elsewhere as to any chalices or patens in their possession.

APPENDIX.

The following extracts from wills and inventories are by no means to be taken as an exhaustive list of examples, but have been selected to show varieties of ornament and detail. It is hardly necessary to point out that the date of the extract does not always represent that of the chalice and paten, and that the vessels may easily be one or more centuries older than the inventory.

1255 (Will of William de Longespée, earl of Sarum. Bequest to the Charter-house at Hinton):
unum calicem de auro cum pulchris esmeraldis et rubetis.

1257 (Capella Nicholai Episcopi)¹
j calix cum lapidibus pretiosis in pede.

1295 (Inventory of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London.)
Calix de auro qui fuit Alardi Decani² ponderis cum patena, xxxv s. xl Et continet in pede xii lapides et in patena est medietas ymagine Salvatoris
Item, Calix de auro cum pede coeleato, et in patena manus benedicens cum stellulis in circuitu impressis ponderis cum patena, xli s. vij. l.
Item Calix de auro qui fuit Henrici de Wengham³ Episcopi continens in pede circulos ayrealatos et circa pomellum sex perlas et in patena Agnus Dei, ponderis cum patena xlvij s. iiij. l.

¹ Nicholas de Farnham, bishop of Durham, 1211-49.

² Died 1216.

³ Henry de Wengham, bishop of London 1260-62.

Item Calix argenteus deauratus qui fuit ut dicitur Magistri Rogeri Capellani cum flosculis in pede levatis et in patena plena ymagine maiestatis ponderis cum patena liis.

Item Calix argenteus Henrici de Northampton¹ deauratus cum pede coeleato et scalopato et pineato ponderis cum patena, lx.

Item Calix grecus sine patena, cum duobus calamis argenteis deauratis cum ymaginibus in circuitu opere fusorio levatis ponderis, vj/.

Item Calix argenteus deauratus intus et extra planus undique qui fuit Henrici de Sandwyco Episcopi,² ponderis cum patena, xxvs.

Item, Calix argenteus deauratus intus et extra cum pede glegellato qui fuit Johannis de Chishulle³ Episcopi ponderis cum patena xxis.

Item Calix argenteus interius et exterius deauratus planus undique cum crucifixo in pede collatus pro anima Alianorae Reginae junioris ponderis cum patena xxxs.

Calix argenteus per partes deauratus cum pede virgulato ponderis cum patena in qua scribitur nomen collatoris xxvjs viij/.

1298 (Inventory of the church of St. Faith in the crypt of St. Paul's, London.)

Item unus calix stangneus sine patena.

1315 (Inventory of Christchurch, Canterbury)⁴

Calix magnus aureus Regis H. tercij cum gemmis in nodo pedis.

Item calix aureus ad magnam missam in chore.

Item calix aureus minor ad missam matutinalem.

Item calix aureus ad feretrum cum viridi amali in nodo pedis.

Item calix aureus Philippi Regis Francie.

Item calix aureus cum patena domini R. de Winchelese ponderis lx. s. Et valet lx. marcas.

1324 Un petit chaliz od la pateine le pomei dorre.⁵

1359 Item unum calicem argenti deaurati et aimellati in pede cum patena precij vij li.⁶

1399 Item un chalys ove un patyn tout d'or garnisez de pery cestassavoir S^r le pee du dit chalys xix. baleys xi. saphirs viij. diamantz viij. troches cescun contenant iiij. ples & i. diamant en my lieu xvi. autre "troches" de ples dont un troche de deux ples & xv. autres chescun de iiij. ples ove flat diamantz dedeinz s^r la knop du dit chalys iiij. baleys & iiij. ples gross & s^r la patyn du dit chalys xv. baleys petit xv. diamantz & xxx. ples un quiller d'or p^r la dit chalys ove un grand ple au mañ d'un acroñ a la fyne pois⁷

vij lb
vij unc.

¹ circa 1190

² Henry de Sandwyche, bishop of London 1263-73.

³ John de Chishull, bishop of London 1273-80.

⁴ Cott. MS. Galba Eiv. 119.

⁵ Palgrave's Ancient Kalendars and Inventories iii. 134.

⁶ *ib.* iii. 238.

⁷ *ib.* iii. 314.

- 1399 Item j. chalix ove j. patyn d'arg. enmorez & en le pee } ij lb
 un crucifix de Marie & John enaymelt & s^r le } ij unc.
 patyn un ymage de la Trinite pois¹

Post mortem Ricardi Byry Episcopi² fracta fuerunt iiij sigilla ejusdem et Sancto Cuthberto oblata ex quibus Ricardus de Wolveston Feretrarius fecit unum calicem argenteum et deauratum qui est ad Altare Sancti Johannis Baptistae in orientali parte ecclesiae: sub ejus calicis pede sculpti sunt hi duo versus subscripti:

Hic cithus insignis fit Presulis ex tetra signis

Ri. Dunelmensis quarti, natu Byriensis.

Dominus Johannes comes Warrenne³ dedit ecclesiae Dunelm. unum Calicem magni valoris de auro purissimo cum multis lapidibus preciosis insertis.

Capella Thomae Hatfield episcopi.⁴ (*inter alia*)

j calicem magnum argenteum et deauratum in ejus pede est ymago Domini crucifixi et super nodum ejusdem scuta armorum ejusdem episcopi⁵ cum iij. leuuelis argenteis.⁶

- 1396 (Will of Thomas Cranlegh, warden of New College, Oxford.)
 j parvum calicem deauratum cum patena signata Agno Dei et j coopertorium pro eodem calice.⁷

- 1418 (Inventory of the Grocers' Company, London.)
 j chalys of silver ner gilt be the brymmez.

- 1422 (Plate in the Royal Treasury.)

1 Chalise d'argent dorr' avec le pateyn escript "Benedicamus Patrem & Filium" pois, de Troie III lb I unc' di, pris la lb XLs.
 vi. li. vs.

1 autre chalise d'arg. dorrez, avec l'ymages de la Trinite, escript sur le patyn "Miserer, mei, Deus"; pois' II lb I unc' pris la lb XLs.
 IIII li IIIs IIII^l.

- 1426 (Will of Thomas Bradford, duke of Exeter.)⁸

Lego ad eidem ecclesie (Wyndsore) meliorem calicem cum patena de argenti deaurato cum angelis thurificantibus supra pedem ejusdem.

- 1432 (Will of John Raventhorp of York, chaplain.)

¹ *ib.* iii. 333.

² Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham 1333-45.

³ *Obiit* 1347.

⁴ Thomas de Hatfield, bishop of Durham 1345-81

⁵ His arms were az. a chevron between 3 lions or.

⁶ Wills and Inventories, Surtees Soc. ii., 26.

⁷ Arch. Jour. xxviii., 232.

⁸ Royal Wills, 252.

Item lego Thomae Bracebrigg calicem sanctificatam cum patena et coeliari¹ eodem calici pertinente.²

1452 (Inventory of King's College chapel, Cambridge.)³

Unus calix deauratus cum ymagine Dei sedentis in iudicio in patena pond. xxvi unc.

Item calix de auro cum Scriptura *calicem salutaris accipiam*, pond. xix unc.

Item calix deauratus cum xii^{im} Apostolis in patena, pond. iii lb ix oz.

Item calix de argento et deauratus cum figura Trinitatis in superiori parte patene ac cum armis Regis fundatoris nostri in parte inferiori ejusdem patene. Etiam cum armis collegii sub pede calicis impositis necnon cum signo crucifixi in anteriori parte pedis et cum tali signo + sculpto in utroque de dono ejusdem Regis fundatoris nostri predicti, pond. xx unc. et 1 quarter.

1453 (Will and codicil of John, lord Scrope.)⁴

Item j chalis of silver and gilt playne, with j lambe graven in y^e patyn weying of Troy j lb.

1454 (Inventory of the Grocers' Company, London.)

j chalise of syluer & ouergilt w^t j ymage of j ffrere enamelde & gravyn in y^e foote w^t y^e patene weyinge xvij. vnces.

1457 (Will of John Barnyngham, treasurer of York.)⁵

Item domino Willelmo Cok . . . unam calicem deauratam sed cum diversis ymaginibus in pede et scriptura in patena *Spes mea in Deo est*, pond. xiiij unc. di.

1467 (Will of John Sendale, canon of Ripon.)⁶

Item volo et ordino quod unus parvus calix rotundus et unum missale de Ebor. quae fuerunt domini Thomae Wyott⁷ quondam rectoris ecclesiae de Rowlay dentur et liberentur ecclesiae de Rowlay.

1470 [Some of the details in 1526.]

(Inventory of St. Margaret Pattens, London)⁸

Item a Chalyce of sylver & a patent cleyn gilt w^t a erucefyx mary & john in the fote and in the paten an holy lambe.

¹ A spoon is not unfrequently mentioned in inventories as belonging to a chalice. Several are mentioned but not further described in the volumes of the Surtees Society. Instances occur at various dates. The special use of a chalice spoon is mentioned in the *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, (Surtees Society) p. 185, as follows:—"Item unum coelare argenti deauratum ad proporciendum vinum sive a quam pro calice magni altaris" [1370.] In 1392 Nicholas de Schirburn quaintly bequeaths to St. Sampson's church in York '... unum er pyk [earpick] de argen-

to ad faciendum j coelare ad calicem.' *Test Ebor.* i. 172. Other examples need not be cited, they are fairly numerous but lack any special point of interest.

² *Test. Ebor.* ii. 28-29.

³ *Ecclesiologist*, xxi, 5.

⁴ *Test. Ebor.* ii. 189.

⁵ *ib.* ii. 203.

⁶ Ripon Chapter Acts. 229.

⁷ Thomas Wyott occurs first as rector of Elwick *ante* 1400, and after sundry exchanges he became rector of Rowlay in 1429-30.

⁸ *Arch. Jour.* xlii.

Item the best chaleys of sylver and gylte w^t a crucifixe and mary and John enameled in the same. And in the fote of it iij half mones, otherwise called Knappes. And in the pateyn of the same the holy lambe, enameled w^t a Chaleys graven under the same weying xviiij unces.

Item a Chaleys of sylver and peett gylt and a Patene wretyn in the fote of the gifte of the Brethern of Seynt Margaret Patentees weying xxv ounces di q^{ar}tez.

1483 (Inventory of St. Christopher le Stocks, London.)

Item a Chaleys with the patent of Siluer and ou'gilde with a Crusyfix & T & S theruppon & an hande vppon the patent.

Item a Chaleys with a Crucifix and mari and john vppon the foote and the Coronacion of oure lady vppon the patent.

Item a Chaleys with a Crucifix and too hartis hedis vppon the foote and the jugement of god Sittyng vppon the patent.

Item a Chaleys off the gifte of henry walter & the said name graveu upon the ffote.

1498 (Will of Anne, lady Scrope of Harling.)¹

To the prioury of Chacombe a chalis of iiij li and my husbon es name Sir Robert, and myn upon the foote for a remembrans to pray for us.

c. 1500 (Will of Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York.)²

unum magnum calicem cum patena deaurat' et scribitur super patenam *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* et supra pedem ejusdem *Ihesus Christus* pond. xxxj unc. iij quart' di.

Item alium calicem cum patena deaurat' et scribitur circa ciphum ejusdem *Calicem salutaris accipium et nomen Domini invocabo* cum imagine Trinitatis super patenam pond. in toto xxiiij unc. iij quart. di.

Item alium parvum calicem habentem imaginem Christi crucifixi super pedem pond. xj unc.

c. 1500 (Inventory of York Minster.)³

Unus calix preciosus cum patena de auro et lapidibus preciosis tam in pede quam in nodo cum quatuor lapidibus preciosis in patena ex dono domini Walteri Gray⁴ ponderans iij. lb xi. uncias.

Unus calix de auro cum patena de novo fact' cum ymagine in pede insculpta et enamelyd in circumferenciis ponderaus iij lb viij uncias j quarteron.

Unus calix cum patena de auro novae formae cum armis dominae le Rosse⁵ et scriptura *Ihesu fili Dei*, etc. in patena ex dono dominae de Rosse ponderans ij. lb iij. unc. di.

Unus calix cum patena argenteus et de dearatuo ex dono domini Cardinalis Palestine quondam prebendary de Masham ponderans

¹ *Test. Ebor.* iv. 149.

² *ib.* iv. 138.

³ York Fabric Rolls.

⁴ Archbishop of York, 1215-55.

⁵ Probably Beatrice, wife of Thomas lord Ros, who died 1414. See her will. *Test. Ebor.* i. 375.

ij lb v unc. di. cum armis in pede et tribus le scaleppes et uno leone.

(Added in 1510) Unus calix de argento cum manu Salvatoris in patena in medium benedictionis et benedicendo.

1520-1 j calix argenteus et deauratus cum duobus frangnabs et in patena j agno.

1521 j calix cum uno crucifixo in pede et J.H.C. in patena.

1520-1 j calix cum J.H.C. in patan. et J.H.C. in pede.

1521 (Henry VIII's Jewel Book)¹

Item A chalice (gilt) with a patente gilt graven with Roosis and porte colices oon the foote wayng xxv oz iij q^{rt} di.

Item A chalice with a patente gilt graven aboute with Calicem salutaris and oon the patente Benedicamus patrem wayng xx oz di.

Item A chalice with a patente gilte with the Princis Armys oon the patente wayng xvj oz di.

A.^o xiiij. Item a chalis w^t a patent gilt w^t swannys stafford knottis and carte navis peell of the plate that was late the Ducke of Buck the Kingis rebell xxxix oz.

1526 (Will of Rich Starkey.)²

A chalice gylt w^t these words graven in the upper parte of the said chalice on the owte syde Ex dono Ricⁱ Starkey.

(Inventory of the Regalia and Gold Plate of Henry VIII.)³

Item a *chalice of golde* chasid w^t braunchis and iij images (enamyled) w^t a patent graved w^t the *Trinite* wayinge } xxv oz
q^{rt}.

Item a *chalice of golde* w^t a patent enemyled w^t the *Trynyte* op^{on} the patent and *Mari* and *John* wayinge } 1 oz. iij
q^{trs}.

Item a *chalice of golde* enemyled grene w^t a patent havng one the inside an image of the *Trynyte* enemyled redde and one the other side the *Carlynnall* *armys* weyinge } lvij oz
di.

Item a chalice of golde sett w^t stone and ple wantyng one stone weying xlviij oz iij q^{trs} havng a patent of sylver and gilte weyinge x oz and weyinge aft togidlers } 1vj oz
iij q^{rt}'s

1529 (Accounts of Holy Trinity church, Melford, Suffolk)

A chalice, y^e gift of Mr. John Clopton, double gilt, with his arms upon y^e foot of y^e backside, 22½ oz.

¹ *Assoc. Soc. Reports* 1884, p. 156.

³ Palgrave's *Ancient Kalendars and*

² (Lanc. and Cheshire Wills, Cheetham Soc. 20.)

Inventories, ii. 259.

1534 (Gild of St. Mary, Boston.)¹

The best chalice of sylu' & gilte wt a paten thereto belonginge of silu' gilte weyng xxxv vnces iij qrters.

A nother chalice wt a paten thereto belongynge of silu' & gilte for fferiall daies weyng xxij vnces iij quarters.

A chalice wt a paten thereto belongynge of silu' & peell gilte wt a gilte knopp havynge vj roses weyng in the whole x vnces iij quarters.

iij small chalices wt patens to thẽ belongynge of silu' & peell gilte ev'ý of them a knopp gilt weyng in the whole xlvj vnces di.

1535 (Maison de Dieu, Dover.)²

iij gylt chalyses, with ij patens and ij gylt sponys, wherof one chalysce is coper and gylt, wayng xlii uncs.

1536 (Inventory of Lincoln cathedral church.)³

Imprimis a chalis of gold wt perles and dyverse p'ciousse stones in the foote and in the knotte wt a paten of the same havynge graven Cena Dñi and the figure of our Lord wt the xij Apostells weying xxxij uncs.

Item one grett chalis sylver and gylte wt the paten weying lxxiiij uncs of the gyft of lord Willm Wykehñ⁴ bussshop of Wynechestre somtyme Archedecon of lincoln havynge yn the foote the passion, the Resurrection of our lord and the salutacõ of our lady, and in the patten the Coronacõ of our lady havynge a rolle yn the circumference written *Memoriale domini Willelmi Wilchem*.

Item a chalis sylver and gylte wt one playn paten chased yn the foote wt a wrythen knope wt one gylted spone conteynng a scripture *blessed be god*, havynge a scriptur yn the bottom *Johēs Gynewell*,⁵ weying xxxij uncē and a qrt'.

Item a chalis chased yn the foote sylver and gylte wt a paten graven wt a laune & iij evangelistē weying xxij uncē

Item a chalis silver & gylte wt an Image of the Crucifix yn the foote wt a patten of our Savyr syttyng upon the Rynbowe, weying

Item one chalis sylver and gylte havynge wrytten abowte the cuppe *laudabo dñm in ecclia scōr'* and on the foote *Totus mūdus est ecclia* and on the paten *Unica est puerpera* &c. of the gyft of the lord Charlis bothe bussshop of Herford.⁶

Temp. Henry VIII. (Inventory of Plate given to Winchester College chapel, by William of Wykeham and others.)⁷

j calix de auro cum patena, cum signo crucis in pede, et habet ij. cruces rotundas in patena, ponderans xix. unc. et di. quar'.

¹ Peacock's Church Furniture, 191-2.

² *Arch. Cont.* vii., 275.

³ We are indebted to the Rev. E. Venables, Precentor of Lincoln, for a new transcript of these items from the original MS.

⁴ William (Longe) de Wykeham, arch-

deacon of Lincoln, 1363-67, bishop of Winchester, 1367-1404.

⁵ John Gynewell, prebendary of Lincoln 1344, archdeacon of Northampton, bishop of Lincoln, 1347-62.

⁶ Charles Bothe, prebendary of Lincoln, 1501-16, bishop of Hereford, 1516-35.

⁷ *Archæological Journal*, x, 235.

- j. calix de auro cum patena, cum ymagine Crucifixi in pede, et habet signum Crucifixi in patena, ponderans xxij. unc. et di².
- j. calix de argento deaurato cum patena, cum ymagine Crucifixi Marie et Johannis in pede, et ymagine sancte Trinitatis in patena amelata, ponderans xxvj. unc.
- j. calix de argento deaurato cum patena, cum ymaginibus Crucifixi Marie et Johannis; et habet in patena ymaginem Dei sedentis super iridem, expansis manibus, amelat¹ et sculpt¹ pede grossis literis—JHS XPS—et in patena sculpt¹—Miserere mei deus—ponderans xxij. unc. et di².
- j. calix de argento deaurato cum patena, habens in pede ymaginem Crucifixi, Marie et Johannis, et ibidem scribitur—Johannes Bedill¹—et in patena habens vernaculum, ponderans xvij. unc.
- j. calix cum patena de argento deaurato, habens ymaginem Crucifixi Marie et Johannis in pede amelatum, cum grossis literis sculptis in pede—IHS XPS—cum passione Sancti Thome Martiris in patena ponderans. xxvj. unc. di et j. quart².
- j. calix de argento deaurato, cum patena, habens in pede ymaginem Crucifixi cum floribus sculptis, et vernaculum in patena et—IHS—sculpt¹ in posteriori parte, ponderans xxj. unc.
- j. calix cum patena de argento deaurato, habens ymaginem Crucifixi in pede cum arbore ex utraque parte Crucifixi, et ymaginem Sancte Trinitatis in patena, ponderans xv. unc. et di.
- j. calix de argento deaurato cum patena, habens ymaginem Crucifixi Marie et Johannis in pede amelatam, and in patena ymaginem Salvatoris sedentis super iridem, expansis manibus, amelatam, ponderans xxvij. unc.
- j. calix cum patena de argento deaurato habens ymaginem Crucifixi Marie et Johannis in pede amelatam et in patena ymaginem Salvatoris sedentis super iridem amelatam cum iij. flower de luys, ponderans xxiiij. unc.
- j. calix cum patena habens ymaginem Crucifixi sculptam in pede, et Agnus Dei sculpt¹ in patena, ponderans xvj. unc.
- j. calix cum patena habens ymaginem Crucifixi Marie et Johannis in pede amelatam et in patena ymaginem Sancte Trinitatis, et sculpt¹—benedicamus patrem, etc.—et in dorso patene—JHS—ponderans xxiiij. unc.
- j. calix de argento deaurato cum ymagine Beate Marie cum filio. sculpt¹ in pede—JHU XPE fili Dei vivi—et in patena script¹—dñs protector vite mee—ponderans xix. unc.
- j. calix cum patena de argento deaurato cum pede rotundo cum crucifixo amelat¹ Ws. White, cum ymagine Dei Sedentis super iridem Blew, ponderans xxvj. unc.
- j. calix cum patena deaurat¹ cum rotundo pede, habens script¹—JHS. XPS.—et in patena script¹—benedicamus patrem et filium—ponderans xviiij. unc.

20 Nov, 30 Hen. VIII. (Inventory of Westminster abbey church.)
The best Chales with a Patent of sylver and gylt the Patent haveying the ymage of the Father in the myddst enamyled and

¹ Brass dated 1498 in Winchester College chapel. Mayor in 1496.

over the ffoot of the same chales the ymages of y^e Crucifix Marye and John with thes ij letters "N" and "L" crownyd and enamyled lxxij unces.

The second chales with a patent of sylver and gylt with the figure of Cryst syttyng in the Dowme in the myddyst of the patent with thys scripture about the same Ego solus ab eterno creo cuncta liij unces

The thyrd chales with the patent of sylver and gylt the ffoot and all benethe the boll (bowl) of the same chales set with stockwork and garnysshed with perles and stonys lackyng xi stonys with a pycture of the Father gravyd in the myddyst of the patent with thys scripture Fit caro per verbum de pane manens caro verbum xxxix unces.

The iiijth chales with the patent of sylver and gylt perteynyng to Seynt Blase altar the ffoote of the same chales beyng round and haveyng the ymage of Chryst enamyled on the same with the ymage of the Dowme in the myddst of the patent enamyled with N and L crownyd at the foot of the same dowme xxij unces.

The vth chales with the patent of sylver and gylte with the vernacle in the myddyst of the patent and the Crucifix one the ffoote belongyng to *Seynt Andrew Chappell*, ix unces.

The vijth chales with patent of sylver and gylt with the Trinitie enamyled in the myddyst of the patent and Jhus gravyn one the baksyde of the patent with thys scripture gravyn about the boll of y^e chalys Calicem Salutaris accipiam et nomen Dñi invocabo and on the ffoote Jhus Xpus gravyn and the crucifix enamyled belongyng to *Seynt Myghells Chappell* and in the custody of dan George Spryngwell xxxij unces di.

The vijth chales with patent of sylver and gylt with the Dowme enamyled in the myddyst of the patent and the Crucifixe enamyled one the fote of the chales belongyng to Seynt Nycholas Altar xvij unces di.

The viijth chales with patent of sylver parcell gylt with an ymage of the crucefix gravyn on the ffoot and a vernacles hed in the myddys of the patent with a pece of lead in the soket belongyng to the chapell of Seynt John thevaungelist, in the custody of S^r John Smyth ix unces.

ij Patentes for oblacons of sylver and gylt with Jhus crowned in the myddes of eyther of the patentes xij unces.

A chalice of sylver parcell gylte with the picture of Seynt Edward garnysshed in the fote.

A chales of parcell gylt with paten with a C and S in the botome which is charged in the vestry.

1543 (Inventory of York Minster.)²

One chalis ungilt w^t the image of our Lady in the fote & upon the payten one crosse
unus calix non deauratus cum cruce in pede.

1547 (Contents of Henry VIII's Jewel House.)³

¹ (For Nicholas Litlington, abbot, 1362-1386.)

² York Fabric Rolls.

³ MS. *pencs* Soc. Antiq. London.

Item one Chalice of golde with a paten the foote and shanke of this chalice garnished with xij troches of perles three perles in euerie troche poiz xxxviij oz di.

Item a Chalice with a paten gilte with the princes Armes upon the patten poiz xx oz quart^l.

Item a Chalice Siluer and double gilt garnished wt xij course stones or glasses and xxiiij garnishing perles poiz lj oz di.

Item a playne Chalice with a paten gilte weying xlj oz.

Item another Chalice with a paten gilte and the trynyte thereupon of P and A weying xxj oz iij q^{rt}^l.

Item a Chalice gilte with a Crucifix upon the foote and Mary and John blewe enameled with a paten to the same late the Cardynalles, weying xxxij oz iij q^{rt}^l.

Item a Chalice gilte the foote thereof six squared enameled blewe and thereupon antique chased with a paten to the same having in the myddes thereof Jhus aboute the same a wrethe weying xliij oz.

Item a Chalice gilt the foote thereof being rounde and thereupon a crucefix Mary and John and dyuers Images with a paten to the same having in the myddes thereof the father and the foure Evangelistes poiz xxxij oz di.

Item one Chalice gilte with a paten having a scripture graven thereaboutes being *Da pacem domine* &c. and the chalice having graven thereaboutes this Scripture *Calicem Saluator* &c. the foote of the Chalice made like a roose poiz xxxj oz di.

Item a Chalice gilte with a paten having a Scripture aboute it *Ante iudiciū para Justiciam* the foote six squared and thereupon our Lady and fyve other Images poiz lvij oz.

Item one Chalice gilte with a paten having thereupon *Benedicam² patrem* &c. and upon the foote of the Chalice *Auxilium meum a dño* and a plate thereupon is a goates head poiz xxix oz di.

Item one gilte Chalice with a paten to the same having the father and the iij Evaungelistes in plates enameled in the foote of the chalice our lorde crucified on a sylv^r plate and a round birrall in the topp of the shanke poiz xxvij oz.

Item one Chalice gilte with a paten having in the myddes of the paten a vernaile hedd, the foote of this chalice [six] squared with this Scripture *Adoramus te xpc Jhū* poiz xvij oz.

Item a Chalice gilte with a paten to the same having a Lambe in the paten the foote six squared poiz xxij oz di.

Item another Chalice gilte with a paten having in the myddes of the paten the Trynyte the foote six squared having in one of the squares a Crucifix of Mary and John poiz xxj oz iij q^{rt}^l.

Item one gilte Chalice with R and B upon the knoppes in blewe with a paten having a pellycane and wheate eares in his foote weying togethers xxv oz quart^l.

Item another Chalice gilte the foote pounced with Aungelles and leaves with a paten thereto with a hand and twoo Scallopp shelles in the myddes and sondrie wordes graven weying xxiiij oz q^{rt}^l.

Item another Chalice of Silver gilte with a paten having Christe upon the crosse poiz xxxv oz di.

Item one faier Chalice curiously wrought and garnished in

sondrie places with verey mean counterfett stones with a paten weying togethers xxx oz di.

Item a Chalice of Christall garnished w^t Silver gilte and a paten of Silver and gilte poiz xj oz i quart¹.

Item a Challice of silver gilte with a patente in a case of blacke leather.

1552 (Inventory of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London.)¹

Item a greate Chalice silv^r and gilte the foote rownde w^t leaves and braunches graven. The paten having an hand blessinge, a spone in the chalice, and w^t a knoppe of Cristall at thende of the spone xxij unc di.

Item a Chalice silv^r and gilte the foote vj square with a Crucifix Marie and Johⁿ in the foote, and Jh^us Cristus graven allsoe in the foote, the paten havinge thymage of the Trinitie, and this scripture graven aboughte the paten: Benedicam² patrē et filiū &c. xxx unc. di.

Item a Challice plaine w^t a rownde foote silv^r and gilte thymage of the Crucifix graven in the foote of the same and a hande blessinge w^t a Crosse upon the paten. xx^{ti} unc. iij q^{rt}.

Item a faire antique Chalice of Silv^r and gilte w^t a rownde foote and w^t miche curiouse workmanshapp and flowres, the paten havinge graven upon it this w^de Jh^us enameled. xxxij^{ti} unc. di.

Item a Challice vsedd daily for the Co^mnyon and kep^te in the vtter vesterwie, silv^r and all gilte graven botlie aboughte the cuppe and apon the paten, Calicem Salutaris accipia et nomen domini invocabo xxviii^{ti} unc

1552 (Inventory of St. Matthew's Ipswich.)²

One payer of Challys of Silver and parcell gylte w^t a paten waying xij ounces and di q^{tr}.

1552 (Inventory of St. Mary Elsings, Ipswich.)

One payer of Challys of sylver and all Gylte waying xiiij ounces di.

1552 (Inventory of Colleshill church, Berks.)

One chalice of siluer percell gilte.

Another chalice whereof the paten & the upper parte is siluer percell gilte and the Bottom Copper.

1557 (Inventory of Lincoln cathedral church.)

Item a chalice sylver and gylte haveyng abowte the cuppe *Calicem salutaris accipiam* and on the foote *Ih^us xrus Ih^us xrus amen* Lackyng ij knoppys on the foote, And on the patene *Benedicamus prēm et filium cum scō spū*. Ex dono Johis Longland³ olim Epⁱ Lincoln', belongyng to his chapell weyng xxiiij unc.

Item, a nother chalice sylver parcell gylte haveyng in the fote a crosse gylted, and on the patene a face gylted in the mydd^e thereof weyng vj unc.

¹ Ecclesiologist xvii., 198.

² *East Anglian* N.S. l. 43. Notice that "payer of challys" only means *one* vessel.

³ John Longland, prebendary of Lincoln, 1514-21, dean of Sarum 1517-21, bishop of Lincoln, 1521-47.

ON THE DIFFERENCE OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST
BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND
THOSE OF MONKS; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH
WHICH SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

(*Concluded.*)

We come now at length to the fifth and final proposition respecting the churches of the Austin Canons, which runs thus:—"That by the time they got to building the nave, the larger parish churches began to have aisles, and the canons thought they must have aisles too, and they accordingly made such additions . . . for the canons felt that their churches were inferior to those of the monks, and they craved the addition of aisles which were now becoming common even in parish churches." In answer to which I have undertaken to shew that, in the first place, the canons cannot have waited till aisles were becoming common even in parish churches to take example therefrom, or to emulate those of the Benedictines by adding such features to their own, because they are found constantly both in choir and nave, in those which are not only of Norman, but of the very earliest Norman period. And, secondly, that many churches of canons of comparatively, and actually late date, are more or less, if not entirely, aisleless; thus proving conclusively, *in either case*, that whatever motives may have influenced the canons in the adoption or rejection of aisles, imitation of parish churches could not possibly have been one of them. Now, before proceeding directly with my answer, I may perhaps be allowed to point out how the opening clause of the allegation seems, at any rate, to imply that the churches of these Austin canons were all commenced at, or about the same time—presumably the early part of the 12th century—when the ordinary parish churches (owing doubtless to their number and the general scantiness of the population) were comparatively small and aisleless. Of these, it will be remembered, the canons are assumed, or rather asserted to have taken the cruciform type as their model, and to have laid out their choirs and transepts accordingly, forthwith. Then, pausing for a while till fresh funds should be forthcoming, they found—"by the time they got to building the nave that the larger parish churches had begun to have aisles," features which, once again, they felt themselves constrained to copy. But how far these Augustinian churches, collectively regarded, were from belonging to the early period suggested, will be clearly seen when the dates of their several foundations only, not construction—for that was quite another matter which usually followed many years later—come to be examined. For out of a total of two hundred and eighteen, no fewer than eighty, or considerably more than one-third, will be found

to lie outside its limits;¹ the very earliest only of which belong to the last quarter of the century, while the great majority are of dates varying from about 1200 down to 1432. Thus, no more than one hundred and thirty-eight remain to us for examination. Nor, even of these will it be possible to take an accurate account, since at least seventy-two are now so utterly destroyed that next to nothing is generally known about them, nor is any sort of information readily accessible.² Practically, therefore, only sixty-six are left to us, and these again will have to undergo a still further process of exhaustion. For of the few canons' churches founded and built between 1100 and 1175, which yet remain undestroyed, we shall find that many have been either wholly or partially replaced by subsequent rebuilding; while others, though founded within those limits, were not actually built till some years afterwards. To the former class belong those of Guisborough, Bridlington, Hexham, Thurgarton, Kirkham, Llanthony, Royston, Staverdale, Thornton, Walsingham, Bamburgh, Bredon, Bruton, Little Dunmow, Hartland, South Kyme, Ovingham, Sheringham(?) and Westacre, in all nineteen. To the latter, those of Ulverscroft, Brinkburn, Chacombe, Hardham, Ronton, and Lanercost. These twenty-five then, added to the rest, reduce to forty-one the entire number with which we need here concern ourselves. And it is not

¹ They are as follows :—*Hastings*, temp. Richard I; *Brooke*, Richard I; *Wigmore*, 1779; *Cokesford*, temp. Henry III; *Newark*, Surrey, c. 1204; *Caldwell*, temp. John; *Wormley*, John, or Henry III; *Worspring*, c. 1210; *Torksey*, built by King John; *Bicester* 1182; *Healaugh Park*, c. 1218; *Holy Trinity, Ipswich*, c. 1177; *Fineshead*, temp. John; *Cartmel*, 1188; *Westwood in Lesnes*, 1178; *Burscough*, temp. Richard I; *Stafford*, c. 1180; *Hickling*, 1185; *Stoneley*, c. 1180; *Mobberley*, c. 1206; *Thurgarton*, 1187; *Spinney*, temp. Henry III; *Motisfont*, temp. John; *Frithelstock*, c. 1220; *Wroston*, temp. Henry III; *Creyke*, c. 1226; *Acornbury*, temp. John; *Bilsington*, 1253; *Bradley*, temp. John; *Michellham*, 16th Henry III; *Ratlinghope*, temp. John; *Ravenston*, c. 39th Henry III, by the King himself; *Chetwood*, 1244; *Lacock*, 1232; *Selborne*, 1233; *Kirkby Beler*, 1359; *Ashridge*, 1283; *Reigate*, early in thirteenth century; *Haltemprice*, c. 1324; *Bailliesmere*, 13th Edward I; *Mazstoke*, 1336; *Bisham Montague*, 1338; *Planesford*, 1347; *Edlington*, c. 1347; *Derford*, c. 1355; *Syon*, 1432; *Bentley*, thirteenth century; *Burnham*, 1265; *Berden*, probably temp. Henry III; *Leighs*, c. 1230; *Tiptree*, temp. Henry III; *Wymondsley Parva*, temp. Henry III; *Markby*, temp. John; *Newstead*, Lincolnshire, temp. Henry III; *Sundlesford*, c. 1205; *Grace Dieu, Belton*, c. 24th Henry III; *Becston*, temp. John, or Henry III; *Bromehill*, temp. John; *Wigenhall*, 1181; *Massingham Magna*,

c. 1260; *Mountjoy*, temp. John; *Peterston*, c. 1200; *Chirbury*, temp. Henry III; *Linchmere*, temp. Henry III; *Byrkley*, 1199; *Flitcham*, temp. Richard I; *Longleat*, temp. Henry III; *Campess*, temp. John; *North Ferriby*, temp. John, probably; *Wormegay*, temp. Richard I, or John; *Kersey*, probably temp. John; *Flixton*, c. 1258; *Weybridge*, temp. Edward I (?); *Holywell*, c. 1240; *Torington*, probably temp. Richard I; *Herringfleet*, temp. Henry III; *Woodbridge*, end of twelfth century; *Latton*, thirteenth century; *Blackmore*, temp. John; *Tandridge*, temp. Richard I, and *Hechester*, c. 1220,

² I refer to these :—Plympton, Pentney, Thremhale, Huntingdon, S. Oswald, Gloucester; Barnwell, Nostell, Woodkirk, Hyrst, Tockwith, S. James, Northampton; Llanthony, Gloucester; Taunton, Brissett, Studley, Laund, Drax, Marton, Launceston, S. Denis, Southampton; Leeds, Hasleberge, Kenilworth, Stone, Southwick, Old Buckenham, Osney, Pynelam, Scarthie, Nutley, Bushmead, Wartre, Chich S. Osyth, Ixworth, Norton, Newburgh, Uode, Bromere, Harwood, Leigh, Bradenstoke, Nocton, Thornholm, Derley, Newenham, Beds.; Butley, Barlynch, Wombridge, Tunbridge, Anglesea, Trentham, Erdbury, Poughley, Roucester, Combwell, Iyechurch, Cold Norton, Grimsby, Carham, Missenden, Thoby, Conishead, Ailsham, Hempton, Shelford, Lees, Alnesborne, Blithborough, Calke, Chipley, Calwich, and S. Sepulchre, Warwick.

a little remarkable that of these distinctly Norman examples seventeen will be found to be not only aisled in either nave or choir, but in nearly every case, in both. Moreover it will be seen—and that is the special point here to be noted—that they are all, not merely of Norman date and construction, but that many are of the earliest Norman period—the earliest that is, possible to them, as coinciding in date with the very introduction of the order. A few even, such as those of Waltham, Christ Church, Twynham, and Carlisle, which were commenced as churches of secular canons, are of still higher antiquity and carry us back in some sort to the 11th century, before the Augustinians, as an order, were introduced at all. Taken in order then, these seventeen aisled Norman churches of the Austin canons are as follows :—

WALTHAM HOLY CROSS.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and aisles to both choir and nave. It was commenced, in the first instance, if not completed, by Harold, and afterwards either wholly rebuilt or continued during the reign of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II. The lower parts of the nave, which shew distinct signs of progression in style westwards will be found to re-produce as nearly as a building not designed for vaulting can do, the design of that of Flambard at Durham,—1099-1128, —while much of the clerestory belongs to an early period of the Transition. (See plates in *Britton's Antiquities of Great Britain*, vol. III.)

CHRIST CHURCH, TWYNEHAM.—Cruciform, with aisles to choir and nave, and (originally) a central tower. The primitive buildings of the time of Edward the Confessor were removed and reconstructed, doubtless on a far grander scale, and by means similar to those pursued by him at Durham, viz., at other people's expense, by the notorious Dean—Ralph Flambard. Parts of the transepts, the piers and arches of the tower, and the abutting portions of the nave are all, however, that can now possibly lay claim to be of his time, for the choir and Lady chapel have been splendidly rebuilt in the Perpendicular period, and the grand Norman nave belongs to later days—the middle, and succeeding parts of the twelfth century. For a full and admirably illustrated account of this more interesting building, see *Ferrey and Brayley's Antiquities of Christ Church, Hants.*, Quarto, 1834.

BODMIN.—This church was of very ancient foundation. William, of Worcester says :—"Abbatia ecclesie canonicorum de Bodman fundata primo per Athelstanum regem, et secunda vice per . . . Warwast episcopum Excestrie, qui fuit filius sororis Willelmi Conquestoris, et 3d vice per Grandson episcopum." It has long been destroyed, but various details dug up from time to time shew it to have been of Norman construction, and probably of Warlewast's age. Whether it was cruciform or not does not appear, but from William of Worcester's account, it had a tower, and was certainly aisled throughout, the width of the church itself, which was about a hundred feet long, being about fifty feet, and that of the Lady chapel about forty feet, or a little over.

ST. GERMAN'S.—Canons regular of some sort are said to have been placed in this (anciently cathedral) church by Leofric, bishop of Exeter, in 1050, the Augustinians proper being inducted, according to Leland,

by bishop Bartholomew, temp. Henry II. Of its eastern parts, long since destroyed, it is impossible to speak, but its aisled Norman nave, western towers, and grand Norman west doorways still remain to testify to its, at least partially, and probably once wholly, aisled character.

CARLISLE.—From the first this church was aisled both in nave and choir. Of the primitive choir of the priest Walter, temp. Rufus, there are now no remains; but that it was aisled is certain from the evidence still to be seen in the transepts. A fragment of the slightly later aisled Norman nave is still standing. For an admirable series of views, plans, elevations, &c., of this church, see *Billings's Carlisle Cathedral*, Quarto, 1840.

WORKSOP.—Cruciform, three towered, and aisled from the first, both in choir and nave. It dates from the very commencement of the twelfth century, having been founded by William de Lovetot in 1103, and carried on steadily to completion under himself and his successors.

S. MARY OVEREY.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and doubtless aisled throughout both in choir and nave from the first; for, though the whole of the eastern parts, together with most of the western, were rebuilt in the thirteenth century, the magnificent scale of the Norman arcades—as witnessed by what remains of them in the nave—renders a similar arrangement in the choir matter of all but absolute certainty. The church was founded as one of Austin canons by William Pont de l'Arch and William Dauncey, two Norman knights in 1106, William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, assisting them in the construction of the choir and transepts, and building the whole of the magnificent nave—no less than twelve bays in length—at his own cost in the years immediately following.

S. JULIAN AND S. BOTOLPH, COLCHESTER.—Cruciform, three towered, and doubtless aisled in choir and nave from the commencement. As at Waltham, Worksop, S. German's, &c., the eastern parts are now down, but there is every reason to suppose that they would correspond in plan as in style with those still left standing westwards, and which are fully aisled. The church was founded before 1107, according to bishop Tanner, and the remains of the west front of the nave shew that it was continued thenceforward without interruption from end to end.

CIRENCESTER.—Though utterly destroyed shortly after the suppression, Leland's description, and William of Worcester's measurement of this abbey church serve to restore it sufficiently for our present purpose. According to the former, the east part was of very old building, the west part from the transept downwards being of later work. The latter tells us that it was altogether about 235 feet in length over all, by about 68 feet in breadth across the aisles of the nave. The Lady chapel, by which it would seem we are to understand the structural choir, was about 123 feet in length by 63 feet in breadth across the aisles. Now, as the church was commenced by King Henry I. in 1117, and completely finished by him in fourteen years, the choir, which Leland speaks of as being a "very old building," must necessarily have been of the

primitive construction, and with it no doubt the name would originally correspond.

S. MARTIN'S, DOVER.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and aisled both in choir and nave. This grand church, the complete plan of which (already described) would doubtless be prepared from the first, was commenced and carried forward during the last three years of his life, by an Austin canon—William de Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1123-1136. It afterwards passed to the Benedictines.

S. BARTHOLOMEW, SMITHFIELD.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and aisled throughout in apse, choir, and nave. The works, which were commenced in 1123, would seem to have been carried forward uninterruptedly to their completion eastwards of the crossing by the founder, Rahere, during his lifetime. The nave, with its aisles, was an addition of the 13th century.

DUNSTABLE.—Cruciform, with a central and north-west tower, and aisled in both choir and nave. This once grand church was commenced and wholly completed during the latter part of his reign by King Henry I.; one of the witnesses to the charter of foundation being Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford, consecrated to that see in 1131.

DORCHESTER.—Very little of the original Norman work of this singular, but most interesting and instructive church, is now left; enough, however, to shew that the choir had aisles, since part of the outer wall of the northern one, together with a western doorway opening from it to the cloisters, is still *in situ*. It was originally founded and built by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, in 1140.

S. AUGUSTINE, BRISTOL.—Cruciform, with a central, and originally two western towers, and aisled in the choir and nave. Partly existing remains, together with others destroyed within a late period but duly put on record, serve to shew that the building was fully completed in all its parts as above described during the Norman period. According to Leland, and Bishop Tanner, it was founded by Robert Fitz Harding, mayor of Bristol, in 1148.

LILLESHELL.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and aisles or chapels to the choir only, separated by side walls. It was founded by Richard de Belmeis, last Dean of the Collegiate Church of S. Alkmund in Shrewsbury, about 1145, and built at a single effort.

BOURNE.—Cruciform, with two western towers, and aisles to the nave only, the Norman work extending to a portion of the west front. It was founded, according to Tanner, as an Abbey Church of canons by Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, in or before 1138.

OXFORD.—Cruciform, with central tower, and side aisles to choir, nave and transept. It was founded for Austin canons by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, in 1111; but the actual fabric belongs to a later period, viz., that of prior Canutus, under whose rule it was commenced and carried to completion, 1150-1180.

Besides the foregoing examples of Austin Canons' churches which have aisled Norman choirs, or naves, or both, it will be remembered that there are three others, one of Austin, and two of secular canons, which still preserve the same features. I mean those of Jedburgh, and S. John's, Chester, Augustinian and secular respectively, which have pure Norman choirs with transitional naves; and Southwell, secular, which has a pure Norman nave with a rebuilt Early English choir, but which has undoubtedly taken the place of an original Norman one. These three then, if added to the preceding, will bring up the number of still existing aisled canons' churches of Norman date to twenty.

But, to shew that we have examples of canons' churches with aisles not only of the Norman, but of the earliest Norman period, is only one part of my task. It is to shew further that there are a sufficient number of aisleless examples of comparatively, and actually late date—when aisles were usual even in the meanest village churches—to prove that whatever motives may have induced the canons to adopt or reject the use of aisles, imitation of parish churches could not have been one of them. Let us see, then, what they are. And first of those of the Black, or Austin canons proper, or rather of those few of them of which it is possible to give any account. Among them we have:—

BEESTON PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK, built about the end of King John's reign, or beginning of that of Hen. III. The nave is now destroyed, but the building was cruciform, with an aisleless transept, and a beautiful aisleless arcaded choir of pure Early English work. (Letter and sketch of Mr. E. M. Beloe, Lynn Regis).

BRINKBURN PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—Though the Priory was founded temp. Hen. I., the whole of this interesting church, which is perfectly preserved, is of the latest Transitional and Early English character, shewing that at first, and for several years afterwards, a small and temporary chapel must have sufficed for the canons. It is cruciform, with an aisleless choir; transept with an eastern aisle of two bays on either side the crossing; and a nave with a south aisle only.

FLANESFORD PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE, founded and built by Richard Talbot, Lord of Goodrich Castle, in 1347. From the account contained in vol. xxxiv, pp. 498-499 of this Journal, it would seem that the arrangements here were of the most singular and abnormal character, the church itself, like the refectory, being upstairs! What is more particularly to the point, however, is the fact that it was not cruciform, and wholly aisleless.

HAVERFORDWEST PRIORY CHURCH, PEMBROKESHIRE.—Founded *circa* 1200. This cruciform church, which was one of considerable dimensions, being about 160 feet in length by 89 feet across the transept, and with a breadth and height in the walling of thirty feet, was aisleless throughout. The four fine arches supporting the central tower are pointed.

KEYNSHAM ABBEY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—Said to have been founded between 1167 and 1172. The church, the remaining foundations

of which, if any, are now completely buried beneath new villa residences, would seem, from the many beautiful fragments that have been turned up to have been constructed, in the first instance, in the latest and richest transitional style; and, judging from the foundations, so far as they have been explored, on an aisleless plan. During the early Decorated and Perpendicular periods, broad aisles or chapels would appear to have been attached in some manner to both the north and south sides; but, as it would seem, not connected with the central and original part by continuous arcades. Whether the church was cruciform or not seems uncertain. For a full account of the exploration made upon the site, and the various discoveries then made, see vol. xxxi, pp. 195-205 of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.

LACOCK ABBEY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.—Built entirely by the famous Ela, Countess of Salisbury, who herself laid the foundation stone on April 16th, 1232. Though very little indeed, next to nothing almost, now remains of the actual fabric of the abbey church, that little, taken in connection with the terms of an agreement for building a new lady chapel in the fourteenth century (kindly communicated by C. H. Talbot, Esq.) is quite enough to prove to demonstration, not only that it was not cruciform, but that it was aisleless throughout. The church, as its existing traces shew, was at the least six bays in length, probably seven, and vaulted throughout in stone. That it had not a north aisle is certain from the position of the still perfectly preserved cloister; nor, as the contract, which I give below¹ shews, could it have had a

¹ "Ceo est le covenant feait entre Dame Johanne de mounfort abbesse de lacoke e covent de mesme le lyu dune part E monsire sire Johan Bluet seigneur de lacham dautrepart Ceo est asavoir qe les avauntldites abbesse e covent o lour successeres frount feare e parfeare une chapele de nostre Dame en lour abbeye de lacoke Quele chapele se joynt a lour haut Eglise de mesme labbeye E si serra La chapele de la longure de cynkaunte e neof pez e de la largesce de vynt e cynke e demy E serront en lavauntldite chapele quatre fenestres Ceo est asavoir en ches cun gable une fenestre si large com la une est feate e chevie e lautre com elle est comencee serra bien feait e finie e en Le forein costee de lavauntldite chapele la une soit telle com elle est feait e chevie e lautre si large com elle est comencee serra feait e finie de bone overaigne e covenable E serront les avauntldites fenestres covenablement fereers E serra le veul mur abatuz de lapoynte des deus fenestres qe furent e parerent le jour de la fesance de cest escript en le mur avauntldit tantk a la reinge table prochein de souz les bas de memes les fenestres E serront deus arches feates la ou le mur issi serra abatuz si large ceo est asavoir com bien e ensurement purra

estre soeffers entre les deus rachemenz issi qe la veille voute purra estre sawne sanz peril E frount les avauntlditz abbesse e covent o lour successeres feare le comble de mesme la chapele de bon meryn e covenable overay gue E de tel manere couble comenczplerra al avauntlditz abbesse e covent o lour successeres E serra lavauntldite chapele ceo est asavoir le comble covent de plum bien e covenablement E serra le coumble de denz lavauntldite chapele tot bien laumbresche e depeynt E serra les deus parties de lavauntldite chapele feate e parfeate en totes overaignes com sus est dit Del jour de seynt michel en lan du regne le roy Edward filz au roi Edward neofyme de denz les vst aunz procheinz ensuvaunt plainementz soient acompliez E la terree partie de la Chapele avauntldite serra ensurement feate e farfeate de denz les quatre aunz procheinz apres les vst aunz avauntlditz plainementz soient acompliez en chescune manere de overaigne com sus est dit E si lavauntldite chapele ne soit feate e farfeate e en totes overaignes chevye e finie bien e covenablement en touz poynz com sus est dit qe dieux defende aydunqe serra les avauntlditz abbesse e covent o lour successeres tenuz alavauntldit monsire sire Johan ou a ses

southern one, for the new lady chapel not only involved the destruction of its side windows in that direction in order to insert the connecting arcade, but it was provided with a west, as well as with an east window,—a feature, the existence of which an aisle to the westward would have rendered impossible.

MAXSTOKE PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.—Founded by Sir William Clinton, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon, in 1336. As first built, this church consisted of a simple aisleless choir and nave. About a century afterwards it was made cruciform by the addition of aisleless transepts; a tower and spire being at the same time erected at the intersection.

HENHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—Though founded for canons regular by Archbishop Thomas II. of York in 1113, the whole of this church was rebuilt at the close of the twelfth, and during the first half of the thirteenth century. Its grand choir and transept are both aisled, but its nave, if ever built, which is very doubtful, could only have had a single aisle. Nor would this arrangement seem to have been enforced by the disposition of an earlier Norman cloister, for the whole of the masonry in that quarter is of far later date, and without any trace of Norman work whatever.

LEICESTER ABBEY CHURCH.—This church, though founded in 1143 would seem to have been in great part, if not wholly, rebuilt late in the thirteenth century, having been solemnly dedicated in 1279. Now, though it is quite possible that the planning of the domestic offices might have interfered with the subsequent erection of an aisle to an originally aisleless church, on one side of the nave it is quite plain that no such restrictions would apply to other parts of the fabric,—the opposite side of the nave the choir, and the transept. Yet we find from—“*The View of the Scytuation of the late Monastery of Leyecester*” that the new church which was “nygh to the hyght of Westmynstre churchre, with a hyghe squayr tower stepyll standing at the west ende of the same wherin ys a great dorre and a large windowe,” was constructed on a wholly aisleless plan throughout. In length it was—“exl. fote and in bredyth xxx fote with

excecutours en deus cent mares dargent Des queux deus cent mares les avaunt-ditz abbesse e covent sunt feat e livere a monsire sire Johan Bluet de ceo un obligacion E si le overaigue avaunt-dite soit feate e parfeate en totes manere choses chesves e finies deuz le temps avauntdit serra labesse e covent e lour successeres quites e assoutz des deus cent mares avauntditz compiert en une lettre al avauntditz abbesse e covent par lavauntdit monsire sire Johan de ceo feat E lavauntdit monsire sire Johan Bluet veulte graunte pur luy e pur ses heirs e pur ses excecutours qe chesunc manere de covenaunt feat avaunt le jour de la fesaunce de cest escript tochaunt chesunc manere de overaigue de lavaunt nomme chapele soit esteyut e tenuz pur

nul [E ensuerment un obligacion des deus cent mares qe lavauntditz abbesse e covent avoient feat a monsire sire Johan Bluet avant la fesaunce de cest escript soit veond e a totes gentz tenuz pur nul] E pur ceo qe leo avauntdites parties voelent dunepart e dautre qe les avauntditz covenaunz en totes choses susdites soient fermes e estables A cest escript endente entrechaunjablement sunt mys lour seals par iceaux tesmoignes Sire Wauter de pavely Sire Johan de hales sire Johan de la mare Chivalers Johan tourpyn Johan de stodleghe Johan perechaye Johan de Bourleghe e autres Done a Lacoce le Jeody procheyn apres la feste seynt bartolomeu lan du regne le roi Edward filz au roi Edward neofyme.”

a large cross yell in the mydyst of the same conteynyng in leynght e fote and xxx fote in bredyth ;"—that is to say, it was of a vast height, with an extreme length of a hundred and forty feet, by a hundred feet across the transept, and with a uniform breadth in the four limbs of thirty feet, a low lantern tower probably occupying the intersection. On a far richer scale no doubt, its general ground plan would exactly reproduce that of the thirteenth century church of Haverfordwest already described.

STAUERDALE PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—This church, which was entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century,—having been consecrated on the 4th of June, 1443—remains still, though ruined, in a remarkably well preserved state. It consists of an aisleless nave and chancel, the latter with an attached vestry or chapel to the north east ; and apparently, the lower part of a tower occupying the usual position of a porch on the south side of the nave.

TORTINGTON PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX, temp. Rich. I., or John.—So far as I am able to ascertain, this would seem to have been but a small building. The remains, the vicar tells me "are very scanty, consisting principally of one wall, on the southern side of which are remnants of shafting and arches, indicating a vaulted roof, perhaps of the chapel, as the wall runs east and west." As the number of canons was but five or six, a simple chapel would probably be quite sufficient for all their needs.

ULVERSCROFT PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE, founded by Robert le Bossu, earl of Leicester, about 1174. As originally constructed, this singularly fine and stately church, which was of pure first pointed work throughout, was entirely aisleless, consisting simply of a chancel, nave and western tower. At a later period a beautiful continuous Perpendicular clerestory was added, and very fine and rich east and south windows inserted in the choir. Still later, a now destroyed aisle was added to the north.

WAYBOURNE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK, supposed to have been founded by Sir Ralph Meynelwaryn, *temp.* John. This church singular alike in its design and situation—lying as it does alongside, and in contact with that of the parish, and with its tower placed as in some Norman examples, between the nave and choir, is aisleless throughout, though some much ruined chapels are attached to the choir. Whether the whole of the building is of and after, the date assigned for the foundation of the Priory or not, I cannot, however, say, since though diligently and persistently sought for, I have found it quite impossible to obtain from the local authorities, any kind of information respecting the church whatever.

WYMONDSLEY PARVA PRIORY CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.—Built by Richard Argentein, *temp.* Henry III. Here, again, the church would seem to have been a small aisleless building, as it is spoken of as a chapel. Together with the rest of the conventual buildings, it is now utterly destroyed.

BAMBURGH PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—This church, which

was that of a small cell to Nostell is cruciform, and wholly of thirteenth century and later date. The choir of the canons is of rich and pure early English character, and, like the transepts, aisleless, though the parochial nave has north and south aisles.

CANONS ASHBY PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—The plan and all the existing remains of this once fine church, which was founded, *temp.* Henry II., shew it to have been built in the Transitional and succeeding styles. It had a long aisleless choir, possibly a short transept, nave with a narrow north aisle only, and a single western tower and porch to the north of this aisle again. There are also traces of a chapel east of the conjectural north transept against the north side of the choir, and there may possibly have been a corresponding one southwards.

OVINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—With the exception of the early western tower, the whole of this interesting church, which was a cell to Hexham, was rebuilt at a single effort in the thirteenth century. The deep and spacious choir of the canons is aisleless, the nave having north and south, and the transept western, aisles.

The following are taken from the churches of the Premonstratensians or White Canons.

BAYHAM ABBEY CHURCH, SUSSEX.—Founded circa 1200. The plan of this rich and fine thirteenth century building is one of perhaps the most remarkable in the kingdom. It consists of a pentagonal apse, immediately west of which is a transept with two deeply recessed chapels on either side the crossing, and separated from each other and the presbytery by solid walling, precisely as in the Cistercian churches. West of the crossing comes the choir with north and south aisles, but shut off from it by solid walling instead of by arcades, and west of the choir a long and aisleless nave.

BEAUCHIEF ABBEY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.—Founded by Robert Fitz Ranulph, December 21st, 1183. This church would appear, from the account of it given in vol. xxx of the Journal of the Archaeological Association, to have been cruciform, wholly aisleless, and with a fine western tower, of which latter the lower part only now remains.

COCKERSAND ABBEY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.—Founded circa 1190. There is very little now left of this building, the chief remaining feature being the chapter house, which is octagonal. The whole of the ground plan of the church may be traced, however, and shews it to have been both cruciform and aisleless.

COVERHAM ABBEY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded in the fourteenth, John, by Ralph FitzRobert, Lord of Middleham. My recollection of these beautiful ruins, to which immediate access was not granted, is too indistinct to allow me to speak positively as regards their plan, but I think the church was cruciform, with an aisleless choir and transept, and nave with a north aisle only—the latter an after addition, as the arches and pillars are of distinctly Geometrical character.

DALE ABBEY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE, founded in 1201. Here again, quite in the thirteenth century, we find the plan of a single aisled nave—so commonly set down as a mere makeshift one, resulting from a previous aisleless arrangement—adopted, as it would seem, in the first instance, and certainly long after aisles had become everywhere common. The church itself is cruciform with a central tower; transepts with irregular eastern chapels; and a nave with a north aisle only,—the whole originally of Early English date.

EGLISTON ABBEY CHURCH, YORKS, founded by Ralph de Multon about 1196. Though built in the first instance, either only partially, or on a very small scale, and in the earliest pointed style, this church was ere long gradually reconstructed in a much richer manner, and of much larger size. All that now remains of the original fabric is the west end and north side of the nave, and the west wall of the north transept; for the choir belongs to the middle, and the transepts and south side of the nave to the later part of the thirteenth century. As they now stand the nave and choir are seen by clear structural evidences to be just six feet wider than those of the church as first built, the increased width being obtained, not by the addition of an aisle, as usual, but by a bodily advancement of the south wall of the nave itself. This was rendered necessary in order to bring it into line with the south wall of the new choir, which, on its entire rebuilding, was widened to that extent southwards. Thus, so far as the nave and choir were concerned, the original aisleless plan was persisted in to the last, the only new aisle being arranged to the east of the transept, where it forms two bays or chapels on each side of the crossing. This church is interesting, not merely on account of its architecture, which, though simple, is of great merit; but as being by far the best preserved of all those of the White Canons now remaining to us. Saving only those of the low central tower, the south gable, and east side of the transept, the whole of its walls are still standing, and to their full height.

LANGDON ABBEY CHURCH, KENT.—Founded in 1192, the plan of this church is one of extreme singularity. Originally it would seem to have been a simple aisleless cruciform one, with the north and south walls of the nave and choir carried across the transept perhaps only to a certain height and as a backing for the stalls of the canons. Afterwards chapels appear to have been constructed on either side the choir by producing the walls of the north and south fronts of the transept eastwards till they arrived in line with the east wall of the choir; the east front being thus formed into three equal or nearly equal divisions. On the north side the wall line was also continued westward from the transept to the west front of the nave; so that it only required a similar prolongation on the south side of the nave to bring up the plan of the whole building into an exact parallelogram, divided longitudinally into three equal and entirely disconnected parts. The whole of the original details are of the very latest Transitional, and pure early English character.

SHAP ABBEY CHURCH, WESTMORELAND.—Founded by Thomas Fitz Gospatrik between 1191 and 1200. With the exception of the massive Perpendicular western tower, the whole of the buildings of this abbey are

of pure early English work. The church, which is small and simple, is cruciform, and, save a single aisle to the north of the nave, aisleless. Whether this aisle was an early addition to an originally aisleless nave, I cannot say certainly, as it is now many years since I visited this singularly lonely and retired spot. That it was so, however, is probable from the fact of its very fine arcade being richly moulded, while all the rest of the easy work is of extreme simplicity.

S. RADEGUND'S, OR BRADSOLE ABBEY CHURCH, KENT.—Founded 1191. Though sufficiently remarkable, the plan of this church is of extreme regularity, consisting of a long choir with aisles separated by solid walling, and reaching about two-thirds of its length eastwards ; transepts with square eastern chapels outside the line of the choir aisles, and an aisleless nave. There is a remarkable arrangement of the tower and attached chambers in the angle between the nave and the north transept, which is probably unique.

TICHFIELD ABBEY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.—Founded by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, in 1231. This church is now greatly ruined, but enough of the nave remains to shew that though built well towards the middle of the thirteenth century, and that, too, by so rich and munificent a prelate as Peter de Rupibus, it was aisleless.

TORR ABBEY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE, founded 1196. This, by far the richest of all the Premonstratensian churches, was cruciform, with eastern chapels to the transept, and—like so many others of pure, first pointed character—a nave with a north aisle only ; thus affording the clearest proof that neither imitation of aisleless Norman parish churches, not yet—in this case—lack of means could possibly have had any effect in inducing the canons to adopt this special form of plan.

Among the churches of the Seculars we have :—

BATTLEFIELD COLLEGIATE CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE, founded 1410, for a master and five secular chaplains, in memory of King Henry IVth's victory over Henry Percy in 1403. This fine and stately building consists of a rich unbroken choir and nave wholly aisleless, and a square embattled tower at the west end.

RUTHIN COLLEGIATE CHURCH, DENBIGHSHIRE, founded for seven secular priests, by John, son of Reginald de Grey, in 1310. The plan of this church, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the present warden and vicar, the Rev. Bulkeley O. Jones, was somewhat remarkable, consisting of a long chancel (now entirely destroyed), central tower and spire ; west of these the nave ; and to the south of this, and separated from it by central spine of piers and arches extending as far east as the eastern face of the central tower, a single aisle. This aisle now constitutes the church.

RUSHFORD COLLEGIATE CHURCH, NORFOLK, founded by Sir Edmund de Gonville, priest (founder of Gonville College, Cambridge, for a warden and six secular priests, in 1342. "The church of Rushworth was built about 1340-50, in connection with the college of S. John Evangelist. It was cruciform, with nave, large chancel, two transepts and tower—(the

tower having some curious provisions of refuge or defence). There are not and there never have been, any aisles to nave or chancel. The only appendices to the original structure have been a porch, which had not apparently been provided for at the first building, and a chantry chapel on the south side of the chancel, erected by Lady Margaret Wingfield towards the end of the fifteenth century". Letter of the Rev. E. K. Bennet, Rector of Brettenham, with Rushford and Shadwell.

LLANDEWI BRIEF COLLEGIATE CHURCH, CARDIGANSHIRE, founded by Thomas Beek, bishop of S. David's, for a precentor and twelve prebendaries, in 1287. "The church was certainly originally cruciform, having been rebuilt so by Bishop Beek. The tower is still central, but the transepts have long since disappeared. There was no aisle to the chancel, but to the nave there was a south aisle, separated from the nave by large arches." Letter of the Rev. L. T. Rowland, vicar.

S. MARY'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, S. DAVID'S, PEMBROKESHIRE, founded by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and bishop Adam Houghton, 1365. The ruins of this interesting structure, with those of its cloister, are still standing to the north of S. David's cathedral, with which, and the famous remains of the palace, they form a very striking group. As will be seen by the following extract, it was wholly aisleless. "From whatever point of view the chapel is seen, its tall slender tower first attracts notice. This, like the chapel itself—the height of which is everywhere striking—is raised on a long crypt, which runs longitudinally. The tower and two bays beyond it to the north, form a sort of vestibule to the chapel. The tower, which is very plain, was designed to have a spire, as is evident from the squinches visible at the top of the interior. It now ends in a cornice, from which project figures of angels. The chapel itself is of four bays, three of which only have windows; since the easternmost bay was on the south side flanked by a sacristy, and on the north contained the vast structure of the founder's tomb. The westernmost bay, and one half of the bay beyond it formed an ante-chapel; they were divided from the space eastward by a screen, probably of no great height. There is sufficient evidence that the window tracery was unusually good; the east window in especial, must have been a very fine example of Early Perpendicular." From account of S. David's cathedral, by the late Mr. R. J. King, in *Murray's Cathedrals*.

SHOTTESBROOKE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, BERKSHIRE.—Founded by Sir William Russell for a warden and five priests in 1337. This small, but beautiful church—built specially, like all those previously enumerated, for collegiate uses—is well known from Mr. Butterfield's plates. It is cruciform, with limbs of nearly equal length, entirely aisleless, and surmounted at the intersection with a singularly fine tower and spire.

S. STEPHEN'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, WESTMINSTER.—Commenced by King Edward I, in 1292, and finished by King Edward III. between 1330 and 1363. This splendid structure, the revenues of which at the dissolution amounted to the enormous sum of £1085 10s. 6d., was in plan a simple parallelogram of five bays, entirely aisleless, and with a detached bell-tower standing to the west.

RIPON MINSTER, OR COLLEGIATE CHURCH, YORKS.—At first built by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Evêque about 1180. The nave of this church—one of the most remarkable on record—was broad and aisleless, though the choir, which preceded it in date, had both north and south aisles. It was of the very earliest pointed work, retaining traces of the Transition.

S. PETER MOUNTERGATE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, NORWICH.—Formerly belonging to a college of secular priests—which stood at the north-east corner “of the churchyard—was rebuilt in 1486. “It has a large square tower at the west end, and is without aisles. On the north side is a semi-octangular stair turret, and the rood stair turret still remains, as do also twenty-four stalls in the chancel, curiously carved, and with many reflections against the monks.” *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. xiv, p. 79.

S. ELIZABETH'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, WINCHESTER.—Founded by John de Pontoys, Bishop of Winchester, for a Provost, six priests, six clerks, and six choristers about the year 1300. The foundations of the church may still be seen. It was 117 feet in length, by 36 in breadth, divided into six bays, and aisleless.

S. SALVATOR'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, S. ANDREW'S.—Founded by Bishop Kennedy in 1456, and in which the shattered remnants of his once most original and sumptuous tomb, symbolizing the Heavenly Jerusalem, may still be seen. It is an oblong, seven bays in length, with a semi-hexagonal east end; a south porch, and a very lofty and imposing western tower, capped (as usual in Scotch examples) by a short obtuse spire. Originally it was covered with a magnificent stone vault; but this, with the rich tracery of the windows, was all wantonly destroyed towards the end of the last century, its fall—for it was carefully cut through at its junction with the walls, and caused to come down in a solid mass—carrying away most of the projecting canopies of the founder's tomb.

RESTALRIG COLLEGIATE CHURCH, EDINBURGHSKIRE.—Founded by King James III., and augmented by James IV. and James V., who endowed it for a dean, nine prebendaries, and two choristers. At the “Reformation,” it was ordered by the “General Assembly” to be demolished as a monument of idolatry (!) and the parishioners directed to assemble elsewhere. It was some years since restored, till which time it consisted of a “ruined choir of plain but good Middle Pointed character,” and without aisles. The original plan of the rest is uncertain, but, like so many other Scotch churches of similar character, it would probably have transepts, with a low western tower, and no nave. Carnwath Collegiate church in Lanarkshire was probably once of somewhat similar character. It was founded in 1386, and made collegiate for a provost and six prebendaries, by Lord Sommerville, in 1424; but all that now remains is the sepulchral chapel of that family—of rich Decorated work—which is said to be in good preservation, and to have formed the north transept.

BIGGAR COLLEGIATE CHURCH, LANARKSHIRE.—Founded by Malcolm,

Lord Fleming, for a provost, eight canons, four choristers, and six poor aged men, in 1545. A more horrible and scandalous system of destruction than that perpetrated on this fine church, about the beginning of the present century, and that from the most sordid motives, can hardly be imagined. "The western porch, the vestry communicating with the chancel, and having a richly groined roof, the buttresses that supported the north wall of the nave, and the arched gateway leading to the churchyard, though perfectly entire, and beautiful examples of architecture" were all pulled down, and the materials sold for £7, in order to meet some petty parish expenses. What was left underwent a like course of vandalism, for "the richly groined roof of the choir, which was embellished with gilt tracery," was destroyed and replaced with lath and plaster, so as to secure for it a chaste uniformity with the rest of the meeting house. The plan of the collegiate church was cruciform, with a central tower; the chancel terminating eastwards in a semi-hexagonal apse, and the whole aisleless.

CRICHTON COLLEGIATE CHURCH, MIDLOTHIAN.—Founded for a provost, nine prebendaries, and two singing boys, by Sir William Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland, in 1449. "It is in the Middle Pointed style, and consists of a choir of three bays, north and south transept, and a heavy square tower of two graduated stages, at the intersection. Of the nave comprehended in the original plan, nothing appears beyond a small portion of the north wall, and the weather moulding of the purposed roof on the west face of the tower." The whole is aisleless. For excellent views of Crichton church see *Billings' Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. i.

CORSTORPHINE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, EDINBURGHSIRE, founded as a purely collegiate church, distinct from that of the parish, by Sir John Forester, for a provost, four prebendaries, and two boys, in 1429. The plan of this church is somewhat peculiar. It consists of a chancel; nave; western tower, with a low building to the west of it, and two transeptal projections at the west end of the nave: while to the north of the chancel and occupying nearly two thirds of its length, is a chantry chapel under a distinct gabled roof, probably that of Hugh Bar, a burgess of Edinburgh, founded in 1475. The whole of this church is aisleless. There is a fine plate of Corstorphine church, and the Forester's tomb, in *Billings's Scotland*.

S. MONAN'S OR S. MONANCE CHURCH, FIFE, founded by King David II., in the year 1369. Though nothing is said as to the exact nature of the religious establishment contemplated by the founder at the time of the erection of this church, there can be little doubt but that it would be of the usual type of secular canons, and under the presidency of a dean or provost. Spotiswood says it was given to the Black Friars by King James III., at the solicitation of Friar John Muir, afterwards first provincial in Scotland. Its plan and general character however, so closely coincide with those of the seculars in all other parts, that we may well suppose it was in the first instance intended to be served by them. It is of the most massive construction, and rich flowing pointed character throughout. The plan is, or was, cruciform, with a choir of four bays

richly groined in stone, short transepts, a low central tower and spire, and west of these a nave : the whole aisleless. Views, exterior and interior of this remarkably fine, though small building are given by Billings.

EASTER FOWLIS COLLEGIATE CHURCH, FORFARSHIRE, founded by Sir Andrew Grey of Fowlis, for a provost and several prebendaries in the reign of King James II. This church, which is of admirable construction and rich, but peculiar architecture, is a simple parallelogram, about ninety feet long by twenty-nine feet wide. Singular to say, considerable remains of the rood screen still exist in situ, containing several well executed paintings, and the original crosses still decorate the summit of either gable. Extremely well executed engravings of this church may also be seen in Billings.

LINCLUDEN COLLEGIATE CHURCH, founded by Archibald the Grim, Earl of Bothwell, for a provost and twelve canons, about the year 1400. To this foundation a chaplaincy was added by the Countess Margaret, sister to King James I., in 1429 ; and to her, whose magnificent structural tomb occupies the place of honour on the north side of the choir, immediately west of the high altar, the actual buildings may most probably be referred. They are on the usual cruciform plan, and consist of a choir of three bays ; north and south transepts ; part of a destroyed nave ; and the foundation of a central tower. The whole work is of surpassing richness and beauty, and of the most enduring construction ; the outer, as well as the inner roofs being of solid stone. Architecturally it is of the highest order, for though but a comparatively small building, from the excessive richness of the detail and the extreme vigour and largeness of its parts, the effect produced is one of almost colossal grandeur. In England the work would pass for that of the middle of the previous century.

DUNGLASS COLLEGIATE CHURCH, HADDINGTONSHIRE, founded, according to Spottiswoode, "for a provost and several prebendaries, by Sir Alexander Hume of that ilk, in the year 1450." Unlike the majority of such collegiate structures, few of which seem ever to have been finished, the plan is here complete, and consists of a choir about 35 feet long by 18 feet wide ; nave, 41 feet by 20 feet ; central tower ; north and south transepts, about 25 feet by 14 feet ; and chantry chapel at right angles to the choir, about 20 feet by 13 feet. Architecturally, this church is very plain and simple.

SETON COLLEGIATE CHURCH, HADDINGTONSHIRE, founded for a provost, six prebendaries, two singing boys, and a clerk, by George, second lord Seton, 1493. This beautiful, and very English looking Church, of pure flowing pointed character, is still, thanks to its abandonment as a place of worship, in a remarkably good state of preservation. It consists of a choir terminating eastwards in a semi-hexagon, sixty-five feet in length ; transepts, each about thirty feet ; central tower and spire ; the commencement only of a nave ; and a vestry, or chantry chapel, in the centre of the choir, northwards. All the roofs are vaulted with stone, those of the apse and tower being further adorned with richly moulded ribs.

BOTHWELL COLLEGIATE CHURCH, LANARKSHIRE.—Founded “by Archibald, the Grim, earl of Douglas, for a provost and eight prebendaries, the 10th of October, 1398.” This church, like the majority of the class to which it belongs, was probably intended to be cruciform; but to what extent the designed plan was executed it is impossible to determine, as the west end of the choir, which is the only existing portion, is abutted on by the modern Presbyterian meeting house, so that all traces of additional compartments are now altogether hidden or destroyed. It is of rich, and very massive Decorated character, the roof—which is of a pointed barrel form and of solid stone both inside and out—being divided internally into seven compartments by deeply moulded transverse ribs, intersected by a longitudinal one along the crown. To the north of the choir is a chantry, or mortuary chapel, entered by a very rich and characteristic doorway, perhaps one of the best features of the place.

Such is the account of aisleless churches of canons, of comparatively, and actually late date, which I have to offer; buildings, the designs or plans of which, judging from the standpoint of date alone, cannot possibly have been influenced in any way by aisleless, cruciform Norman parish churches. Besides which, it is worth observing that the whole of the examples last quoted were not, like the great majority of those of secular canons perhaps, mere parish churches, in which a certain number of canons—multiplied rectors, as Mr. Freeman calls them—were installed, in place of the single individual who had theretofore filled that office, and which underwent little or no structural alteration in consequence of such change. On the contrary, they were one and all specially built, or rebuilt by the founders expressly as *collegiate* churches, and, to quote the usual phrase—“ad majorem Dei laudem.” There cannot then, I think—taking all these churches, aisled and aisleless one with another—remain the least shadow of a doubt in any unprejudiced mind but that in every case, early as well as late, the plans were laid out to meet the special requirements of each place in a simple and common-sense way; aisles being used wherever they were thought desirable,¹ and dispensed with

¹ Among these later collegiate churches, where aisles were adopted, may be instanced, in *Scotland*, those of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, founded in 1462 by Mary, Queen of James II., and of which the continuously aisled polygonal choir only was ever finished; and Roslyn, founded by William, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, in 1466, of which again no more was built than the square ended aisled choir and its range of eastern chapels. These, I think, with Craic, in Fifeshire, and Dalkeith in Midlothian, are the only examples of aisled canons' churches to be found in that kingdom. Among the smaller aisled *English* examples are those of Norhill, in Bedfordshire, where the nave is aisled; and Wye, in Kent, which was aisled in both nave and chancel. I may add here, as now perhaps, the most convenient place for the purpose, a further example of an aisled church of *Austin canons* which has only just come to my knowledge, viz., that of North Creyk, in Norfolk, in

answer to my enquiries concerning which the vicar writes:—“I should say, 1. That the church was never cruciform, though the four great piers which must have supported the tower look as though the building was *intended* to be cruciform with a central tower. 2. These piers are now at the west end of the church, and relying as I do simply on appearances, I believe that the church *never had a nave*. There are no remains or indications of an arcade, the piers of which could hardly have been taken away without any traces of them being left; added to which the western ends of the choir aisles have *windows*, and in the space over which the nave would have reached there are remains of fire places. 3. There are aisles to the choir, a double aisle on the north, a single one on the south, with door communicating with the Abbot's residence (?) or possibly with a cloister? The choir, therefore, is fourfold, and has a very fine effect.”

where they were not. But, in tracing the history of these later collegiate churches more especially, perhaps, the truth—so long and so strangely overlooked as it might seem—is brought home to us with overwhelming force, viz., how the whole form and disposition of the buildings rested simply and solely with the founders; and how in every case the churches, as well as the dependent offices, were “begun, continued, and ended by them,” without any control or interference either of the canons or any other person whatsoever.¹ And so, I cannot but think, it must

¹ Take, for illustration's sake, a very early example in proof, that of Merewell, in Hampshire, founded by Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, 1129-71. What more complete and absolute can be conceived than his own account of his proceedings as given in his foundation charter?—“*Noverit . . . quod ecclesiam de Merewell, a fundamentis construxi; et in honorem Dei, &c. Consecravi: domos etiam et omnia edificia, que ibi feci eidem ecclesie et quatuor quoque sacerdotes Deo et sanctis ejus ibidem perpetuo servituri . . . oraturos constitui; quibus et tresdecim libras de redditibus meis de Twyfordiâ; unicuique scilicet lx solidos; et ad ornamenta et luminaria ecclesie xx. sol. assignavi.*”

Again, in a later instance, that of S. Mary's collegiate church, S. David's, founded by Bishop Adam Houghton in 1365, we read in his charter:—“*Quandam capellam sive cantariam unius magistri et septem presbyterorum per modum collegii in eadem cantaria morari . . . sub vocabulo beate Marie Virginis, fundamus, erigimus, facimus, et ordinamus . . . in solo sanctuarii nostri, et ecclesie nostre cathedralis Menevensis, de assensu capituli nostri, ex parte boreali ejusdem Menevensis ecclesie. Post fundationem vero, pro mora eorundem magistri et presbyterorum familie, et ministrorum eorundem, mansum honestum domosque sufficientes sumptuose construi et fieri fecimus; unumque claustrum inter dictam ecclesiam cathedralem et capellam predictam facere inchoavimus devotum et utile.” &c.*

At Astley again, the collegiate church of which place was founded and built by Sir Thomas de Astley in 1343, we read in the Statutes and Ordinances of Roger, Bishop of Coventry, how, after having in the first place founded a chantry in the original parish church, Sir Thomas being desirous of enlarging his foundation—“*nobis humiliter supplicasset quatinus super statum dicte cantarie, ad majorem Dei laudem; precipue quod prefata capella Ecclesia Collegiata fieret per decanum et canonicos seculares presbiteros . . . gubandam, pro quibus*

novam ecclesiam construere inchoaret providere, ordinare, et statuere, &c. Where we see Sir Thomas, just like the Bishops of Winchester and St. David's, first builds his collegiate church according to his own ideas, and then hands it over to those whom he appoints to it.

Another illustration is supplied by St. Mary the Greater collegiate church, Leicester, the work of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and his son, John of Gaunt, where we read in Henry the Fourth's licence for completing the works:—“*Quod cum Henricus quondam dux Lancastrie avus noster, quandam ecclesiam collegiatam apud Lecestre . . . ac quedam domos, muros, et edificia pro clausura ecclesie et collegii predictorum et inhabitacione canonicorum, clericorum . . . in vita sua construere inchoasset; ac charissimus pater noster Johannes nuper dux Lancastrie . . . opera . . . sic inchoata complere et perficere desiderasset piam intentionem. . . commendantes,” &c.* orders both men and materials to be procured forthwith for their final completion. That this church, which was almost certainly aisleless, was one of much richness is witnessed by Leland, who says that:—“*Though not very great it was exceeding fair, and that the cloister on the south-west side of it was large and fair; that the walls and gates of the college were stately; and that the rich Cardinal of Winchester gilded all the flowers and knots in the vault of the church.*”

Not to particularize further examples, such as those of Norhill, in Bedfordshire, built by the executors of Sir John Tragely, Kut., and Reginald, his son, temp. Henry IV., which, with its stalls, is still perfectly preserved; and Rushworth, in Norfolk, rebuilt by Sir Edmund de Gonville, when in 1342 he founded his college there; we come to a class in which the unfettered action of the founders is shown, if possible, in a still more complete and unimpeachable way. I mean where the churches, having been newly built for collegiate purposes, the scheme of foundation then fell through, and the contemplated canons, who might

have been in the main from the beginning. That there may have been a greater proportionate number of aisleless examples among the churches of canons than those of the monks may possibly be true enough; but that such aisleless, or partially aisleless buildings were in any way peculiar to them is, as I have already shown, the very reverse of true. That some—comparatively few—of the churches of the Austin canons were parochial¹ is also true; but that that circumstance was at all special or peculiar to them is again, as I have further shown, equally far from true, more than three times as many of the churches of monks being also parochial. That the canons, finally, cannot have taken the aisleless, cruciform, Norman parish churches as their accepted model,

possibly be imagined to have had some say in the arrangements, never appeared upon the scene at all.

Such was that of North Cadbury, in Somersetshire, built by dame Elizabeth Botreux about 1417, as appears by the following extract from King Henry the Fifth's licence:—"Quod eadem Elizabetha in ecclesia parochiali de North Cadbury in com. Somerset, per ipsam de novo edificata et constructa, quoddam collegium perpetuum, de septem capellanis," &c.; but which Tanner judges was never carried into effect either by herself or her grandson, William Lord Botreux, who afterwards resumed her design. Ashford Church, Kent, re-edified by Sir John Fogge, temp. Edward IV., is another example. Having rebuilt it, he obtained the royal confirmation for the collegiate endowment in 1467. But the King dying before the whole was legally completed, and the founder being himself soon afterwards attainted, nothing further was done, and the foundation eventually lapsed.

Knoll, in Warwickshire, may also be taken in further illustration. Here, says Tanner, "Walter Cook, canon of Lincoln, about the latter end of the reign of King Richard II., built upon his father's land a fair chapel, and soon afterwards established a chantry therein; but 4th, Henry V., he obtained a licence from the King that the lady Elizabeth Clinton and he might found a college of ten priests, one to be rector, in this chapel, but this design seems not to have been perfected, herein being, 26th Henry VIII., but two chantry priests, endowed only with £20 15s. 2d. in the whole, and £18 5s. 6d. in the clear."

¹ To the thirty-seven already enumerated must now, I find, be added another, which at the time of making out the list by some unaccountable accident escaped me. It is that of Goring, in Oxfordshire, which I have described as ruined, but which I have just discovered to be not only standing, but in use as that of the parish. From the brief account con-

tained in the Monasticon there seemed no reason whatever for suspecting that the monastic and parish churches were parts of one and the same building; and the fact of the two being under different invocations led me, I suppose, to conclude that they were probably quite distinct, the monastic one, as usual, being more or less ruinous. Pure chance has just led me to the discovery of my error, while a letter to the vicar has received an answer which I cannot doubt will prove interesting. He says:—"The church is not cruciform. It consists of a Norman tower at the west end, to which an upper portion of battlements, two small windows, and roof has been added at a later date, probably the fourteenth century, and a Norman nave without any chancel proper. The east end undoubtedly originally terminated in an apse, but this was pulled down—a fate which also befel several other Norman churches round here—probably in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. In the fourteenth century the north wall of the nave was broken through in order to add a north aisle, which now exists, and is in the style of Gothic of that period; and, curiously enough, the arcade then built consists of massive round piers in the Norman style, 3 feet 6 inches thick, carrying Gothic arches of a fine and imposing span, the space between each column being 10 feet 6 inches. There is no doubt that the church originally was the church of some religious house, since there are plain evidences of a cloister still remaining outside the south wall of the nave, and the cloister door still exists, though blocked up. This fact would explain there being no chancel arch, the whole church being really choir and no nave. I have, in making alterations in my vicarage garden, dug up not only human bones, but several pieces of stone, moulded and carved, and broken pieces of shafts, &c., evidently part of the old Priory. I am informed there was also formerly a chapel eastward of the aisle,

nor waited till aisles had become common in parish churches before adopting them in their own, I have just demonstrated by producing—even from the scanty number available for reference—a considerable list which have Norman aisles; and further and conversely, abundant instances which were built more than two centuries after aisles had everywhere become common, which still exhibit the aisleless type when, as models, Norman churches, aisleless or otherwise, were to all intents as obsolete as the wigwams of the ancient Britons.

That my long, and to many of my readers I fear, wearisome, task has been imperfectly performed, I am fully aware, though to say so is to say no more than that it has been undertaken. To work out such a subject fully, lies far beyond the range of single and unaided powers, even were a lifetime to be given to it. It is manifestly one which for its adequate accomplishment needs collective effort; since a thorough knowledge of the churches of the Austin canons alone—to go no further—is now to be obtained only beneath the surface. That a much fuller and better account of such as remain, however, might have been given by myself, had it been possible for me to have visited and examined them in person—than which nothing could have given me keener pleasure—is only too true: but it was not possible; and I have, therefore, had to content myself with such information as—away from public sources—I could lay my hands upon, or acquire laboriously by letter. But, such as it is, my account of the Austin canons' churches is now ended; and it remains only for me to thank here those of the clergy and others, who, in almost every case, have answered my enquiries—often, I daresay, troublesome enough—with the utmost courtesy and consideration.

forming a sort of chancel aisle, but this no longer exists. The walls of the nave and tower are 4 feet 6 inches thick, built of chalk and flints."

The house, which was endowed with the rectory of the parish, was in existence, according to Tanner, temp. Henry II., and the nuns might possibly be established at first in the eastern part of

the parish church, the parishioners occupying the nave. From the position of the fourteenth century additions it would seem likely that this arrangement was then departed from, a new aisle and chancel being added for the parish use on the side opposite to the cloister, while the nuns retained the whole of the original building.

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1885.

RECEIPTS.

To Balance at Bankers on 1st January, 1885 (as per accounts for the year 1884)	-	70	10	11
" Petty Cash on hand	-	-	5	7
" Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments made in advance	-	347	11	0
" Entrance Fees	-	43	1	0
" Life Compositions	-	42	0	0
" Sale of Publications, &c.	-	63	5	10
" Balance of Account of Derby Meeting	-			
		70	16	6
		195	17	10
		7	12	8

I hereby certify that I have prepared the above Account of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1887, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Bankers' Books of the Institute. I have also examined the various payments with the vouchers and find the same to be in order.

Wm. A. Kirby,

Public Accountant.

S, New Broad Street, E.C.

EXPENDITURE.

By Publishing Account—					
Engraving, &c., for Journal	-	37	7	4	
Pollard, W., Printing Journal	-	121	1	0	
St. John Hope, W. H., Editing	-	50	0	0	
					205 8 4
House Expenses—					
Rent of Apartments	-	113	8	0	
Secretary's Salary	-	80	0	0	
Johnson, W. S., Printing	-	9	11	0	
Income Tax	-	3	5	0	
Kirby, W. A., Accountant	-	3	3	0	
Oakshett, Tailor	-	3	5	0	
Stationery	-	2	9	6	
Cheque Stamps	-	4	0		
					215 5 6
Petty Cash Account—					
Office Expenses, Attendant, Gas, Insurance, &c.	-	62	9	10	
Stamps and Delivery of Journal	-	35	7	11	
Cab and Rail Hire	-	5	4		
Carriage, &c. of Parcels	-	4	11	1	
Office Sundries	-	4	13	5	
					107 7 10
Balance at Bankers 31st December, 1885 (after adding balance of Derby Meeting Account credited in February, 1886, and deducting sundry payments in 1886 on account of 1885)	-	40	7	7	
Petty Cash in hand	-	2	17	9	
					43 5 4
					4574 7 0

Audited and found correct,

E. C. HULME, }
M. W. TAYLOR, } *Honorary Auditor.*

(Signed) PERCY.

Chalcidius.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

JUNE 3rd, 1886.

The RIGHT HON. EARL PERCY, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

MR. R. P. PULLAN read a paper on "The Iconography of Angels," which is printed at page 317. After a few words on the existence of angels Mr. Pullan said we ought to learn all that was possible of their nature in order to be able to symbolize them in painting and sculpture. There were ranks and degrees, and the chiefs of the holy hierarchy were named, but for the purposes of iconography the author preferred the classification of the herald Randle Holme. The earliest representations of angels were on diptychs; they were winged, as were the cherubs on the Ark and in Solomon's Temple; wings symbolized power and swiftness. The manner in which angels were habited by artists of all periods was gone into, and numerous examples cited of the employment of angels in sculpture as corbels and in connexion with the decoration of altar tombs in England. In Italy, however, Mr. Pullan showed that the iconography of angels could be best studied, and particularly at Monreale, in the grand series of Byzantine angels, and at Assisi in the stately creations of Cimabue. The angels of Giotto were too naturalistic, but those of Fra Angelico, Perugino, and the Della Robbia were unsurpassed. In conclusion Mr. Pullan referred to a design for the decoration of the dome of St. Paul's, in which the various orders of angels shown gave an idea of their modern iconography.

In a letter to Mr. Pullan, Mr. Hartshorne contributed the following remarks upon "The Osteology of Angels," which was read by Mr. Gosselin:—

"I should have much liked to have heard your paper upon the Iconography of Angels, but I cannot come conveniently, so I write to say that I wished to call the attention of the meeting to the question of the 'Osteology of Angels,' as suggested, indicated, depicted, or evaded in art. I have considered this subject for many years and the result of my observation convinces me that painters and sculptors from the earliest period have tacitly agreed to let the subject of the proper bony structure of angels alone.

"Not to be misunderstood at the outset, I must forestall myself a little by saying that I am quite aware that the proper definition of 'Angel' is 'Creation purely Spiritual.'

"In the hands of such a master as Michael Angelo the supposed osseous fabric of an angel may very well take care of itself, and both he and all other artists have naturally been able to make their task easy by draping their figures. The skeleton has thus taken its chance under the cover of the clothing, but when we come to the consideration of the construction and proper action of the wings we require a frame work, and we are at once met by the difficulty as to how these limbs, the attributes of birds, and taking the place of two generally quite different limbs in quadrupeds, were also, like them, attached or hinged to the *scapula*, those bones being thus made to do double their usual work.

"It may, of course, be urged that we are dealing, not with concrete anatomical forms at all, but with spirits to which the requirements of art have allotted a certain undefined and indistinct body and substance. This answer is but partially adequate and only bears upon such forms as are mere pictorial accessories floating or moving in the air. Where then are we to draw the line? There are certain figures which cannot be so easily disposed of; for instance, the great St. Michael, a form so constantly shown in vigorous action, both of wings and arms, would, one would think, have at least tempted the powers of such perfect anatomists as Michael Angelo, Leonardo, Albert Durer, or that equally powerful, though not so well-known draughtsman of the human figure, Martin Heemskerck, 'the Raphael of Holland;' and that we should have had handed down to us some pictures, sketches, or engravings from those masters, showing how they imagined the shoulder-blades sustained in working order the two (or more) extra limbs. That such scientific men did not consider this question I cannot believe. It happens however, I do believe, that we have no such special pictorial records.

"Angels are seldom, indeed, shown us by artists in the back view, and never undraped. I can at the moment only recall one stout angel in an engraving by the greatest of the 'Little Masters,' Hans Sebald Beham, in which the figure entirely turns the back to us, and in this case, as in the more partial views of other artists, the drapery indistinctly closes round the point of the junction of the wings with the body.

"We are thus driven to the conclusion that by tacit and universal agreement Christian artists have not attempted in imagination to compose a special feature in a human skeleton to which throughout the realms of nature there were, so to speak, no stepping-stones.

"Not even has Michael Angelo, as far as I know, ventured—presumed—to set forth the regulations and articulations necessary for only a six-limbed human form; the number does not, of course, in art, stop at this. With the complicated anatomical difficulties it is, in fact, easy to understand why even he shrank from the almost impossible task of so altering the bony fabric of the human form divine, as to make its structure compatible with the varying number of limbs which religion and the canons of art had assigned to the different grades of the hierarchy of heaven.

"So long as the representation of angels was limited to that of creations purely spiritual, hovering, attendant, floating, or quiescent, there seems nothing particularly wrong—we accept them as spiritual forms; we thankfully welcome the wonderful and peaceful creations of Botticelli and Gaudenzio,—with refinement and grace unsurpassed, only 'a little lower than the angels,' but when we have representations of

spiritual beings in armour, and in vigorous action, the case becomes entirely different and one is set thinking as to how these things can practically and physically be. These thoughts have caused me to now trouble you with this letter."

This matter provoked a discussion opened by Mr. R. Stuart Poole, who said that the Assyrians and the Greeks were the first to adjust wings to the figures of men and animals, instancing the Pegasus and the Victories of the Greeks as successful adaptations of these appendages. Mr. Hartshorne's suggestions appeared to him to be casuistic, somewhat resembling the proposition of the schoolmen as to how many angels can rest on the point of a needle; the representations of angels being purely symbolical it would not do to enquire too closely into the question. Mr. H. S. Milman asked whether the six-winged figures of angels, such as those in Merton College Chapel, were of frequent occurrence. Mr. Pullan said they were far from common, but more frequent in Greek than in Latin iconography, and produced a sketch from a MS. at Vienna of the 8th century. In answer to Mr. T. H. Baylis, as to whether angels were ever shown with winged-feet, like Mercury, he said they were never so depicted; adding that the Victory in the coins of Constantine was the precursor of the Christian's angels. Mr. J. Brown and Mr. D. Anderson also spoke upon the subject under discussion.—On the motion of the noble President a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Pullan and to Mr. Hartshorne.

LORD PERCY then announced that, owing to illness, Mr. T. Bent was not able to be present; his contemplated paper "On Greek Death Wails" would therefore be postponed. In its stead, Mr. R. Stuart Poole would make some observations on "The simultaneous movement of Art in Egypt and Assyria in the 7th century, B.C., and its possible connection with the rise of Greek Art."

After maintaining the opinion that all art shewed movement, and that to this law Egyptian and Assyrian art offered no exception, Mr. Poole insisted on the probability of the connection of simultaneous movements, if not through actual contact, at least from the effect of the same forces.

Egyptian art after the age of the Ramessides rapidly declined, to be suddenly revived by the Saïte Dynasty, which, under Psammetichus I. acquired the Dominion of Egypt B.C. 656. This renaissance lasted until the Persian conquest, and though then arrested was not deprived of its vitality. The short-lived native Dynasties maintained the Saïte style, which took a new direction under distinctly Greek influence in the architectural works of the Ptolemies. The true Saïte art was marked by love of nature, movement, delicacy of work and a delight in hard materials.

At the same time as the rise of Saïte art the Assyrian works of Asshurbanipal, the conqueror against whom Psammetichus rebelled, shewed a striking advance. To prove this, we have only to compare them, especially the animal sculptures, with the older Assyrian monuments. Here again is noted love of nature, movement, and delicate execution. The speedy fall of Nineveh put an end to Assyrian art, but it might be questioned whether its qualities were not traceable in the style of the Seleucid kings of Syria.

It was a very curious question whether Greek influence could not be traced in the movement of the 7th century. The Greeks were then

established in Egypt, and probably in Assyria. Drawing from Egyptian and Assyrian sources they might have given back their own qualities which are strikingly seen in the contemporary sculptures both of Egypt and Assyria.

Further investigation was needed and the monuments in the Museum might be profitably studied with the view of solving this curious problem.

The noble chairman proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Poole for his remarks which was cordially passed.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. JOSEPH HIRST.—Examples of pottery from Mycene and Tiryns pronounced by Dr. Schliemann to be 1000 B.C. Mr. Hirst also exhibited a British dagger in bronze.

By Mr. T. C. HESLINGTON.—A copy of an old charter relating to Fountains Abbey, with the following memorandum upon it:—

“This appears to be an ancient copy of a still more ancient charter, being a grant of lands in Winkesley to the Monastery of St. Mary of Fountains. The copy is probably dated from about the reign of James the First. The Grant is from Nicholas de Bellonæ, son of Geofrey de Bellonæ to the above-named Monastery.

“The charter is testified to by John Aleman, William of Studley, Robert of Monkton, William de Cartor, Robert Forester, Robert Crevequer, Hans de Studley, Gamell and William, his son and many others. The Saver is a brook running past Winkesley, Galphay and Clothholmedour to Ripon. Other places mentioned are Monkton, four miles south of Ripon. Kirby Mabyeard six miles west. Cludrum is the above-named Clothholme. Heslay would be Aryerley on a brook called the Key.

“This copy of an ancient charter was found among some family documents by Mr. G. Potter. It does not appear in the first volume of Walbran’s Memorial of Fountains, and may not have been known to him.

“Foundations of houses may still be traced where stood the village of North Studley, on the Saver, probably the Studley mentioned.”

By Mr. H. HIPPLEY.—A tortoiseshell snuff box mounted in silver, on the lid outside is a silver bust of Queen Ann, and on the inside a silver bust of Charles I. It was thought that some political meaning was attached to this relic.

JULY 1st, 1886.

R. P. PULLAN, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair.

Professor B. LEWIS read a paper “On the Antiquities of Saintes.” The monuments most interesting to the antiquary are the Amphitheatre (Les Arènes), the Roman arch (Arc de Triomphe), and the church of Ste. Marie, commonly called l’Abbaye des Dames. (1) The general arrangements of the Amphitheatre resemble those at Nîmes, but the state of preservation is very inferior. The form is, as usual, elliptical, the greater axis measuring 130 mètres, and the lesser 66 mètres. It is supposed to have been capable of holding 21,000 spectators. There were originally seventy-four arches round the building, but only nine at the east end now remain. The seats were supported by a single row of

vaults sloping down to the arena. Excavations made in 1881-2 produced important results. They brought to light part of the great eastern *comitorium*, in which two staircases were found, used by the workpeople employed to stretch the *velarium*; an aqueduct in the line of the greater axis for draining the water off; a chamber used either by the gladiators or as a *vicarium* for wild beasts; the *podium* between the *comitorium* and the north end of the lesser axis; corridors leading to the *podium*, and seats immediately above it. On the same side a great staircase was cleared, which seems to have been reserved for *duumvirs* and other local magnates. But the most remarkable discovery of all was a staircase *outside* the building by which spectators could descend either to galleries of the amphitheatre or to the valley below. In the coping-stone of the *podium* holes were observed which were intended to receive the irons of a balustrade protecting the occupants of the lowest seats from the attacks of wild beasts in the arena. Near the centre of the seats on the south side is the fountain of Ste. Eustelle, a convert of St. Entreppe. Girls visit it on the 21st of May, and throw pins into it from which they derive omens of matrimony. Various dates have been assigned to this monument. Chaudruc de Crazannes places it in the Flavian or Antonine period; but M. Audiat, the most competent authority of our own time, thinks it was erected in the third century. (2) The Roman arch seems originally to have stood on an island and at the extremity of a bridge; afterwards, from the Charente having changed its course, the arch was nearly in the middle of the stream; lastly, it was taken down and rebuilt on the right bank of the river. It has two vaulted entrances, like the Portes d'Arroux and St. André at Autun. The piers are ornamented with pilasters, of which there are twenty-four on the lower story. There are three inscriptions on the attic and one on the frieze, the latter being repeated on the side that looks towards the faubourg. They show that the arch was erected in the reign of Tiberius and in honour of Germanicus. The Celtic names on the frieze—Ottuanennus, Gededmon, and Epotsorovidus—do not occur in Cæsar or in compilations generally accessible. The phrase *ad confluentum* is supposed by most of the French authorities to refer to the junction of the Saône with the Rhone; but some local authorities have said that the confluence of the Seugne and Charente is meant here. (3) The church of Ste. Marie is the most interesting in this city. In the west front the central portal is richly adorned with sculptures, both on the archivolts and on the capitals of the column. Of the former there are four rows, in the following order, beginning with the lowest: (1) Angels adoring, with the Divine Hand on the keystone; (2) The Pascal Lamb surrounded by the Evangelistic symbols; (3) The Massacre of the Innocents, or some other scene of persecution; (4) The four-and-twenty Elders of the Apocalypse, holding instruments of music and vases for perfumes. The tower is composed of two stories: the first square, pierced on each side with three arches; the second circular and ornamented with pinnacles at each corner of its quadrangular base. It is surmounted by a conical cap, the stones of which are imbricated. This steeple is imitated from that of St. Front at Périgueux; but having greater breadth relatively to the height, it looks more solid and symmetrical.

The Chairman suggested that the existence of the large drain men-

tioned by the lecturer, the vicinity of the amphitheatre to the river, and the fact that the level of the arena was almost on a level with the water, would lead to the supposition that there must have been water fights as well as land fights. It was not necessary that the whole of the arena should have been flooded, but the water might have been contained in canals as at the Colosseum. He thought that the iron bars (of which the sockets were to be seen on the *podium*) probably sustained rollers covered with spikes to protect the spectators from the attacks of the wild animals. With reference to the lecturer's allusions to Byzantine influence on architecture, as shown in the church of St. Eutrope at Saintes and at Morssai, he remarked that this influence, exhibited chiefly by the adoption of the dome, had been found by French antiquaries throughout the length of the great trade route of travellers from the East in the Middle Ages, who, landing on the south coast, traversed France, passing through Perigueux, Angoulême, and other towns which possess domed churches. It was remarkable that no churches of that description existed north of the Loire. The conical roof seen at Poitiers and Angoulême was evidently the germ of the spire, which became elongated as time passed on until it attained the elegant form of the *flèche* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A vote of thanks, proposed by the chairman, was passed to Professor Lewis with acclamation.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Professor LEWIS.—Coins and photographs in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. H. FARRAR.—A large collection of photographs of ancient buildings in India. These were commented upon by Mr. Farrar who called special attention to the ancient monuments of Gwalior, many of which were more than 2,000 years old.

By Mr. PARK HARRISON.—A “millefiori” bead found in the county of Elgin and probably not later than Roman date.

ANNUAL MEETING AT CHESTER.

AUGUST 10TH, TO AUGUST 17TH, 1886.

Tuesday August 10th.

The Mayor of Chester (G. A. Dickson, Esq.), and the Members of the Corporation assembled at noon in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall, and received His Grace the Duke of Westminster, President of the Meeting, the noble President of the Institute, and the following Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections and members of the Council:—the Bishop of Chester (President of the Antiquarian Section), the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, Mr. C. T. Newton, C.B., Professor T. McKenny-Hughes, Mr. E. Peacock, Mr. F. Potts, the Rev. Prebendary Searth, Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, Professor Freeman (President of the Historical Section), Mr. J. E. Bailey, Professor E. C. Clark, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, the Rev. Canon Morris, Mr. T. Rigby, Sir J. A. Picton, Mr. R. P. Pullan, the Rev. Precentor Venables, Mr. A. E. Griffiths, Mr. H. Hutchings, Mr.

A. Hartshorne, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., the Rev. J. Spurrell and Mr. J. Hilton. There were also present the Duchess of Westminster, the Countess Grosvenor, and a large number of vice-presidents of the meeting and members of the Institute.

The MAYOR OF CHESTER opened the proceedings with a few cordial words of welcome, and, after assuring the members of his warmest sympathy, introduced the Duke of Westminster as President of the meeting. The President now took the chair and called upon the deputy-town clerk, Mr. S. Smith, to read the following address:—

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Chester, in Council assembled, desire to offer you a cordial welcome on the occasion of this your second visit to our ancient city. To the annual meeting you honoured us by holding in our midst nearly 30 years ago, we ascribe largely the impetus given to local archaeological research and study, which, under the auspices of our district society has borne valuable fruit, many discoveries of antiquarian interest having been made which throw additional light on our local history. Whilst we cannot but regret that some of our ancient landmarks have since disappeared—notably the Old Tower of St. John’s—this inevitable ‘wreck of time’ is in some measure compensated for by many new architectural works in the meantime effected in our city, eminently the restoration—carried out under the superintendence of the late lamented Dean Howson—of the venerable Cathedral of Saint Werburgh; the thoroughly artistic restoration of the ruins of Saint John’s Priory by the late Marquis of Westminster; the erection of the Town-hall, in which we have now the pleasure of receiving you; of the King’s School opposite; and of the Grosvenor Museum opened only yesterday by his Grace the Duke of Westminster—hopefully regarded as the future home of all discoveries, past and future, worth preserving, and as the local centre for the study of antiquarian and kindred subjects. We may also point to the general improvement in architectural style during the interval referred to, represented by happy restorations or reproductions after the manner of olden times. We are proud to think that in the person of the president of your antiquarian section you have a scholar of high mark, whose name as Bishop of Chester will always be associated with our city, and that, side by side with him, it is our privilege to welcome, as president of the historical section, his successor in the Professorial Chair of History at Oxford University. There seems a peculiar fitness in our receiving under this roof during the same week two such distinguished bodies as your Institute and the representatives of the colonial interests of the empire, thus blending together at one gathering on Thursday next the preservers of the historic past of Great Britain, and the maintainers and pioneers of the Greater Britain beyond the seas. We most sincerely hope that not only in Chester—The Deva of Antoninus—but in the county and in the neighbourhood, you will, during your brief stay, find much to interest you, and that you may long cherish kind and pleasant remembrances of your visit.”

MR. HENRY TAYLOR, Secretary to the Chester Archaeological Society, then read the following address from that body:—

“*To the Right Hon. Earl Percy, P.C., F.S.A., and the Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

We, the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society, hasten to extend

a most cordial greeting to you in this your second visit to this ancient city. The interest evoked in the study of local archaeology by your former meeting has been the means of further elucidating the history and antiquity of our city and county, and we venture to think that much good work has been done during the thirty years that have elapsed since you last held your meeting here. The frequent discovery of 'remains,' notably of the Roman period, the opening up of the Roman road at Eddisbury by the late Mr. Kirk, the interesting discussions which have recently taken place relative to the age of the city walls, and lastly the conclusion of the third volume of our Transactions, all testify to the work our society has attempted to carry out in furtherance of the study of local archaeology.

"The opening of the new Museum of Archaeology marks a new era in the history of our society, which we trust will infuse renewed energy in our efforts of research.

"We sincerely hope that you will, during your stay, find much to interest you in this society, and neighbourhood, and that you may carry away pleasant recollections of your visit to Chester.

"Signed (on behalf of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society),
the 10th day of August, 1886.

"W. CESTR, President."

In acknowledgment of the addresses LORD PERCY said he had to express on behalf of the members of the Institute their very great thanks for the kindly words of welcome which had been accorded them. The members of the Institute who could remember the last occasion upon which they met in Chester, carried away and still carried in their recollection very pleasant reminiscences of that visit. The district surrounding them, the city in which they stood, and the adjacent counties, abounded in subjects of interest from an archaeological point of view second to none in Great Britain. Great events which had moulded the history of England had left their marks upon Chester, Cheshire, and the surrounding district. But there was one circumstance which, perhaps, marked out that part of the country, and distinguished it from others and that was that they had to solve the difficulty which met them in these days, marching with the progress of the times, and at the same time respecting the relics of the past. These two were almost incompatible, and they had heard in the addresses read to them that in one or two instances it had been necessary to sweep away some of those relics to which he had alluded; but he had always heard that the county could boast of ancient and Mediæval remains, and those buildings which told them of the gradual growth and the change of English society,—from the days when the country gentleman was always ready to fight for his country, and, unfortunately, for the settlement of any little quarrel, down to the time when he and society had developed to such an extent as to make modern life assume the aspect which their noble President had made it assume in the country which surrounded the magnificent city of Chester. There was one circumstance in connexion with their visit which mitigated in no small degree the pleasure they felt. They had expected, when they originally decided to accept their kind invitation, that they would have seen one face that now, alas! was absent. The invitation was, to a great extent, so cordially accepted because it was a suggestion of the late Dean of Chester, who at the same

time promised to do all he could to welcome them, and to make their visit pleasant and their proceedings assume a character which they hoped they always would assume. And those who knew the late Dean could not but regret that they were deprived of that learning which he was always ready to place at the disposal of those who met him—a learning which was on the one hand profound, and was, on the other, always so modestly put forth. He was quite sure that could the Dean but be amongst them, he would be rejoiced to know that the heartiness of the welcome which he would give them had been given by others in that room, and he sincerely trusted and fully believed he expressed the feelings of the members of the institution when he said that they were considerably gratified on learning that in that district the last visit they paid was held to have done something to promote the objects they had in view. He wished to congratulate the Institute upon the benefit they enjoyed in getting the noble Duke to accept the office of president. He knew how to make such occasions as those successful, and the interest which he always took in the instruction of his fellow-countrymen, and the interest which he showed in objects of antiquity, were proved by his so largely contributing to the formation of the magnificent museum which he opened on the previous day. He had always taken an interest in these things, and he had shown that works of restoration could be done without the destruction of remains of antiquity, as evidenced by his own magnificent mansion at Eaton.

The DUKE OF WESTMINSTER then delivered his Inaugural Address.¹

At this point of the proceedings Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN presented a copy of his new work on "Roman Cheshire" to the President of the Institute, and LORD PERCY proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the president of the meeting for his address. This was seconded by the MAYOR, supported by Mr. W. BEAUMONT, acknowledged by the DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, and the meeting then adjourned.

At 2 p.m. the members assembled at the East Gate and divided into two parties. The one under the guidance of Mr. Thompson Watkin and Mr. G. W. Shrubsole proceeded along the Walls northward. The other party, led by His Honour Judge Brown, Mr. C. Brown, and Mr. T. C. Hughes went southwards to meet the first body; the guides were then changed, and the circuit completed.

It would be as difficult to explain, off the spot, the various points for and against the vexed question of the walls of Chester being Roman, as to alter the conviction of an inhabitant of the city who had already made up his mind upon the matter. But it certainly appeared to antiquaries, well able to judge, that the walls as we now see them were decidedly not Roman. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that they follow, to a great extent, the Roman lines, and there seems to be sufficient evidence to show that old materials have been worked up, not *more Romano*. Indeed, it is the opinion of a high authority that stones may be seen in the walls which would certainly be called Roman at Périgueux or Le Puy.

The whole party then travelled up Eastgate Street to the Cross. At St. Peter's Church Mr. I. E. Ewen undertook the description. The party again divided, and, going different ways, the old houses were inspected. In the

¹ The Address is printed at p. 243.

course of this perambulation, St. Mary's Church was visited, and described by the Rev. H. Grantham, and the whole body then united at the Grosvenor Museum, where the Roman inscriptions and antiquities from Chester and the neighbourhood were explained by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, and Mr. J. H. Williams. The Church of Holy Trinity and Chester Castle were subsequently seen, and the large party gradually melted away.

At 8.30 p.m., Mr. FREEMAN opened the Historical Section in the Town Hall, and delivered his Opening Address, "The Early History of Chester."¹

On the motion of the Rev. Precentor Venables, seconded by Mr. E. Peacock, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Freeman for his eloquent address. This was acknowledged, and the meeting then adjourned.

Wednesday, August 11th.

At 10.10 a.m., the members went by special train to Llangollen. Here carriages were in waiting to convey the party to Valle Crucis Abbey. The following excellent report of the proceedings appeared in "The Builder" for August 28th:—"Here, in the first instance, Mr. R. P. PULLAN addressed some observations to the party. He said that though this was one of the earliest of the Cistercian churches, it might be considered, in every respect, a model one. The church was cruciform in plan, with a tower at the crossing, the choir extending beyond the crossing. The conventual buildings were partly destroyed. Documentary evidence stated that the church was founded in the year 1200, but the geometrical tracery of the windows at the west-end would be as late as 1270 or 1272. On the south side of the church there was what looked like a Norman door, though it could hardly be so. Probably all the architecture, except the tracery, was of the same date. He thought there must have been a wooden roof at the east end of the church, and probably at the west end also. The wheel window above the triplet at the west end must have been above the vaulting if this part of the church were vaulted. But he had come to the conclusion that the main body of the church was not vaulted, although in the two chapels on the south side there was vaulting.—Sir James Picton, pointing to some visible differences in the masonry of the inner face of the western gable at different stages, said he thought these differences, taken in conjunction with other things, indicated an intention to vault, though the intention had evidently been subsequently abandoned.—Adjourning to the remains of the conventual buildings, the visitors were again addressed by Mr. Pullan, who said that these buildings appeared to have been of no very great extent, and unfortunately the west and south sides had been entirely destroyed. The remains of the cloisters showed that they were roofed with wood, the corbels which carried the principals and struts still remaining.—Precentor Venables next made a few remarks as to the differences between the Benedictine and Cistercian plans. In the Benedictine houses the refectory was generally parallel to the nave, but in the Cistercian houses it was always at right angles. Sir James Picton said that although one of the doorways existing in the remains of the

¹ The Address is printed at p. 250.

conventual buildings strikingly resembled Norman work at first sight, yet on close examination of the mouldings, &c., it would be found to have nothing Norman about it, except that the arch was semicircular. But he believed it to be the earliest part of the work, and it was possibly part of a former structure which might have occupied the site.—Leading the way to the interior of the Chapter House, which is vaulted, Mr. Pullan observed that this portion of the buildings was much later than the other portions. From the character of the mouldings, and from the tracery of one of the windows, which was Flowing Decorated in character, he should put the date of the Chapter House at about 1350. One peculiarity about the Chapter House is that there are no capitals to the columns which support the vaulted roof, the mouldings being continued upwards unbroken from column to arch. Another notable feature about this vaulting is its great massiveness. Returning to the area of the nave, the visitors listened to portions of a paper by Mr. G. Canning Richardson, on the history of the abbey. Mr. Richardson said that apart from its picturesque situation, the abbey was rendered more interesting from the fact that it is the only ruin of the kind (except Cymman Abbey) in North Wales. What remains of it shows that it at one time formed a noble pile of buildings, and a fine example of Early English architecture. ‘Valle Crucis’—the vale of the Cross—is supposed, said Mr. Richardson, to have derived its name from the sepulchral cross called the Pillar of Eliseg, which, as hereafter stated, was subsequently visited. The Welsh name, *Llan-y-gwestel*, ‘the Church of Egwestel,’ suggested that someone named Egwestel founded a church here, and it was possible, said Mr. Richardson, that this secluded spot was hallowed by religious association before the Abbey was called into existence. Having quoted (from Camden, Dugdale, Leland, Pennant, Willis, and other writers) a number of passages relating to the Abbey, Mr. Richardson briefly referred to the architectural features of the buildings. He said that the beautiful rose window in the west wall, with the quatrefoil opening above it, were later by some eighty years than the lower portion of the wall, and dated probably about 1340. Between these two openings was a panel bearing an inscription to the effect that this part of the building was the work of an Abbot named Adam. As to other parts of the work, such as those carried out by the festive Abbot David, they, no doubt, appeared to be too early in style for the date assigned to them, but this was to be satisfactorily explained, Mr. Richardson thought, by the fact that the Welsh were always a little behind-hand in their knowledge of what was going on architecturally beyond the Border. It was commonly reported that the roof over the nave of Llangollen Church was taken from the Abbey, but Mr. Richardson said that he had satisfied himself, by careful measurements, that that could not have been the case. Down to the year 1851 the ruins of the abbey were in a sadly neglected state, but, thanks to the late Viscount Dungannon and to Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth, assisted by Mr. Penson and the late Rev. John Williams, the rubbish had been cleared out from between the walls and the ruins placed in their present satisfactory state. It may be added that the explanation of the plan of the buildings and their architectural features was facilitated by the exhibition of some measured drawings made by Mr. H. H. Hughes.”

The members now walked to the Pillar of Eliseg, where part of a

paper, giving a history of this ancient memorial, by Mr. A. Baker, was read by Mr. R. Ferguson. The antiquaries now returned to Llangollen and had luncheon at the Hand Hotel. The carriages were again resumed for Chirk Castle. On the journey thither, a halt was made at Offa's Dyke. Many theories have been advanced in explanation of this great earthwork; the most probable seems to be that given on the spot on this occasion by Professor McKenny Hughes, namely, that it was intended to serve as a boundary or fence to prevent cattle "lifting" by the Welsh. Through the kindness of Mr. R. Middleton Biddulph, the members were allowed to inspect Chirk Castle, a Mortimer stronghold but little altered in its general form since the latter part of the fourteenth century, the period, apparently, of its erection. Within are evidences of much change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the large collection of family portraits were seen and a cabinet heavily mounted in silver with panels said to have been painted by Rubens. One of the Franck family seems more likely to be the author of these works. In the hall, the more observant of the antiquaries noticed a cardinal's hat box and a black jack of huge proportions.

The journey was continued to Wrexham; proceeding at once to the church with its magnificent tower, Mr. Pullan gave a description of it, calling attention to the way in which a Perpendicular chancel with a semi-octagonal apsidal-end had been planted on east of the original square-ended chancel. The tracery had been taken out of the older chancel window, the arch of it forming the chancel arch, and the stumps of the tracery left remaining. Mr. A. N. Palmer then read a paper describing the changes and enlargements which the church had undergone.

In the north porch is an effigy of a knight, of about the year 1280. This is clearly the memorial of a Welshman, as his shield exhibits the characteristic Welsh fashion of an inscription round it. Chester was again reached, by special train, at 5.50.

The Antiquarian Section opened at 8 p.m. in the Town Hall. The Bishop of Chester occupied the chair as President and gave his opening address. In the course of his remarks the Bishop said, that it had been stated that there was not one old family in Cheshire whose pedigree could not be traced through the public records of the county palatine into the early middle ages. There was not one old house in Cheshire, he would venture to say, which did not in its muniment room contain very much material which conversely would throw light on the working of the institutions of her palatine franchise, and likewise of the personal and political history of a county which, from its special constitution and the prominence of its lords, had always had a more conspicuous place than its latest population would seem to warrant. His lordship proceeded—In connection with this point, I will venture to add a suggestion, to repeat a suggestion which I made at the Ripon meeting in 1874, and which was recalled to my mind by reading Professor Chandler's letter to the Society of Antiquaries, printed in the last volume of the Transactions. I called attention in 1874 to the great importance of manorial antiquities, and urged the taking of measures not only for the preservation of court rolls and the collection of manorial customs in permanent records, but for the formation of manorial maps—that is, the engraving on the maps of the ordnance survey a careful outline of the manorial as well as of the

parochial and township divisions. It appeared to me then, and I am still of the same opinion, that the creation of such a record would not only be a useful thing for our own archaeological purposes, but that it would give us some valuable historical data, not merely for local, but for general political history. It would enable us to understand the political weight, affinities, jealousies, and antipathies that to so large an extent affect political life, from the time of the statute *Quia Emptores*, when the creation of new manors was stopped, down to the present day, when legislation on the subject of land, and very rapid and extensive changes in the ownership of land, are tending to the extinction of manorial law altogether—*i.e.*, we should be able to compare the local politics and the territorial weight and the family combinations and the party influence of all great families and local connections from the time when, under Edward II, the struggle between constitutionalism and monarchical assumption began, through the wars of York and Lancaster, through the troubles of the Reformation, the wars of the Rebellion, the crisis of the Revolution, and the subsequent struggles between Whigs and Tories, during which political principles (like the gout and other hereditary distinctions) have travelled in various lines, sometimes in alternate generations, sometimes by expansion and contraction, by reform and relapse, progression and retrogression, until we find ourselves now where we are, “here to-morrow and gone to-day.” Well, I do not know that many of my friends follow me in my anxiety to do all this, but I am very glad to say that the interest in manorial antiquities which I then tried to stimulate, found a vent in other directions—in particular in the investigation into tenure of land, so fully exemplified in the labours of Mr. Seebohm, which it is not too much to say, roused the interest of the country gentlemen in their court rolls and manorial rights in a way far more direct and intelligible than my feeble suggestions had done. Now, however, twelve years of watchful experience warrant me, and forcibly urge me, to repeat the suggestion, before the manorial system is quite extinguished, before copyholders are everywhere enfranchised, whilst men still know what is a heriot, a court customary, a learned steward, and suitors who are judges, let us save the records. No one who has not, as I have done in past years, spent days and weeks over this sort of muniment, can at all realise the immense amount of local, historical, and genealogical material that lies in the presses that contain the court rolls. Speaking to antiquaries I need not apologise for a little enthusiasm in genealogical research. The anciently renowned and great historical houses have their pedigrees in the College of Arms, but a great proportion of those anciently renowned and great historical houses have done their work, become extinct in the male line, and left only a thin traceable line even in the noble families of to-day. Other great houses are springing up and having their day, both in England and in the colonies and America. And the instinct of lineage is a very strong instinct, and however proud a man may be of having made his own way in the world, and being, as it is said, his own ancestor, every man who does so rise as to wish his descendants to look back gratefully to him, will have some slight wish, I think, to realise the fact that he himself has sprung from honest parents, and will pay some attention to the growth and continuity of his own family. I wish that parish registers were cared for as they should be. They are certainly much better cared

for than they used to be, and there is no wholesale destruction going on amongst them. But it is otherwise with the court rolls—whole series of them may be found in booksellers' catalogues at waste paper prices; and, unhappily, the very suggestion of waste paper prices, calls to mind the professional slaughter and the base use to which old parchment comes. Just think that in a glass of jelly or a basin of soup you may be swallowing a proof of your descent from one of the barons of the Charter, or from one who drew his bow at Hastings. His lordship concluded: Brother antiquaries, we have not the whole field of knowledge to ourselves. There are critics who call anything that they do not know themselves—a sufficiently wide material in truth—old rag bags, and there are politicians who think it a real blessing to mankind to destroy anything that is old, do not let them retort upon us that the sole object of antiquarian research is that which is of no use, but is ready to vanish away. There is a correlation of all historical and scientific, theoretic and scientific research, of all modes of research in fact. But all together, and every one of them require sympathy, patience, modesty, and, I may add, a little grain of scepticism such as is content, in all matters that depend on discovery, with a little less than perfect infallibility.

On the proposal of the Duke of Westminster a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the President of the Section.

The Rev. G. F. Brown gave an address on Early Sculptured Stones of Cheshire, profusely illustrated with rubbings and diagrams. The Historical Section met in the Assembly Room at 9 p.m., Mr. Freeman in the chair. Mr. H. Taylor read the following paper on "Grants of Land in Wales to Englishmen:"

"I venture to think there are few more interesting epochs in the history of this neighbourhood than that of the early part of the reign of King Edward I. Tempting though it may be to dilate upon the war waged by the young warrior King against the valiant Prince Llewelyn and his brave people, I will only refer to it shortly by mentioning that in July, 1277, the English monarch summoned his army to meet in this ancient city, and having crossed the river Dee by Shotwick Ford (now the enclosed land known as "the Wild Marsh"), he advanced to the present Flint, and on the low freestone rock there which commands the old Roman Ford across the river to Parkgate, in Cheshire, he erected the present Flint Castle, staying while he was erecting it with the monks at Basingwerk Abbey, the ruins of which lie close by the Holywell Station of the Chester and Holyhead Railway. From thence he marched on to Rhuddlan, for we find him there on the 25th of August following. The old Castle of Rhuddlan, together with the still older one of Deganwy, near to the present watering place of Llandudno, had for many years been in the possession of the Earls of Chester. Nay, the land between the city of Chester and the river Conway was for ages claimed by the English to be included within the jurisdiction of the Palatinate of Chester, but this claim was always disputed by the Welsh, who more than once drove their adversaries to the walls of Chester. Again we find Edward at Flint, in the beginning of July, 1282, from whence he again left for Rhuddlan, which he made his head-quarters until the 11th of March, 1283. There he brought his Queen and family, and called together his Parliament, which passed the

celebrated "Statutes of Rhuddlan," by which the Principality was finally included within the Kingdom of England. Ultimately Llewelyn was slain on the banks of the Wye, and his head brought to Edward at Conway Castle, which he was then building. A short time afterwards his brother David was taken prisoner and conveyed to Rhuddlan, from whence he was sent to Shrewsbury, and there tried and put to death. This closed the sovereignty of the Ancient British Empire, which, according to Cambrian records, is said to have existed for 2,418 years. Having reduced the country into subjection, Edward determined to have a complete chain of fortresses along the coast of North Wales, from Chester to Harlech. He strengthened the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, and completed that grandly placed fortress, the castle of Conway (the remains of the old castle of Deganwy, or "Gannoke," as the English called it, having been used, it is supposed, as materials in its construction). Further on he erected the magnificent castle of Carnarvon, the present ruins of which form one of the finest specimens of mediæval military buildings in this country, thanks to the care bestowed upon them by the present able deputy constable, Sir Llewelyn Turner. For the protection of the Menai Straits, and of the Island of Anglesey, he erected Beaumaris Castle, and at the extreme end of the Principality, and near to Snowdonia, which had always been the last refuge for Welsh chieftains, he placed the almost impreguably situated castle of Harlech, a name which, by-the-bye, is associated with the favourite Welsh song, "March, ye men of Harlech." Having completed this range of fortresses the politic king did his utmost to encourage the emigration of his English subjects to his new domains. I recently found at the Public Record Office on the Patent Roll, 7 Edward I., an entry of an order, by which Gunslin de Badlesmere, justice of Chester, was commissioned to the principal custody of "Our Castle of Flint, with the appurtenances," and "Our town of Rhuddlan, with the appurtenances," with a salary of £100 per annum, "payable out of Our Exchequer at Chester," and "Our beloved and faithful Roger de Mortimer" was given "full and special power of enfeofling in Our turn the men of Our lands belonging to the castle and domains of Gannoke, of Rothlan, and of Flint, and of demising and granting them to fee-farm by carucates or certain other parcels as we have enjoined the same Roger *viva voce*, and as will appear to be more expedient to Our use;" and the sheriffs of Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester were commanded to proclaim that all those within their bailiwicks, who wished to be enfeoffed of or to fee-farm the said lands should go before the said Roger at Hereford, in the octave of St. Hilary; the sheriffs of Shrewsbury and Stafford, before the said Roger at Shrewsbury, within 15 days from the day of St. Hilary; and the sheriffs of Warwick, Nottingham, Derby, Lancaster, and Gunslin de Badlesmere, justice of Chester, before the same Roger de Mortimer, at Rhuddlan, on Sunday, in mid-lent, "to receive such lands as it should seem expedient." No doubt a very considerable number of Englishmen swarmed to this new field of emigration, and English towns rapidly sprang up near to the castles, the inhabitants of which were protected by the English garrisons. I have here a deed of conveyance of the 28th year of the reign of King Edward—[A.D. 1300]—written in the court hand of the period, which for brevity in form, and neatness in engrossment, is a pattern to

the conveyancing members of my profession of the present day. It is a transfer from an early English settler under King Edward I., one Roger de Belby, to Wm. de Doncaster, a citizen of Chester, who filled the office of sheriff in this ancient city, and was mayor for no less than four years in succession; and it conveys to Doncaster a house in the town of Flint, which is described as lying without the eastern gate of the town which leads towards Chester, and also a considerable quantity of land in various parts of the large area, which is included within boundaries of the present borough of Flint, some of it being described as adjoining the land which was of "Stephen the Wolf." This name rather smacks of a description which one of the early American settlers would give of his neighbour, who was an American Indian Chief. There are seven or eight attesting witnesses to this deed, all more or less bearing the old Cheshire names of Massey, Venables (Hugh de Venables, who was then palatinate baron of Kinderton, had married the daughter of Vernon of Shipbroke, another palatinate baron). Hugh de Venables appears by this deed to have been at that time constable of Flint Castle. Hugh de Brichull, who was no less than 14 times Mayor of Chester, &c. To return, however, to my subject. King Edward not only made large grants of land to individuals, but also recognizing the benefit his country derived from the establishment of corporate towns, which added so much to the commercial prosperity of the nation, before leaving Wales granted charters to the English settlers or communities which were springing up around his various castles. We find him here in Chester on the 10th of September, 1284, and he remained here for upwards of a week; but before coming here he stayed a few days at Flint Castle, and he there granted charters to the towns of Flint, Rhuddlan, Conway and Carnarvon. All these four charters are dated at Flint on the 8th of September, 1284, and the terms of each of them are precisely the same. The eight attesting witnesses are also the same individuals. The charters to Beaumaris and Harlech, which were also similar, were granted by Edward later on. By these charters the Constable of each Castle was to be Mayor of each Borough. This I believe is a somewhat early instance of the use of the word "Mayor" in a Charter. The burgesses were to elect annually two bailiffs. Provision is made for a Guild Hall with a Hanse. The customs of "soc and sac toll and theame and infangtheft" were granted to the burgesses, and they were to be "free throughout all Our Dominions, as well in England as elsewhere, of toll and passage, murage, pontage, forestallage, and danegeld." The eight attesting witnesses were, "Rev. Father Robert, bishop of Bath and Wells, our Chancellor; Thomas de Clare, Richard de Burgh (the 2nd Earl of Ulster), Richard de Bres or Breos (the first cousin to the William de Breos who was taken prisoner by Llewelyn ap Iorweth in the battle with Henry III, and who being afterwards discovered in an intrigue with Llewelyn's wife, was hung by the enraged Prince near his palace at Aber). Reginald de Grey, who I have recently found from an entry on the Patent Roll before mentioned, was at the time Constable of Flint Castle, and therefore Mayor of the Borough. Reginald was the founder of the family of the Lords Grey, of Ruthin Castle; and was grandfather of the Lord Reginald de Grey, the adversary of Owen Glyndwr, Nicholas de Seagrave, Peter de (Champ'non) Champnent (whose name I find mentioned in the roll referring to the

payments made to the workmen engaged in the building of Flint Castle, and who is described as "knight"), and John Monte-Alto, who was another Chester Palatinate baron, namely, of "Mont alt" (Hawarden and Mold). I hope to secure for our Council chamber at Flint a painting depicting the scene of King Edward, surrounded by his warriors and courtiers, granting these charters in the old Flint Castle, painted by Mr. Leonard Hughes, an able young Flintshire artist, who has been educated in the Chester School of Art; and I trust that, before arriving at its destination, it may be hung upon the walls of the Royal Academy Exhibition. There is ample material in the very valuable Blue Book Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, published during the last fifteen or sixteen years, on the Recognizance Rolls and Welsh Records of the Palatinate of Chester, referring to this period of our local history, but I feel it is not within the compass of a short paper like this to refer to them in detail; they are well worthy of the attention of every student of Cheshire, Flintshire, and Denbighshire history. The appendices to these reports have been carefully prepared by Mr. Peter Turner, of the Public Record Office, and they throw a perfect flood of new light upon not only this period of our history, but that of later periods, notably that relating to the revolt of Owen Glyndwr. Fortunately for us the records and muniments relating to the Palatinate of Chester, which included the present counties of Chester and Flint, and those of Montgomery and Denbigh, in the Autumn of 1854—I believe mainly through the influence of his Grace the Duke of Westminster, then Earl Grosvenor, M.P. for the city of Chester, and the late Lord Hammer, then M.P. for Flint boroughs—were removed to the Public Record Office. The records relating to the three other counties of North Wales were unfortunately left at Carnarvon, and I am told that they are now almost, if not entirely, lost. I find in Appendix II. of the sixteenth Record Office report the following paragraph. "The records brought from Chester, packed as closely as possible, filled four to five large boxes and 369 bags, about 100 of the latter being large five-bushel bags. The weight was nearly 13 tons. They filled five of the largest London and North-Western luggage vans." These records, I believe, are even yet being arranged and classified, and the reports already published relating to them, extremely valuable and interesting though they are, only touch the very fringe of the information contained in such an immense mass of documents. There are no more able or courteous public servants than those in the Record Office, but they cannot do more than they can, and unless the staff is increased it will be ages before the public can be informed of the entire contents of these valuable Cheshire and Welsh records. The student of history has much for which to thank the Record Office Authorities, the Historical Manuscript Commissioners, and societies such as the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society (of which Mr. Farwaker is the very able Honorary Secretary), and other kindred associations. The more one dips into the information they have lately published the more one arrives at the conclusion that the history of England has yet to be written. Surely it is the duty of the Government in these days of education to increase the miserably small grants made to the Rolls Office to the Historical Manuscript Commissioners and others for the elucidation of the history

of our country. The enormous sums of money spent upon education, so far as English history is concerned, is being in a degree wasted by the non-publication of information now lying dormant in Fetter Lane, at the British Museum, and in the hundreds of English mansions, the libraries and muniments of which are open to the Commissioners. There is one mansion not far from here, that of Lord Mostyn (who is only too anxious to assist the Commissioners in any way he can), which I am certain, from what I know, that if its contents are brought to light by a professional specialist will throw a flood of new light not only upon Welsh, Bardic, and Tudor times, but upon the Civil War of the seventeenth century.

The PRESIDENT expressed his regret that his own address had been so long on the previous evening as to prevent the paper which they had just heard being read before the general meeting. He thanked Mr. Taylor for his paper, which was an important contribution, especially that portion of it relating to the establishment of municipalities in this part of North Wales. In England municipalities had gradually grown up as the people advanced in civilisation, but in this instance, as Mr. Taylor had distinctly proved, at one swoop, as it were, municipal privileges had been conferred upon these towns in North Wales. He was glad to hear the old words used in the charter, such as "Soc," "Sac," "Danegeld," &c. The grant of a "hanse" in connection with a guild was highly interesting. It was a very old, very important, and an unusual grant. To him as a Somerset man it was very interesting to see that their old friend Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was one of the attesting witnesses to these charters to North Wales. He (the President) was at one time an Alderman of an ancient Borough, and on the 25th of March last he went to bed holding that ancient and dignified office, but on the following morning he awoke bereft of the honour by the divine act of the Legislature. In conclusion, he again thanked Mr. Taylor for his paper.

SIR JAMES PICTON then read a paper on "Chester and Liverpool in their Ancient Commercial Relations." In conveying the thanks of the meeting to the author Mr. Freeman expressed himself as much pleased at being made acquainted with the remarkable documents which Sir James Picton had brought forward, and the answer that had thus been given to the question he asked in his opening address as to the way in which Liverpool had taken, commercially, the place of Chester.

Sir James Picton then distributed printed copies of his interesting paper to the members present, and the meeting adjourned.

Thursday, August 12th.

At 10 a.m. the General Annual Meeting of the Institute was held in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall. Earl Percy in the chair.

In opening the proceedings the noble CHAIRMAN said that in accordance with the terms of paragraph 7 in the Articles of Association¹ the President's term of office was three years, and he thought that rule should be acted upon, and that the President should occasionally be out of office for a year. The Council had, however, done him the honour

¹ Printed in Vol. xli., p. 453.

to re-elect him as President for another term, and he had pleasure in re-accepting the office, and begged to thank the Council and the members for the trust they had placed in him. These remarks were received with much cordiality.

Mr. Gosselin read the Balance Sheet for the past year (printed at p. 423). He then read the following:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1885-6.

The Council regret that owing to various causes, chiefly from the difficulty in obtaining new members, that the Hon. Treasurer has as yet been unable to sanction the funding of Life Compositions. The Council have been considering a scheme for obtaining further support by the admission of additional members, and trust that with due economy in official and other expenses, the desirable object of forming a fund on the life compositions may soon be commenced.

The Balance Sheet contrasts favourably with those of previous years.

The Council have protested in the name of the Institute against the threatened destruction of several ancient buildings, and are pleased to be able to inform the members that their work has not been in vain. In the case of Weston's Yard, Eton, where a most interesting range of buildings was threatened with demolition, the Institute, working in harmony with other Antiquarian Societies, has persuaded the School authorities to abandon their scheme of destruction. The Council congratulate the members on the preservation of the ancient buildings of the Charter House. In the early part of the year a bill was introduced into Parliament to enable the Governors to dispose of their London property, and the partial destruction of Washhouse Court, was contemplated. Owing to the energetic action displayed by the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings and the Commons Preservation Society, the Bill was abandoned. The Council consider that the best thanks of all antiquaries are due to these societies for their energetic action in this matter. The Council also protested against the proposed renovation of Queen Eleanor's Cross at Waltham, and they hope that what remains of this venerable monument may be carefully preserved for future generations.

The Council are extremely pleased at the great success of the Exhibition of Antiquities from Naucratis, held in the rooms of the Institute, under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and they view with pleasure the increasing interest taken by the public in this branch of archaeology. The Council have much gratification in announcing that a third Exhibition of Egyptian Antiquities, discovered by the expedition under Mr. Flinders Petrie, will be held by the permission of the authorities of the Fund, in the rooms of the Institute, during the coming autumn.

The Council have to report to the members the change that has occurred in the Editorship of the Journal since the last annual meeting. In the summer of 1885 Mr. St. John Hope, who had conducted the Journal in a most able manner, was appointed to the Assistant-Secretaryship of the Society of Antiquaries, and was consequently obliged to resign his post at the Institute. While the members will regret the loss of one who had worked so well for them they will welcome with pleasure the re-appointment of Mr. Hartshorne as Editor, and

the Council feel confident that in his hands the Journal will continue to be one of the leading antiquarian publications of the day.

The President of the Royal Historical Society having invited the co-operation of the Institute in making arrangements for the celebration of the 300th Anniversary of the Completion of the Domesday Survey, the Council deputed one of their body, Mr. J. Bain, F.S.A. (Scot.,) to represent the Institute at the meetings of the Committee appointed by the Royal Historical Society.

Mr. R. P. Pullan again represented the Institute at the Congress of the Société Centrale des Architectes at Paris, which opened on June 8th. He was most cordially received by M. Paul Sedille, Vice-President, in the absence of M. A. Bailly, the President, who was prevented from attending by illness, and by our Honorary Member, Mr. Charles Lucas. Several interesting papers on archaeology and architecture were read at the various meetings at the Palais de Beaux Arts, by M. Foville, Lucas, Gillaume, and others. Various works in progress in Paris were visited. The annual excursion was to the Mediæval city of Troyes.

At the suggestion of the Hon. Treasurer the Council drew up certain by-laws for the better management of the Institute; and at a General Meeting, held in the month of March, these by-laws were approved and adopted by the members then present.¹

The Council have the pleasure of informing the members that during the past year the following Societies have agreed to an Exchange of Publications with the Institute :—

1. The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts.
2. The Anthropological Institute.
3. The Folk Lore Society.
4. The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.
5. *Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publiques.*

Since the last annual meeting the following gentlemen have been duly elected honorary and corresponding members :—

Monsieur Antoine Nicolas Bailly, Membre de l'Institut, President of the Société Centrale des Architectes at Paris.

Monsieur Cesar Daly, Honorary and Corresponding Member of the R.I.B.A., &c.

Monsieur Charles Lucas, Hon. and Corresponding Member of the R.I.B.A., &c.

Dr. W. N. du Rieu, of Leyden University, Holland.

The Council have to regret the loss by death of several of the most valued members of the Institute. Two of them were men of European reputation.

James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S., was chiefly celebrated for his writings on matters connected with Archaeology and Architecture. His most important work was his *History of Architecture* in two volumes 8vo., which appeared in 1865. Two beautifully illustrated books on the *Architecture of India* had been previously published. These were followed by *The Topography of Jerusalem*; *The Temple of the Jews*; *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*; *A Restoration of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus*; *Rude Stone Monuments*; and *The*

¹ Printed at page 179.

Parthenon, being an essay on the mode of lighting Greek Temples. Mr. Fergusson was one of the architectural advisers to the Office of Works, and latterly a member of the Executive Committee for the decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Thomas Leverton Donaldson was Professor of Architecture at University College and Founder of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The interesting papers he contributed to the Transactions of the R.I.B.A. are evidences of his scholarship and untiring industry, as they comprehend essays on all branches of Art, Classic and Gothic. He was, however, chiefly known as a classical architect, who adhered to the rules of Vitruvius. His contributions to numismatic science were considerable, the "*Architectura Numismatica*," a book full of engravings of coins with representations of buildings on them, from his own collection, is a work of the greatest value.

The Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, F.S.A., Rector of Clyst St. George, was noted for his devotion to Campanology, on which science he was, perhaps, the first authority in the kingdom. He paid considerable attention to Ecclesiology generally, and was an occasional contributor to the Journal. He was also well known as a geologist.

Alexander Nesbitt, F.S.A., was one of the earliest and most active members of the Institute. All those who are interested in Monumental Brasses will, no doubt, recollect his numerous valuable contributions on this branch of Archaeology to our Journal.

James Bridge Davidson, M.A., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law, 14, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, was elected a member of the Institute on the 11th day of May, 1877; and a member of the Council in November, 1881. He practised as a Conveyancer and Equity Draughtsman, and gratuitously drafted the Memorandum and Articles of Association under the Companies' Acts, 1862, 1883, when the Institute was incorporated, on the 5th day of August, 1884, in pursuance of a Resolution of the Council, dated the 20th day of June, 1884. Mr. Davidson was born in 1824, and was the eldest son of Mr. James Davidson, of Lenton, Axminster, Devon. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated as a Senior Optime in 1847. He was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, in Michaelmas Term, 1850. He was appointed in 1865, by the Incorporated Law Report Society, Reporter in Vice-Chancellor Page Wood's Court; and at his death in 1885 was Reporter in Vice-Chancellor Bacon's Court. He was a Reporter for the *Times* in the Chancery Division, and a member of the Junior Athenæum Club.

The Council have also to regret the loss of Mr. F. C. Brooke, Rev. T. Griffiths, Mrs. Hayward, Mr. Long, and the Right Rev. Dr. Moberley, Bishop of Salisbury.

Although not one of the Members of the Institute the Council cannot conclude this report without mentioning with much regret the decease of the Very Rev. Dr. Howson, late Dean of Chester, who took the warmest interest in our proceedings; and at whose suggestion the Institute accepted the invitation to visit this ancient and interesting city.

The members of the Governing Body to retire by rotation are as follows: Vice-President, Mr. M. H. Bloxam; and the following members of the Council: Mr. S. Tucker (Somerset), Colonel Pinney, Professor I. H. Middleton, Mr. A. E. Griffiths, Mr. R. H. Soden-Smith, and Mr. J. Bain.

The Council would recommend the appointment of Mr. G. T. Clark as a Vice-President, and the election of Mr. M. H. Bloxam, Mr. S. Tucker (Somerset), Colonel Pinney, Professor J. H. Middleton, Mr. A. E. Griffiths, Mr. J. Bain, Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum, and Mr. E. C. Hulme, the retiring Hon. Auditor, to the vacant places on the Council.

They would further recommend the appointment of J. C. L. Stahlschmidt as Junior Honorary Auditor.

On the proposal of Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, seconded by the Rev. F. SPURRELL, the Balance Sheet and the Report were adopted.

Mr. BAYLIS made some general remarks upon the financial position of the Institute, and Mr. C. T. Gostenhofer urged the desirableness of funding the life compositions as soon as it was practicable. After some remarks from the noble Chairman to the same effect, Mr. J. Hilton brought forward some propositions, having the object of increasing the numbers of the Institute. Although they had not declined during the past year it was of the highest importance that they should be considerably increased in order to enable the Society to carry out its work with efficiency. A long discussion took place, in which Mr. Pullan, Mr. C. J. Ferguson, Professor Clark, the noble Chairman, and others took part, the final result being that, on the motion of Dr. BRUCE, seconded by Mr. J. BATTEN, the matter was ordered to be referred to the consideration of the Council in London.

With regard to the place of meeting in 1887, Mr. GOSSELIN read some correspondence he had had respecting a meeting of the Institute at Salisbury. It had the approval of the Bishop and the support of local antiquaries of distinction. The short discussion which ensued indicated how much gratification a visit to Salisbury, after thirty-six years, would give to the members. Mr. BAYLIS accordingly proposed, and the Rev. Precentor VENABLES seconded a motion that Salisbury be the next place of meeting. This was cordially supported by Mr. J. BATTEN, a member of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society.

Mr. P. BACK offered some observations upon the prospects of a meeting at Norwich. He fore-shadowed a good reception whenever the Council took the matter in hand.

Mr. J. BATTEN asked for the support of the Institute with regard to the threatened sale of Taunton Grammar School, a work of Bishop Richard Fox. On the motion of the noble PRESIDENT an expression of regret was passed, and the matter referred, as regards any further action, to the Council in London.

The following new members were elected :—

The Rev. C. W. Spencer-Stanhope, Crowton House, Northwich, Chester, proposed by Mr. A. Hartshorne. E. J. Baillie, Esq., Chester, proposed by Mr. J. Hilton. W. Hale-Hilton, Esq., 46, Blandford Sqre., W., proposed by Mr. J. Hilton. Alderman Charles Brown, Chester, proposed by Mr. P. Back ; seconded by Mr. T. H. Bayllis.

Thursday, August 12th.

At 11.45 Mr. Beresford Hope opened the Architectural Section in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall, and delivered the following address :—

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE began by warning his hearers that they must not expect from him any very solid contribution to the great edifice of

human learning which it was the object of the Institute gradually and securely to build up. He said he wished rather to put forward a few suggestions as to the working of the machine, for it seemed to him that, as President of that Section, he occupied somewhat the same position as those useful, though humble, individuals in great manufactories whose business it was to oil the wheels. The subject of architecture, which was to engage the attention of the meeting, was a strangely varied as well as a most important one; for architecture presented itself in so many relations, it had so many different aspects. The first and greatest distinction to be drawn was that between the architecture of the past and the architecture of the future. Then, too, architecture was at the same time such a practical thing, and it was so artistic in its aim. In all those aspects the relations of architecture to archaeology came in to assist in the solution of various problems, the solution of which was very difficult indeed. That ought to be an object to be borne in mind when the members of the Institute met together to exchange notes or to mourn over what they deemed to be vandalism. Now what was the position of the archaeological architect? Was he always popular, and was he doing good work? Whether he was popular or not, he was doing very useful work, and, perhaps, even if he was unpopular as an architect he was doing useful work as an archaeologist. But there was one great difficulty staring them in the face. The practical character of architecture made it necessary for the architect to concern himself with the building of dwellings in which a man could live without being perpetually in danger of catarrh or blood-poisoning. The architect must also build temples to worship in, but those temples must be so planned and arranged as to conform to the religious instincts and wants of those who were to worship in them. It had also to be borne in mind that while we had only a certain acreage in England, there was a large and growing population. So the new wants of civilisation made things apparently dangerous, which had formerly been overlooked. Woe to them all if they did not do justice to those matters. Opposed as he was to the sacred legacy of the past, in the shape of buildings, religious, secular, and domestic, which gave us such a real idea of the life of our ancestors, being needlessly disfigured and frittered away, he, nevertheless, recognised that the architect had to consider the needs of the future, and the requirements which had grown out of the triumphs of science. There was an awkward, ugly word which had been invented of late years; but it was a blessed word in some respects, because it meant health and long life. That word was "sanitation." Sanitation stared us in the face everywhere. How were we to go on without sanitation? And how was sanitation to be enforced without detriment to the old and the picturesque? Those were questions with which we had to deal in the present day. He was very well assured, speaking seriously, that no greater blow was ever struck at archaeology, no greater difficulty was ever preponderated for solution by archaeologists, than when our sanitary lights passed a decree forbidding the continuation of the old dear domestic cesspool. As long as the cesspool existed the old Tudor and Elizabethan houses of the country were comparatively free from assaults on the picturesque. But now, what was the first thing that happened when a man came into possession of an old Tudor house? Did he content himself with admiring

the carving? Did he sit down to table in the hall with his hat on his head and dressed in the costume of the period to which the house belonged? He might do all that and much more with the most archaeological accuracy. He did nothing of the sort, however, but called in the sanitary engineer, who tore up floors, pulled down panellings, and generally disturbed and more or less destroyed what was old. In the case of some old moated grange, perhaps, an iron tube would be carried across the moat in order that the moat might not become the rich receptacle of all the treasures of the house. He could imagine Mr. Stevenson, or some other delineator of the grotesque and horrible, telling some such story as this:—"A very good young man, a very enlightened young man, had a visit one morning from a fairy, and the fairy tells him that some grand old mansion (say Haddon Hall) had been, in a fit of capricious generosity on the part of the Duke of Rutland, handed over to him, with sufficient means to keep it up. We can imagine such a young man, full of archaeological enthusiasm, what a state of ecstasy he would be in at being the recipient of such a gift! But a second fairy comes in and says:—"By the way, about that gift. The house is given you on condition that you live in it!" Now he is a man of great taste and a member of the Archaeological Institute. At the same time he is a man who is careful about his health. So what is he to do, and how is he to live in the Hall? Shall he live in the old building, with all its picturesqueness and discomfort, to be killed by catarrh or poisoned by the cesspool? Or shall he call in an architect to make the place habitable, and at the same time something very different to what it was in Dorothy Vernon's time? For to make such a place fit for the conditions of modern life would be to ruin it by internal changes, and hardly less so by the addition of excrescences which would alter the aspect of the place almost beyond recognition. Whatever he did, it was quite certain that he would be the object of the vituperation of all archaeologists, who would regard him as a Vandal." He gave them that little parable of the Squire of Haddon Hall because it exactly served to illustrate one phase of the problem which they had to solve. If any of the members of the Institute were members of a Board of Health, they would be the better able to understand such difficulties as those to which he had referred. The case was, however, different when he came to our churches. Some years ago he was an earnest supporter of church restoration, because he was an ecclesiologist before he was an archaeologist, and he still was an ecclesiologist. No doubt the ecclesiologists had made mistakes half a century ago, when they had a trifle less experience than they now possessed. In the old days of church restoration they used to move the monuments about in a most wonderful way. In that way they incurred a good deal of odium, which was not altogether unmerited. But the people who were loudest in condemning them were, taken all round, rather more ignorant than they were themselves. But now a more sober, a more reverential idea of church restoration had grown up. They tried to be reverential in the old days, but it was the reverence which only took one point of view. We were taught now to look at our churches all round—as wholes. The question of church restoration was now only a question of degree. The man who could argue that churches, so long as churches were churches, must not be restored, was a man who would, in

Canning's words, "say anything." The question should always be, "What is the least that can be done to bring out the uses of the churches, to make them useful, and yet to preserve the archæological features? He remembered a Collegiate church in the West of England which was some years ago restored by one of the most eminent ecclesiastical architects of his day, who ruthlessly altered the church, destroyed much interesting work, and revolutionised the levels of the church in order to make the church more convenient for current worship. That was a most unjustifiable proceeding, but it was a proceeding such as would not be dared again by an architect of eminence. The question of church restoration was, he repeated, a question of degree. Some ecclesiologists were, no doubt, too revolutionary in their changes, though perhaps the archæologists were not revolutionary enough. The attrition between the two parties would no doubt result in good. Common-sense would come in and make its influence felt. The instinct for the beautiful, reverence for the past, and the belief in history, and, on the other hand, practical necessities, make themselves felt, and help to bring about the happy mean between the two extremes of over-restoration and no-restoration. It should be remembered that archæology had its limits. The archæologist was not bound, in the nature of things, to look upon a house as a place where a man must live. The archæologist only cared for the preservation of an old house, whether it was fit to live in or not. Then there came in the question of sanitation. He did not know whether any of his hearers had seen a drawing some time ago which appeared in the *Builder*, and which made a great impression upon him.¹ The author was Mr. H. W. Brewer, an artist, who drew as if he were an architect. It was a representation of a make-believe German city of the most picturesque period of the transition between Gothic and the Renaissance, a beautiful minster being shown in the middle of the picture, surrounded by a number of picturesque buildings, the Rathhaus or Town Hall included. But there was not a single human being to be seen in the picture, and the streets and steps of the houses were covered with a growth of weeds from long disuse. The story which the picture was supposed to illustrate was that of a city which had been entirely denuded of its inhabitants by some pestilence or epidemic. In the middle of the picture, and underneath some of the buildings, was the trace of what, once a clear and beautiful stream, had been converted into a loathsome sewer—the main sewer of the town, and, no doubt, the source of the drinking-water of the city. That picture, which was a most pathetic one, teaching a great lesson, did not receive so much attention at the time as it deserved, for it was the compendium vividly displayed of many sad chapters of human misery. To sum up, architecture was a pursuit in which the variety of considerations with which it had to grapple was so great, so important, and in some respects so incompatible with archæological deference to the past, that no one man, nor any one school of men, could wholly succeed in reconciling the architecture of the past, whether the architecture of history, or that of old domestic and ecclesiastical life, with the architecture of our present everyday social wants, and the demands of science.

¹ "Deserted." See *Builder*, vol. xlv., p. 24.

On the motion of the DUKE OF WESTMINSTER a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Beresford Hope.

The Historical Section then met. Mr. W. E. A. Axon read a paper on "The Dark Lady of Shakespeare and Gawsworth."

A visit was then paid to St. John's church, where Mr. Freeman would have been an appropriate and welcome expounder. After an adjournment, the members proceeded to the Chapter House of the Cathedral. The Dean of Chester gave an historical account of the building, and, subsequently, the Rev. Precentor Venables was an efficient guide to the Cathedral and its precincts. In the cloister Mr. Venables gave an interesting and detailed account of the daily life of the monks, and called attention to some remarkable evidences of the small regard mediæval architects of one generation had for the works of their predecessors. The speaker paid a warm tribute to the late Dean Howson for having evolved so much decency and order out of chaos and squalor in a cathedral which, before its reparation, was the darkest, dirtiest, most dreary, dismal, and desolate place imaginable.

At 3 p.m. the members went by the Dee to a reception and garden party at Eaton Hall. The weather, unfortunately, turned out wet, but they were received in the kindest possible manner by the Duke and Duchess of Westminster, and both antiquaries and lovers of art found ample material to excite their interest in the spacious halls of Eaton. Later in the afternoon the large party were joined by the Indian and Colonial visitors, then staying in Chester, and all were most hospitably entertained.

At 8 p.m. a *conversazione* was given by the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Chester, in the Town Hall, to the members of the Institute and the Indian and Colonial visitors. The whole of the extensive building was thrown open, and the guests were received with a hospitality worthy of the ancient city.

Friday, August 13th.

At 10.15 a large party went by special train to Malpas station, and proceeded on foot to the church. Here the members were received by the Rev. W. Trevor Kenyon, and Mr. Pullan gave a description of the building, and pointed out the structural alterations which had turned a Decorated into a Perpendicular church. Mr. Kenyon said that it was dedicated to St. Oswald, and that at the time of the Conquest a castle was built northward of the present church, and, according to Ormerod, within the castle walls. This Norman church was entirely rebuilt in the fourteenth century, and that ground plan Mr. Kenyon believed had been adhered to in Perpendicular times. The roofs of the nave and aisle are unusually rich, probably as much so as any church in Cheshire.

Returning to the station a special train conveyed the party to Nantwich, where luncheon was arranged in the Corn Exchange. The church was then visited, and described by Mr. Pullan. This, it was observed, is one of the finest and most remarkable of Cheshire churches, and a rich example of Late Decorated work; the chancel has a fine stone vault, and shelters beautiful oak stalls with canopies.

The journey was continued in carriages to Aston church, where Mr.

Pullan was again the obliging and able guide. Here was work of all periods, from Early English to Georgian Gothic. Banbury church was the next point. The antiquaries were received by the Rev. W. Lowe, who described the church. This is another example of the Decorated and Perpendicular work of the district, and contains many interesting features. Chief among them may be mentioned the Ridley chapel, erected by Sir Ralph Egerton in 1527, and exhibiting, like the screen in front of Montacute House, the intermingling of classic and Gothic details; and the fine tomb and effigy of that gallant and prudent tactician, Sir Hugh Calveley, died circa 1390; an etching of the effigy is in Stothard.

Beeston Castle was the last place visited. The Rev. Precentor Venables gave a description of this fortress, which was begun by Ranulph de Blundeville in 1220, on his return from the Holy Land. It figures largely in the Welsh wars, but was ruinous in 1540. Restored in the time of Charles I, it was held for a time by the Parliamentarians, but soon fell into the hands of the king's party. After Rowton Heath, the garrison, sorely reduced by famine, surrendered, and the castle was "slighted." The members returned to Chester by special train at 6.35.

At 8 p.m. the Antiquarian Section met in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall, the Bishop of Chester in the chair. Mr. J. P. Earwaker read a paper on "The marriage of children in the sixteenth century, as illustrated by the Records of the Consistory Court, Chester." Mr. T. H. Baylis followed with a paper on "Treasure Trove,"¹ which brought about a discussion, in which Professor Clark, Mr. Hilton, and others took part. Mr. J. E. Worsley then read a paper on "Cromlechs at Llanfairfechan," and the meeting adjourned.

The Architectural Section met in the Assembly Room at 8 p.m., the Duke of Westminster in the chair. Mr. G. W. Shrubsole read a paper on "The age of the City Walls of Chester." In the discussion which followed Mr. Shrubsole's conclusions were endorsed by Dr. Bruce and others. Mr. Pullan then read a paper on "The Discovery of the Artemesium at Memi." In the Historical Section Mr. C. Brown read a paper on "The Ancient Charters of Chester."²

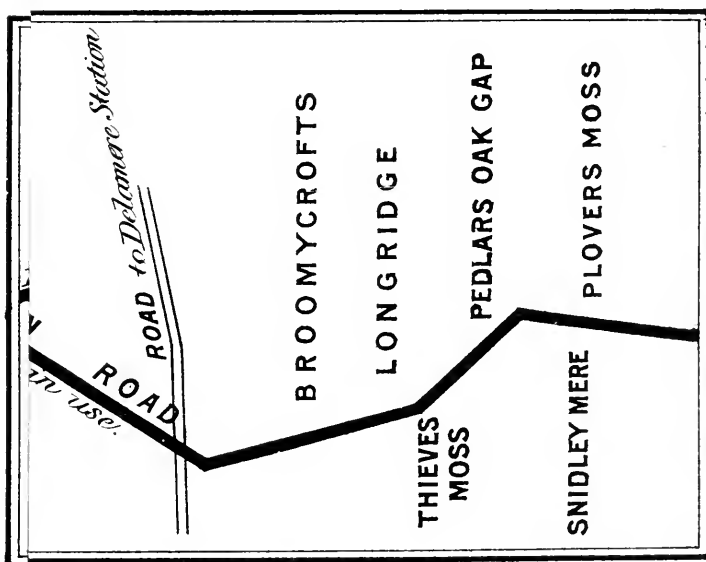
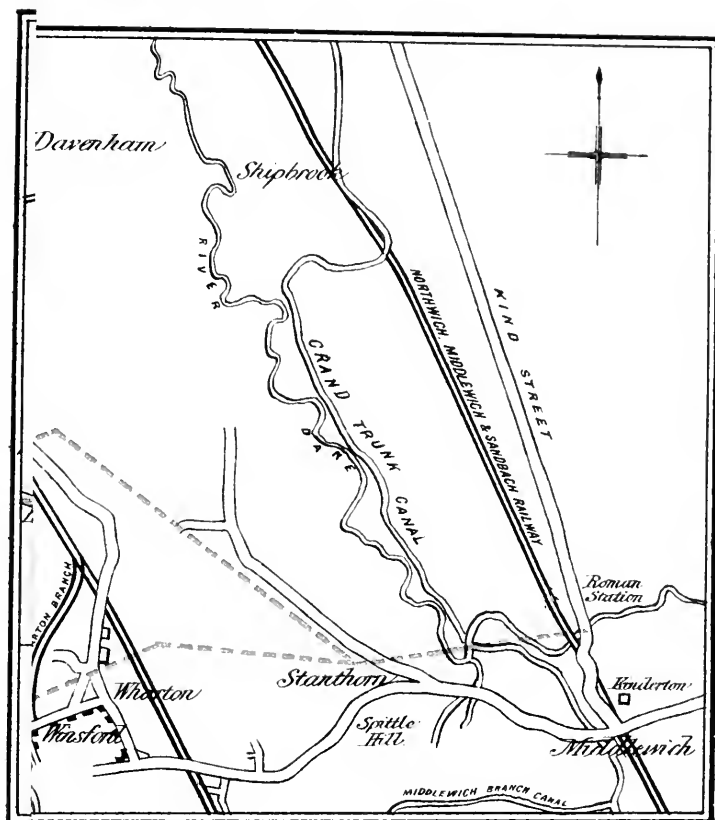
Saturday, August 14th.

At 10 a.m. the antiquaries went in carriages to Delamere Forest, travelling for the first few miles along the Watling Street to Mancunium (Manchester), now a turnpike road. Tarvin church, chiefly noteworthy from its Jacobean reredos with carved panels, representing scenes from the life of Our Lord; and Kilsburrow were seen *en route*. The journey was continued to Organs Dale, where trackways cut in the rock, and assigned with great improbability to the Romans, were seen. Some earthworks on Eddisbury Hill, supposed to be Saxon, were subsequently visited, and luncheon was obtained at the Abbey Arms inn. At Lob Slack the courses of the Roman roads were further inspected, and the party returned by rail from Cuddington station to Chester, arriving at 5.20.

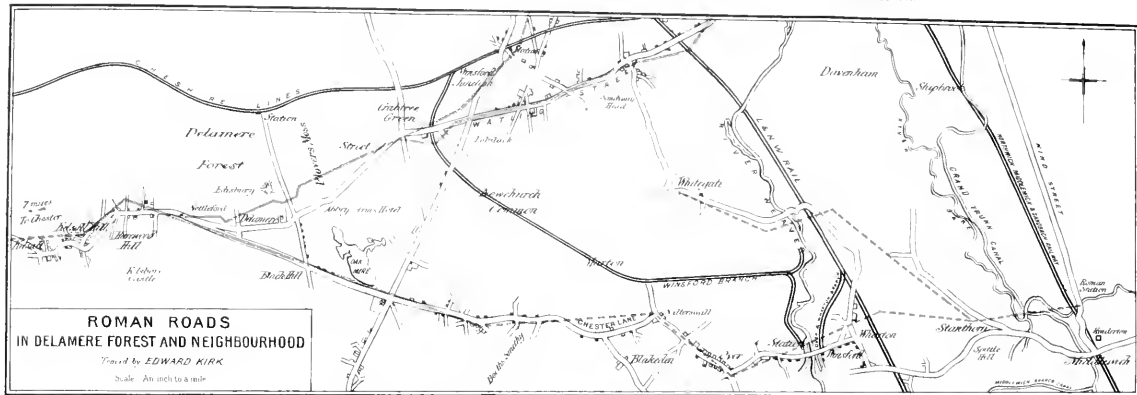
At 8 p.m. the Antiquarian Section met in the Council Chamber, the

¹ Printed at p. 341.

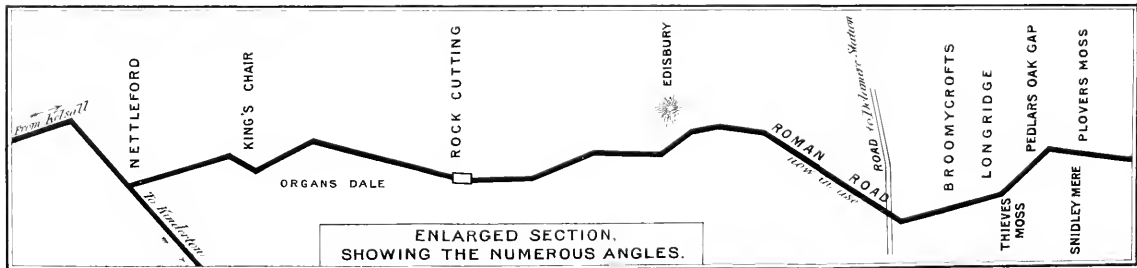
² Printed at p. 258.



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THE BLUE LINES SHOW THE ROADS ACTUALLY TRACED, THE BLUE DOTTED LINES THE SUPPOSED ROUTES



Bishop of Chester in the chair. Mr. T. Rigby read a paper on "Old Customs and Practices of Cheshire Farming." In the Architectural Section Mr. Pullan occupied the chair; and Mr. I. M. Jones read a paper on "A Roman Hypocaust," lately found in Chester. This was followed by a paper by Mr. T. M. Lockwood and Mr. J. Hewitt, on "The Gabled Houses of Chester."

On Sunday the Mayor and Corporation assembled at the Town Hall, accompanied by the noble President of the Institute and a large number of members, and went in state to the Cathedral, preceded by the sword bearer, and mace bearer.

At the west door the procession was met by the Dean, the clergy, and the choir. Boyce's beautiful anthem, "O where shall wisdom be found," was sung, and the Bishop of Chester preached from Ecc. iii., 15. In the evening the sermon was preached by the Rev. G. F. Browne.

Monday, August 16th.

At 10 the members went in carriages to Hawarden, where they were received by Mr. W. H. Gladstone, and conducted over the ruins of the castle. Quoting from Mr. Clark's valuable paper¹ Mr. Gladstone was able to make his description very clear to the visitors. Hawarden church was next seen, but having been, in consequence of a disastrous fire in 1857, "restored" by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, in a totally different style, the charms it offered to antiquaries were not considerable. A recumbent effigy of a late valued member of the Institute attracted, as it deserved, much attention from those members who knew the late Sir Stephen Glynne. From hence the party went to Mold. After luncheon at the Black Lion hotel the very rich late Perpendicular church was visited, and described by Mr. Pullan. Bailey Hill was next seen and commented upon by Mr. Wynne Foulkes and Professor Clark. The members then laboriously climbed the heights of Caergwyle castle. A paper on this stronghold, by the Rev. Precentor Venables, was, owing to stress of weather, read in Gresford church, which was the last place reached. Mr. Trevor Parkins and Mr. Pullan addressed themselves to the description of this fine Henry VII church, calling particular attention to the chancel and aisle screens, and the admirable condition of the whole building. A great deal of old glass, a military effigy of the time of Henry III, and the misereres of the choir stalls were other objects of interest, and it was comforting to feel that the fabric of the church had escaped the ravages of "restoration." The members returned by rail to Chester at 7.10.

At 8 p.m. the Antiquarian Section met in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall; Earl Percy in the chair. Mr. H. S. Skipton read a paper on "The History of Sport in Cheshire, with some notice of the Grosvenors." The Architectural Section met at 8.30 in the Assembly Room, when Sir Llewelyn Turner read a paper on "Carnarvon castle."²

The General concluding Meeting was then held; Earl Percy was in the chair, and proposed the following Resolution: "That the best thanks of the Royal Archaeological Institute are due to the Mayor and

¹ Journal Vol. 27, p. 239. In Vol. xv., p. 253, is a paper "De Montalto" by the late Mr. Hartshorne, treating at length

upon the history of the Barons of Montalto, long owners of the castle.

² Printed in the *Builder*, September 6th, 1886.

Corporation of Chester for the hospitable reception given to all members of the meeting." This was seconded by PROFESSOR CLARK, and responded to by the MAYOR OF CHESTER.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON proposed "That the thanks of this meeting are due to the Presidents of the Sections, and to those gentlemen who have so materially added to the interest of the meeting by reading papers." This was seconded by Mr. T. C. HUGHES, and responded to by the BISHOP OF CHESTER.

Mr. R. P. PULLAN proposed "That this meeting desires to record its thanks to his Grace the Duke of Westminster, the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, and to the clergy and gentry of the district who have permitted the members to visit their churches and houses." This was seconded by ALDERMAN C. BROWN, and responded to by the DEAN OF CHESTER.

Mr. T. H. BAYLIS proposed "That the Royal Archæological Institute give their best and most hearty thanks to the Local and General Committee for their valuable advice, energetic action, and support to which the success of the meeting is chiefly due; also to the Archæological and other learned societies and individuals for their cordial reception and co-operation." This was seconded by Mr. J. HILTON, and responded to by Mr. H. TAYLOR.

On the motion of the BISHOP OF CHESTER, seconded by the DEAN, a vote of thanks was passed to the noble Chairman and acknowledged, and the Chester meeting was then declared ended.

Tuesday, August 17th.

Excursion to Flint, Conway and Carnarvon.

At 9 a.m. a special train conveyed the party to Flint. Mr. Henry Taylor, Deputy Constable of the castle, took charge of the party, and pointed out that the castle formed a complete square, having a tower at each corner. The southern tower, forming the keep or donjon, was considerably larger than the others: it was very remarkable, inasmuch as it has, as it were, one circular tower inside another, formed of large circular galleries. There formerly was a drawbridge connecting the keep with the citadel. The ashlar work of the whole castle was singularly good, the stones being regular in size and of the same colour. The castle moat formerly was connected with that round the town, traces of which were to be seen to this day. A drawbridge connected the castle with the town, as was to be seen in Speed's map of the castle and town, published in 1610. The space between the castle and the ruins of the barbican was now the site of the building, which, until recently, was the County Prison, and was built about an hundred years ago.

Mr. Taylor has been kind enough to contribute the following further information :—

"The period when the castle was erected has been much questioned. Camden and Lord Lyttelton were of opinion that it was built by Henry II.; Leland, by Edward I. Pennant frankly stated "the founder of this castle is uncertain." The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, and others, had stated there were no accounts of the expenses of erecting Flint castle. This, however, was a mistake for at the Public Record Office (Exchequer Queens Remembrance Miscellanea Army No. $\frac{1}{7}$) there was a Roll, endorsed "Roll of wages of workmen in the King's army at "Flind and Rodela, in the time of the war in Wales, in the fifth year

of King Edward, paid by Master Thos. Petre, then keeper of the "Wardrobe of the ays King." This roll contains entries of payments made "for the *construction* of the castle of Flint," between the 25th July, 1277, and the 28th August following." The total was £922 11s. 8½d., no less a sum than £613 2s. 8½d. being paid to "dykers." The modest sum of a shilling a day was paid to the Architect, Richard L'Engenan, who built the Dee mills and weir at Chester, and was Mayor of that city in 1304. It was clear from the entries—"To certain Dykers working well of the gift of the King," and again, "to 2 smiths & their 6 boys joining with the King" [to Rhuddlan]—that Edward himself personally superintended the building of the castle. Having commanded his army to meet him at Chester he marched across the Dee at Shotwick ford [now the enclosed land known as the wet "wild marsh"] and on this low freestone rock built the castle to protect the old Roman ford from this point, across the river to Parkgate in Cheshire, staying while he was building it with the monks at Passingweek Abbey. Edward was frequently at Flint, and here on 8th September, 1284, he granted charters to Carnarvon, Conway, Rhuddlan, and Flint. Edward II, in 1321, received in this castle his favourite Piers Gaveston, on his return from Ireland. The most memorable fact in the history of Flint castle was that the unfortunate King Richard II was taken prisoner, and virtually dethroned within its walls by Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, afterwards King Henry IV, on the 19th August, 1399—a scene which has been immortalized by Shakespeare, who it is said must have seen the castle for the vivid manner in which he speaks of it. The King was brought here from Conway by Percy, Earl of Northumberland an ancestor of the present President of the Institute. This event laid the seeds of the Civil Wars of the Roses, in which the Welsh took no interest. Sir Nicholas Hanberk, who was Constable of the castle and Mayor of the town, 1396, 1406, appears to have kept up the castle in great taste. There is a very fine military brass to his memory in Cobham church, Kent.

"During the revolt of Owen Glyndur Flint Castle is frequently mentioned. At the time of the battle of Bosworth Sir Wm. Stanley was Constable, and, perhaps, the garrison of Flint went with him there, as the Flintshire men strongly sided with their kinsman Henry Tudor. During the civil war of the seventeenth century the castle was garrisoned and nobly defended for the King by Colonel Sir Roger Mostyn, but was taken by Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Middleton, of the Parliament. It was afterwards retaken by Sir William Vaughan, for the Royalists, in 1645, and was reinforced by the garrison of Beeston castle, in Cheshire, which, after a gallant defence, was permitted to march into Flint castle with all the honours of war.

Whitelock, in his Memoirs, has the following :—

"1643. The Castle of Flint was besieged by Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Middleton; the Governor of it for the King held it out till all provisions, even to horses failing him, and then rendered it up upon honourable terms.

"Then the Parliament Forces took in Mostyn House, belonging to Colonel Mostyn, the Governor of Flint; and in Mostyn they took 4 pieces of Ordnance and some arms.

"This Colonel Mostyn is my sister's son, a gentleman of good parts and mettle; of a very ancient family, large possessions, and great interest in that country; so that in twelve hours he raised 1,500 men for the King, and was well beloved there, living very nobly.

"1646, June 1. Major-General Milton besieged Carnarvon, Denbigh, Flint, and Holt castles.

"1646, August 3. Denbigh castle held out against the Parliament, and Flint castle seemed tractable to come to a Treaty.

"1646, August 29. The Houses sat not. Intelligence came of the surrender of Flint castle to Major-General Milton.

"1646, December 22. The House voted that Holt, Flint, Harding, Rotheland, and Ruthen castles should be slighted.

"In the case of Flint this slighting or dismantlement was done effectually. For many years the ruins supplied materials for all sorts of building, including the repair of the church walls. Now, however, what remains are left are well cared for, thanks to the present Constable, Mr. P. P. Pennant, who devotes his salary of £10 per annum towards the maintenance of the Porter, who now has charge of the ruins, and lives in the cottage by the gate. Some time ago the Crown granted the Ruins themselves to the County."

Proceeding by rail to Conway Sir Llewelyn Turner undertook the description of the castle.¹ Carnarvon was reached at 1 p.m. and the party were conducted by Sir Llewelyn Turner to the castle. With a hospitable disregard for the sumptuary laws of the Institute, Sir Llewelyn Turner offered the members luncheon and then spent some hours in showing the party over the castle, the main object of the long perambulation and close inspection being to illustrate the paper read on the previous evening, and to refute many of the deductions of the late Mr. Hartshorne as to the date of the erection of the different parts of the castle; the time they took in their erection and, most of all, to establish the truth of the legend that Edward II, was born in the Eagle Tower in 1284. The members of the Institute who believed that Mr. Hartshorne settled beyond all contradiction that Edward II, was not born in Carnarvon Castle,² were rather apt to look upon the reiteration of the fable as an interesting example of the long life of romance. On one point, however, everyone was agreed, namely that this grand fortress could not possibly have a better custodian, and the thanks of the members were warmly expressed on their behalf by Mr. R. S. Ferguson to Sir Llewelyn Turner, not only for the trouble he had taken for them that day, but also for the example he had set to all other custodians as to the proper care of a historical monument.

In the course of the afternoon Mr. W. Thompson Watkin was kind enough to take a party over the ruined walls of *Segontium*. The members returned to Chester by special train at 7.25.

The Museum.

This was formed in the Town Hall under the direction of Mr. G. W. Shrubsole and Mr. W. T. Ready. The objects were arranged in a way

¹ A paper on this fortress by the late Mr. Hartshorne, is printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, New Series, v. 1. and in Mr. Clark's *Medieval Military*

Architecture, v. 1, p. 453, is a careful descriptive account.

² *Journal*, vii, 237.

that is usual with collections of antiquities brought together under the auspices of the Institute, namely in a series of temporary glass cases. Of antiquities of special value or rarity, we may first mention Mr. Pullan's beautiful terra cotta head of a statuette of Jupiter; the Duke of Westminster's golden torque found near Holywell in 1816; the round leather shield of late Saxon date, found on the Cheshire shore of the Dee; and the Dean of Chester's choice little chalice with the London Hall Mark for 1496-1497. Each of these objects would form a capital subject for a paper. Mr. F. H. Williams lent a collection of flint implements from the Cheshire shore, opposite Hilbre island. The boroughs in this part of England contributed with much liberality to the exhibition of Corporation plate, and most of the parishes in the neighbourhood lent examples of ecclesiastical plate. There were many branks or scolds' bridles, manacles, a ducking jacket, not unlike "hanging chains," and other barbarous instruments of punishment. These iron objects were also lent by Corporate bodies. Mr. B. L. Vawdrey contributed largely to the Museum with antiquities and works of art of all kinds, and Mr. F. Potts lent a quantity of old Cheshire and Staffordshire pottery, gold rings and other things. The Charters of the City of Chester were shown, and there was a small collection of illuminated MSS. and books some of which were exhibited by Mr. Gladstone. The collection of Cuitt's and Nicholson's drawings of old Chester, lent by Mr. W. Ayrton, were of considerable interest as showing how much Chester has lost of the picturesque during the present century.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the Chester Meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—The Bishop of Chester £5; T. Bate £2 2s.; Mrs. Lennon £2; A. Hartshorne £1 1s.; W. Trever Parkins £1 1s.; J. Douglas £1; Mrs. Sopwith £1.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

ROMAN CHESHIRE, OR A DESCRIPTION OF ROMAN REMAINS IN THE COUNTY OF CHESTER. By W. THOMPSON WATKIN. Liverpool : Printed for the Author, 1886.

The recent meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Chester was not marked, like the Lincoln and Carlisle meetings, by the publication of any guide-book to the whole of the places visited by the members during their week of exploration, but on the other hand, the Romans of Cheshire, if they be supposed to be still cognisant of subluxary Cheshire matters, have no reason to complain of any want of interest in the records they have left behind, whether graven on stone, or stamped on the features of the county. The Chester meeting witnessed the publication of no less than three publications devoted to the Roman antiquities in Cheshire. With two of these¹ we have to-day nothing to do : valuable local handbooks, they in no way compete with Mr. Watkin's learned and comprehensive quarto, whose name stands at the head of this notice. Before referring to its contents we would congratulate Mr. Watkin that, in paper, and printing, and binding, his *Roman Cheshire* is a decided improvement on his *Roman Lancashire* ; but why has it no "Table of Contents," whereas its predecessor boasted one.? Perhaps this may be peculiar to our special copy.

If, however, *Roman Cheshire* has no "Table of Contents," and so in one respect falls short of its predecessor, it excels it in the number of excellent maps and wood engravings, all specially executed for the work with which it is adorned.

The most important chapter in the book, and that which was much looked for in anticipation of the Institute's visit to Chester is the fourth, headed *DEVA*, or *DEVANA*, which deals *inter alia* with the recently resuscitated question, "Are the walls of Chester Roman?" This question was supposed to have been once for all answered in the affirmative by Mr. Roach-Smith, in the fifth volume of the *British Archaeological Journal* ; relying on the high authority of Mr. Roach-Smith, and no higher exists, the good people of Chester prided themselves on the antiquity of their walls, and that Roman work existed in them *in situ* above ground was part of every good Chester man's creed. But bad men, and

¹ An Illustrated Catalogue of the Roman Altars and Inscribed Stones in the Grosvenor Museum belonging to the Chester Archaeological Society : By the Honorary Curator [G. W. Shrubsole].

Chester : Phillipson and Golder.

Synopsis of the Roman Inscriptions of Chester. The *Deva* of Antoninus : By Frank H. Williams. Chester : G. R. Griffith.

doubting men exist even in Chester; and Chester men did not hesitate to contradict Chester men and say there was no Roman work *in situ* visible in the walls of Chester. The pioneers of the Institute, who came down to Chester to make preparations for the meeting, found Chester divided against itself: citizen against citizen; antiquary against antiquary; war was in the air. But Mr. Watkin's book was looked for as a deliverance from one who was known to have competently and thoroughly dealt with *Roman Lancashire*, and when his *Roman Cheshire* appeared every purchaser and every reader turned at once to see what the oracle had to say on the question of "Are the Walls of Chester Roman?" Mr. Watkin's verdict was in the negative, and he relied greatly on the evidence gathered from excavations which had been made in various places so as to get at the foundations of the walls, and in which he had very efficient local assistance. The question was much discussed during the meeting of the Institute, and a small committee of experts under Dr. Bruce, including some antiquaries well acquainted with Roman work, both in the north of England and in Rome, made a careful inspection of the walls. Their verdict was delivered by Dr. Bruce, at one of the evening meetings, "that he could not say that anything he had seen was Roman work *in situ*."

Undoubtedly the famous cornice is Roman work, wrought by Roman masons, but it is not *in situ*: it seems to have been, originally, the impost at the entrance to some large public building in Deva. We agree with Mr. Watkin in thinking the stones of the cornice were built into the walls of Chester when they were *adorned* in 1708, as an inscription on "Pemberton's Parlour," a tower in the north face, tells us.

The curtain wall on the north side of Chester, we particularly allude to the piece between the Phoenix Tower and the North Gate, does not present the characteristics of Roman work. The Roman builder was essentially a worker in concrete: his walls were masses of grout, faced on either side with ashlar work of small-sized stones; the excavation made by local enquirers at this point showed the characteristic grouted interior to be entirely wanting, and the wall to have but one face of ashlar work, and that of, near the Phoenix Tower, very large stones. The masonry too to our eyes appeared to have been much displaced, as if by repairs and re-buildings: Mr. Roach-Smith himself observes on the absence of mortar. The place in the walls of Chester, where is what to our eyes, accustomed to the masonry of the Roman wall, *looked* (we do not say is) most like Roman masonry *in situ* is in the interior of the angle at the Water Tower, low down in the west curtain wall.

Mr. Watkin's theory as to the big stones on the Roodye is, we think correct, viz., that they have been placed there to stay a slip of the higher ground—a view that was taken, when the Institute visited the place, by Sir James Picton, whose experience as an engineer renders it valuable. We have some doubt as to whether these stones were ever dressed by Roman masons—the tooling appeared to our eyes (we write with hesitation) mediæval in character, but we could find no mason marks. There is certainly no sign of grout or concrete about them.

The members of the Institute had much difficulty in finding the supposed Roman arch within the Castle area. Its present surroundings are not such as to make a visit to it very pleasant, and we fancy few archaeologists now-a-days even succeed in reaching it. It has been

called Roman, and it has been called Saxon; but it buttresses up a Norman building, than which it must be later.

Mr. Watkin does not content himself with merely giving such arguments, as we have adduced, against the theory that the walls of Chester are Roman; he shows with much minuteness of research (as characteristic of his method of work, as great is of the Roman builder) that the local history squares in with the views he takes, but we have no time to follow him there, nor into the rest of his chapter on *Deva*, which is devoted to the area and developement of the Roman city at various epochs, to the remains of buildings, baths, hypocausts, and other structures existing, or known to have existed there, and to the various objects of antiquities found within the city. Mr. Watkin deals fully with the evidence of *how and when* such were found, and the *how and when* is often the most important essential of a find, and is too often ignored, or inaccurately recorded.

We cannot refrain from mentioning the romantic [the word is not inappropriate] incident of the contractor for the Chester canal, about a century ago, contracting for the work as through solid rock, and making an enormous fortune owing to the Romans having done the work for him—the canal running in the Roman foss, which a century ago was silted up, forgotten, and supposed to be solid rock: nor can we refrain from congratulating Chester on the very excellent museum in which, greatly through the liberality of the President of the Chester meeting, the Duke of Westminster, the Roman antiquities of Chester now find a home. Such a museum attracts and deserves to attract to itself many things which would otherwise be forgotten and lost in private hands. To its contents the two little books we have before alluded to are useful guides.

Mr. Watkin's chapter on the Roman roads of Cheshire is a most interesting one, but the illustration on page 33 of the junction of the Roman roads, from Kinderton and from Northwich, hardly does justice to the beauty of the spot, as it impressed itself on our mind on our first visit. Although the political economist may approve of, the archaeologist cannot but regret the disafforesting of Delamere Forest in 1860-63; up to that time the various Roman roads through the district remained comparatively well preserved, but cultivation has now swept most of them away. A good view with section is given of the curious ruts on the Roman road at Organ Dale. We confess we do not understand why the Romans made these ruts, if ever they did make them; but Professor Hughes, when the Institute visited Organ Dale, started a theory that seemed to us ingenious, too ingenious some thought it, viz., that the Romans did not directly make or intend to make these ruts, but that the surface of the rock, where bruised by the feet of the horses and by the wheels, weathered and decomposed away, thus forming the ruts; and he showed that the ruts were at present full of decomposed rock. We hope we have stated the Professor's theory correctly.

In the rest of the book Mr. Watkin deals with the other Cheshire stations. His account of Meols, and the finds there, is of singular interest. We are glad that he gives engravings of the famous Malpas diploma; the beautiful plates of the same in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* are, owing to the cost and rarity of that work, not readily accessible to every one, and Mr. Watkin's accurate engravings supply a want.

The various Roman villas of Cheshire, and the hoards of coin from time to time found in that county are all dealt with.

One passage in Mr. Watkin's preface we read with pain, where he complains of the reticence shown by living witnesses of discoveries, who evade or refuse to give information. Mr. Watkin had no such complaint to make in the preface to *Roman Lancashire*; we trust that in writing of other counties he will not have again to complain. We have assumed that Mr. Watkin will write of other counties. He must. His *Roman Lancashire* and *Roman Cheshire* should be in the collection of every epigraphist, and every student of Roman antiquities, and it would be a great advantage to have all England done by him on the same plan.

CATALOGUE OF THE INSCRIBED AND SCULPTURED STONES OF THE ROMAN PERIOD BELONGING TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE. Newcastle: Reid. New Edition, 1886.

When the Institute visited Newcastle, in 1884, they found the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in the agony of a removal. Their magnificent collection of inscribed and sculptured Roman stones had been moved from the darkness of the Old Castle, and placed in the Society's new museum in the Black Gate. They have now been carefully arranged in the room on the first floor of that building, where ample and convenient light enables the epigraphist to inspect them to the best advantage; and, last and best boon of all, a new edition of the catalogue has been issued. It is an octavo of just 99 pages, includes 208 inscribed and sculptured stones of the Roman period, and is illustrated with more than 170 wood engravings: it has five useful indices and a short preface, and it costs half-a-crown. When we reveal the open secret that its compiler, whose name is not given on the title page, is Dr. Bruce, we have said all that can be said to induce our readers to invest in this admirable little guide to Romano-British epigraphy.

OLD ENGLISH PLATE; ECCLESIASTICAL DECORATIVE & DOMESTIC: ITS MAKERS AND MARKS. By WILFRED JOSEPH CRIPP, M.A., F.S.A. 3rd Edition. London: Murray, 1886.

At a recent sale in Edinburgh some pieces of silver plate fell under the hammer, which, in addition to bearing London hall marks of some age, came from Auchinleck, Ayrshire, and so had, probably, once been the property of Johnson's Bozzi. Three muffineers, each bearing the London hall marks of 1672 (the maker's mark not being given), went for 84s., 92s., and 100s. per oz., making up the several sums of £54 12s., £25 6s., and £27 10s. A silver-gilt toilette service of thirteen pieces, also from Auchinleck, fetched £412. The newspaper reports do not give the date of this service, but it probably was of the same date as the muffineers, or a little later. These are high prices, and show that if some people are ready to part with their ancestral heirlooms, other and more appreciative people are ready to give high prices, for the same. That these high prices are a temptation to many, particularly to clergymen and churchwardens, to put into the market pieces of which they are mere trustees, is a sad fact: and we have known much remorse occasioned to the authors of a book on the church

plate in a northern diocese by their finding that pieces of plate they had rescued from obscurity had, thereby, been made saleable assets, and were being commended to purchasers as mentioned with praise in such and such a book. It cannot, therefore, be made too widely known that church plate cannot be legally sold without a faculty: one or two bishops have interfered, where such has been illegally done, and compelled the purchasers to disgorge. The danger to which church plate was formerly liable was—that it might be sold for the mere price of the silver by those who were in ignorance, or regardless, of the curious historical associations which surround these ancient and interesting relics. The danger is now the other way, that the temptation of much filthy lucre may cause the like people to part with them—to be replaced, alas, by articles of modern design that cannot be thought of without a shudder of horror.

Contemporaneously with the waxing popularity of old silver plate, an extensive literature on the subject has grown up. As to which is the *causa causans* of the other we will not pretend to say; it is probably a case of action and re-action; but there is no doubt that the *Old English Plate* of Mr. Cripps has become the standard authority on the subject, both with the trade and the general public; and that to its publication is due the wave of investigation into Old Church Plate, which commenced in 1881 with the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, and is now [in 1886] breaking over the rugged forms of the Old Scottish Communion Plate, exhibited in the Edinburgh International Exhibition, by Messrs. Marshall and Sons, of 87 George Street, in that city.

By those behind the scenes the publication of the third edition of *Old English Plate* has been waited for with much interest. It had leaked out that in some respects it would be revolutionary, as compared with the previous additions; but few were prepared, and all will be shocked, to learn that the Pudsey Spoon has been declared an impostor. Its portrait, which graced the first and second editions of *Old English Plate*, has been retired from the third edition, and its date letter has been degraded from 1445-6, the earliest date letter known, to 1525-6, an early enough date in all conscience for any spoon, but still not the beginning of all things; and Mr. Cripps alters its description from "Spoon given by Henry VI. to Sir Ralph Pudsey," to "Seal headed spoon, called the Pudsey spoon." *Quantum mutatum ab illo cochleare quod quondam.* The subject is too painful to pursue. In his third edition Mr. Cripps abolishes the London "Alphabet I, 1438 to 1458, Lombardic simple;" and "Alphabet II, 1458 to 1478 ditto, external cusps," and commences with his former Alphabet III, which becomes "Alphabet I, 1478 to 1498, Lombardic, double cusps:" in it the Pudsey spoon, and the Nettlecombe chalice and paten have both to take refuge; but the Nettlecombe chalice, though losing twenty years of its age, now becomes the first known dated piece of Old English Plate; the Anathema Cup, Pemb. Coll., Cambridge, coming second: the Gatcombe Cup, which formerly came third in date, loses eighty years, and drops to 1540. Many letters have been supplied and corrections made in the two first London alphabets (the third and fourth of the previous editions), and as a guide to sixteenth century London silver those editions are no

longer to be relied upon. The reasons for these changes seem conclusive. Mr. Octavius Morgan thought he had reason to believe that a date letter was first introduced into England in 1438—the matter is very fully discussed by Mr. Cripps, under the head of ‘The Date Letter,’ with the result of adducing positive evidence that it was first introduced in 1478. As positive evidence exists of its use in that year, purchasers of Mr. Cripps’ third edition need not be afraid that he will lop off more alphabets in his fourth edition.

The fifth, eighth, and fourteenth London alphabets of the third edition have variants for some of their letters; thus the fifth has variants for c, k, and s. The c. for 1560 is found, both in a punch shaped to form of the letter, and in a shield-shaped punch. This is accounted for by an order of 1560, when the standard of the old sterling silver was restored by Queen Elizabeth, directing that the “letter of the yeare shall be grayved round about for a difference,” while the two k’s are accounted for by the dismissal of the Assay Master in the middle of the year. But we must not linger longer over the London date letters, except to impress on those who use Mr. Cripps’ table the necessity, the absolute necessity, of verifying the date letters by attention to the shapes of the other punches. Neglect of this has led one writer on Church Plate into serious blunders.

The space devoted by Mr. Cripps in the third edition to provincial marks is largely in excess of that in the earlier editions; the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society, and Canon Raine and Mr. Fallow in the north, and Mr. Manning in the east, having done much to augment the knowledge of the provincial touches, while several new places of assay on a small scale have been discovered, such as Gateshead, Leeds, Carlisle, Lincoln, Taunton, King’s Lynn, and Sandwich. It is possible the records of the local guilds of blacksmiths, if any such exist, might throw light on these local touches. Blacksmiths, where no silversmiths existed, did silversmiths’ work; thus at Carlisle, where no guild of silversmiths ever existed, the full title of the Smiths’ Guild is “the antient fraternity of blacksmiths, white-smiths, silversmiths, and goldsmiths” and apprentices were bound to “the trade faculty, mistery, and occupation of a blacksmith, whitesmith, and goldsmith:” the guild included, as one of their rules says, “anything in the hammary way.”

There has been much confusion as to what was the old York mark. In his first and second editions our author confidently stated it to be a fleur-de-lis and crowned rose, dimidiated and conjoined in a plain circular shield. With equal confidence he now states it to be a fleur-de-lis and leopard-head crowned, both dimidiated and conjoined in a plain circular shield. This time, however, our author has documentary evidence to back him—an extract from the ordinances of the Guild of Goldsmiths at York, that all work should be “towched with the pounce of this citie, called the half leopard’s head, and half flowse de luyce.” The lists of York, Norwich and Newcastle workers have been much augmented, and tables of their marks given. Several letters have been added to the early York alphabets, but none, curiously, to the Norwich ones. By the way we can date one of the Hull makers’ mark, which Mr. Cripps does not date, A B under a crown and over a rose. It occurs on a tankard, on which are the initials of a bride and bridegroom, who were married June, 1651, and she died in the following year,

so that the tankard was probably bought on the wedding trip. The chapters on the Scottish and Irish touches contain much new matter, but we do not propose to go into them. Those unfamiliar with Scotch plate will be puzzled at first by the extraordinary shape of the Edinburgh town mark of a castle weathers, or rather is worn into, on old plate.

Since the publication of the first edition of *Old English Plate* steady progress has been made in the discovery of mediæval chalices and patens; thirty-three of the first being now catalogued, and seventy-seven of the latter. (See this *Journal* vol. xliii., p. 137). Mr. Cripps gives very beautiful engravings of two of the new found chalices; that at Jurby, in the Isle of Man [1521]; and that at Wylye, in Wilts [1525], both London hall marked specimens; and he also gives a new engraving of a fine seventeenth century paten from York. Had Mr. Cripps but strayed north this year as far as Edinburgh, and visited the International Exhibition, he would have had to add to his chapter on Ecclesiastical Plate, a section on Scottish communion plate, a veritable section of horrors. The collection exhibited there contained about seventy examples, ranging in date from 1533 to 1800. Only two are locally assigned to pre-Reformation dates. One belongs to St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and is said to have on it the London hall marks of 1533. That we cannot answer for, as we only saw it in an exhibition case. We should have put it about 60 years later. It is a very fine tazza, with bowl, punched over with small bosses. It is a secular cup, and, certainly, not originally intended for ecclesiastical use: it was presented to the college in 1628; yet some local writers will have it that it is "thoroughly representative of pre-Reformation times when the Cup of Blessing was reserved for the clergy"! Another local writer calls it a ciborium; and he also dubs a standing cup and cover a pix. The so-called pix is a secular cup, and, I believe, the Broderer's Company, in London, possess a similar cup, given by John Parr, in 1606. St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, also send a mazer bowl, mounted with a rim of silver, and perched on a foot stalk, nearly four inches high. To it the date of 1567 is assigned. From the Isle of Skye come two London cups of 1612 of the "Edmonds" pattern; they have lost their covers. Several parishes possess beakers of Dutch make, and one, Prennay, has two cups of horn, of beaker shape, said to have been in use until 1716. Other parishes possess cups similar to the ugliest and clumsiest English patterns of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but the distinctive Scotch type may be described as a soup basin, mounted on a clumsy stalk. We never saw anything so gigantic; and the writer is not the only person, who, on first sight, took these cups to be instruments for infant baptism, by total immersion. There are about fifteen of these awkward things in the collection, ranging in date from 1628 to 1704. Various wild theories are afloat locally to account for them. One is that the Scottish reformers, economically used their ciboria as cups, and that their ciboria were of this shape, and were imitated when they got new cups. The more plausible theory is that the original inventor of these cups wanted something as unlike a massing chalice as could be desired, and he has certainly succeeded.

But we have wandered far from our Cripps; to our Cripps let us hark back. In his tenth chapter he deals with Decorative and Domestic Plate, and has largely augmented both his text and the

number of his engravings. The sections on salts, and on cups of various sorts, and on maces, contain many new examples; while fire-dogs, large jars, wine cisterns, coffee pots, and tea urns are for the first time pictured in this edition, and the chapter winds up with engravings of the unique Carlisle racing bells, and the cocking bell from Wreary, near that city. One omission, we notice, an article of domestic use, rarely set for sale, and, therefore, not hall marked. Diana of Poitiers possessed one; and the Lord Mayor of York has another of the date of 1686.

The subject of decorative and domestic plate is not yet exhausted. Much unknown plate of great beauty must still remain in private hands. We know of one castle, a castle in the north, which boasts half a ton of silver plate, and no expert has ever examined it as yet. It includes at least three pieces of gold plate. Pity it is that so much domestic plate has perished. There have been, as our author points out, four eras of destruction in its history, the Wars of the Roses—the Commonwealth—the scarcity of bullion at the end of the seventeenth century, with the high premium given by the Mint about 1697 for hall-marked plate—and the fashion in the following century of having long table services of silver; tons of old fashioned and disused silver must then have gone to the melting pot to emerge as plates, dishes, forks, and spoons.

So far we have dealt with Mr. Cripps' valuable work as if it were valuable alone to the silversmith, the collector, or the amateur in Old English Plate. But it has a wider value, a wider range by far. The accuracy with which we can date Old English Silver work enables us to date the style of ornament on it; thus Old English Silver work becomes a clue to the dating of very many and very different objects. We have used it to date the ornamentation on the back of a book, and hence to find when the book was bound. Mr. Cripps himself says, "In no other way can the gradual melting of Gothic into Renaissance style be so delicately measured as the sequence of the art epochs, which we are in the habit of calling by the names of the French monarchs of the eighteenth century." In fact a knowledge of Old English Plate is not only valuable in itself, but it is a key that will turn many locks. As such we cordially recommend the third edition of *Old English Plate* to all archæologists.

HASTED'S HISTORY OF KENT, corrected, enlarged, and continued to the present time from the Manuscript Collections of the late REV. THOMAS STREATFIELD, and the late REV. LAMBERT BLACKWELL LARKING, the Public Records, and other sources. Edited by HENRY H. DRAKE, Member of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Part I.—THE HUNDRED OF BLACKHEATH. London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1886.

In a former number of this Journal we have given a brief notice of the publication of a new history of this important Division of the County of Kent, and have stated what is the plan upon which it is based: viz., upon the text of Hasted, who devoted a considerable portion of his life, and the whole of his fortune, to the production of his (for the time in which he wrote) valuable History of Kent. No man's life is sufficiently long to write, even in past times, as it should be written,

the History of a County. It still holds true: "One man sows and another reaps." A vast amount of material was collected during a period of sixty or seventy years by Mr. Streatfield and Mr. Lambert Larking, both well-known antiquaries, with a view to the publication of a new History of Kent, which, according to the former gentleman, was "to surpass any that had ever been produced or conceived, on a scale grand and perfect, such as posterity should be unwilling to forget." Vain hope! Beyond collecting a stupendous mass of material for the purpose nothing was done. Both were called away, Mr. Streatfield in 1848, and Mr. Larking twenty years later. Upon the death of the latter all the valuable material which the two friends had accumulated passed into the hands of Mr. J. M. Larking, of The Firs, Lee, Kent, who, with rare patriotism, determined, if he could find a gentleman qualified for, and willing to undertake, the task of editing the work, to give the county of Kent, in memory of the two friends, a portion, at least, of the fruit of their labours. Many years, however, elapsed before he found a gentleman competent to perform the colossal work proposed, but at length it was cheerfully undertaken by Dr. Drake, than whom, from his acumen and knowledge, and untiring energy and industry, no man better qualified could have been selected.

A new history, however, upon the grand scale contemplated by Mr. Streatfield, "in which the descent of every field and hedge-row should be traced from the remotest antiquity," was seen to be impracticable; and it was, upon mature consideration, determined, we think wisely, to publish a revised edition of Hasted, incorporating therein the mass of materials collected by Messrs. Streatfield and Larking, and also such further matter as Dr. Drake might discover in his researches, for the accumulation of which the opening of the treasures of the Record Office to the public, since the days of Messrs. Streatfield and Larking, now render untold facilities.

Dr. Drake, in opening his Introductory chapter, remarks that "County History should supplement and amplify National History, by detailing the contingents furnished by each locality to shape it." And he adds: "In this Introduction it will be essayed to show cursorily that genealogical story, a most attractive part of the former, contributes more than is commonly imagined to elucidate the latter." This is very true. It adds to the interest, and gives life to local history if we can trace in any locality the part its inhabitants, both the gentry and commonalty, at all periods, have taken in general history; and the county of Kent in general, and the Hundred of Blackheath in particular, have had their share in making the history of England. The early and mediæval periods Dr. Drake has lightly passed over, and it will suffice if we merely allude to the insurrections of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, and pass on to the events of the sixteenth century.

A galaxy of eminent Englishmen, chiefly from Devon and Cornwall, were found clustered about Blackheath during the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns. They were all of the Puritan faction, and their politics were governed by their religious opinions. Among them were found Courtenays, Carews, Drakes, Hawkinses, Trelawnys, Tremaynes, and members of many other west-country families of good standing. We should, however, specially mention Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, of whom portraits are given. They were all not only closely

allied among themselves, but were also allied to many noble houses, and were even connected by blood, or alliance, with the Tudor sovereigns themselves. It is only reasonable that Dr. Drake, who is of the same stock, and would seem to inherit the same religious sympathies, should take a pride in his descent, and more than common interest in those his direct or collateral ancestors. He writes: "After discovering, as I did, the Christian name and status of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE's father, and the arms of his surname, the self-imposed task of discovering why SIR FRANCIS and his brethren became Kentish men offered one inducement to undertake the present work, and the first inspection of the ruined tower of Lee church solved this question." (Though we do not observe in what manner.) "A chain of history grasped in the old church-yard, and its forging and welding were examined link by link." He adds: "Much that appears concerning my great namesake and others might apparently have come with more grace from a stranger's pen, but the certainty that no other living man is similarly circumstanced, and the apprehension that my record might be lost, inclined me to believe that delicacy may be carried to excess in a historian. SIR FRANCIS DRAKE was a typical Englishman, whom the whole English-speaking race claims as kinsman."

Genealogy is Dr. Drake's strong forte, and the family connections above referred to have been the study of his life. He may, therefore, well and truly say that no other living man could describe them as he has done. He shows how each of the parties acquired his lands in Kent, and all their family relationships in great detail, and in the most masterly manner. In a series of tabular pedigrees also their respective descents and intermarriages and consanguinity are exhibited, and to this is also added large folding pedigrees of the "Eminent Norman Families," also of the "Royal and Noble Personages, connected with Blackheath." For particulars of this interesting chapter we must refer to the volume itself. The pedigrees are constructed in the most skilful and scientific manner, and will form a useful study to young or inexperienced genealogists.

The text of Hasted is introduced in substance, though not verbatim, and with it is incorporated, within square brackets, for the sake of distinction, a great amount of matter collected by the present Editor, and by his predecessors, Messrs. Streatfield and Larking, the latter being distinguished by the initial letters of their respective names. These additions greatly enlarge the work and enhance its value, the whole being copiously illustrated and authenticated by foot-notes, consisting chiefly of extracts from the Public Records.

During the century which has elapsed since Hasted's History was written, great changes have necessarily occurred in respect to the devolution of lands and the descent of families, which are carefully noted, and the history of each parish is enriched by full pedigrees.

We cannot attempt to give anything like a detailed notice of each parish, but we may refer to a few incidents relating to some of them. Perhaps the most important are Deptford and Woolwich, as they contain the dockyards, the Royal Arsenal, and other national establishments. Some of these have been formed, and all greatly enlarged, since Hasted wrote. These changes are fully noticed.

In the parish of Deptford, or manor of West Greenwich, is situated

"Sayes Court," the property of the famous John Evelyn, in whose heirs it is still vested, the successive holders of the manor being shown on the pedigree. But, perhaps, the most remarkable incident connected with Sayes Court was the residence there of Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, for three months in 1698, while studying the principles of naval architecture in Deptford dockyard, and improving his knowledge, generally, of naval tactics. The house was newly furnished for him by the king. Some singular anecdotes are given of this eccentric man, illustrative of his tastes and nasty habits and drunken frolics, of which some opinion may be formed from the extent of the dilapidations on his leaving—300 squares of glass in the windows were broken, twelve brass locks were damaged, and all the keys lost, &c., &c., but what grieved Mr. Evelyn most was the destruction of his beautiful holly hedges, which it was the Czar's mad whim to charge through in a wheelbarrow. The cost of the repairs amounted to £350, which was paid from the English Exchequer.

The Manor of East Greenwich must, however, be regarded as the chief Manor of the Hundred of Blackheath, and, if remarkable for nothing else, and we have already alluded to the naval and military establishments, the splendid foundation of the Hospital for disabled Seamen would render it for ever famous. The Manor was parcel of the possessions of the Abbey of Ghent, and when in 1414 King Henry V dissolved all the alien Priors he granted this Manor to the Carthusian Priory of Shene, and it came in 1531-2 into the hands of Henry VIII by exchange. The name of this Manor is familiar to all students of the Public Records from the frequency with which, after this date, Crown lands were granted to be held of the Manor of East Greenwich "in common socage, and not in capite." At Old Court in this Manor was a Royal Palace, which was a favourite residence of our Plantagenet kings, and for some time of Henry VIII, for which he deserted the Palace of Eltham. After his death it was leased out to private persons, but, subsequently, it formed a portion of the dower lands of Queens, Ann of Denmark, and Henrietta Maria.

In the parish of Charlton we have an account of the munificent foundation of Morden College by Sir John Morden, for the maintenance of forty decayed merchants, but after the erection of the buildings and his death, in 1698, it was found that his liberality was greater than his means, and the charity was at one time much straitened; nevertheless, upon the death of Lady Morden, in 1721, the whole of the estates devolved upon the Hospital. A curious anecdote is cited from Stow and Strype of the traditional origin of this excellent institution. Sir John Morden was a merchant at Aleppo where he realised a large fortune and returned to England to settle. Having shipped the whole of his merchandise in three ships, he sent them on a trading voyage, after which they were to proceed to the port of London. Years passed without tidings of them till they were given up for lost, and Sir John being reduced to extreme poverty was employed by a tradesman to receive orders from customers. While waiting in the hall of a gentleman's house he overheard him exclaim, "Here is an extraordinary circumstance," and read from a paragraph in a newspaper, stating that three ships had just arrived, supposed to be lost, for they had not been heard of for ten years or more! Sir John rushed into the city and found

they were his own long-lost vessels, and in the joy of the moment he vowed to build an asylum for decayed merchants.

In conclusion we must congratulate Mr. Larking and Dr. Drake on the completion of the first volume of the new History of Kent, to which the former, and his late brother, and Mr. Streatfield so long looked forward, and laboured so strenuously to attain, and which Dr. Drake has so successfully accomplished. The interest of the work is not, however, confined to Kent, for under Dr. Drake's treatment it reaches much further afield, and it is to be hoped that not only the MEN OF KENT, but all who take an interest in local history will afford to Dr. Drake that support and encouragement of which he has shown himself so deserving, and which will justify him in continuing his arduous labours.

CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY; or, THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN ART IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By the late ADOLPHE NAPOLEON DIDRON. Translated from the French by G. J. MILLINGTON, and completed with Additions and Appendices by MARGARET STOKES. In two volumes. Vol. I.—The History of the Nimbus: the Auricle; and the Glory; Representations of the Persons of the Trinity. Vol. II.—The Trinity; Angels; Devils; Death; the Soul; the Christian Scheme; Appendices; with numerous illustrations. London: George Bell and Sons, 1886.

Attention has been called, on a former occasion, in the *Archæological Journal*¹ to Didron's *Iconographie Chrétienne*, which made its first appearance in 1843. This was only a portion of the great subject with which the learned "Secrétaire du Comité des Arts et Monuments" undertook to deal, and, occupied incessantly as he was from 1844 to the time of his death in 1867, with the Editorship of the "*Annales Archéologiques*," he was never able to complete his plan. Thus, as he tells us in the last sentence of his published work on Christian Iconography, Didron gave us only the first portion of his task, namely, the History of the Nimbus, and the History of God; and both, as is well known, are treated by the distinguished author in a manner worthy of so important and serious a subject.

Greatly to the ease of students in this country the English translation of "*Iconographie Chrétienne*," appeared in 1851, but Didron tells us that "to enlarge in like manner on the rest of Christian Iconography would be exaggeration, nor could one life suffice not only to bring forward, but even to gather the materials for such a work." He spoke truly; yet the difficulties he acknowledges did not prevent him from facing them, and accumulating a quantity of information towards the furtherance of the complete scheme of Christian Iconography, to which he had set his hand.

The history of the iconography of Angels and Devils was in course of preparation at the time of Didron's death, and numerous illustrations prepared, and portions of the letterpress intended for the continuation of the work had appeared from time to time in the *Revue Française* and in *Annales Archéologiques*. Having found it desirable to curtail such contributions in order to avoid printing much that, although new when it first appeared, is now familiar to English readers, Miss Stokes has performed her delicate task in a way that we should expect from an author

¹ Journal Vol. i., p. 72.

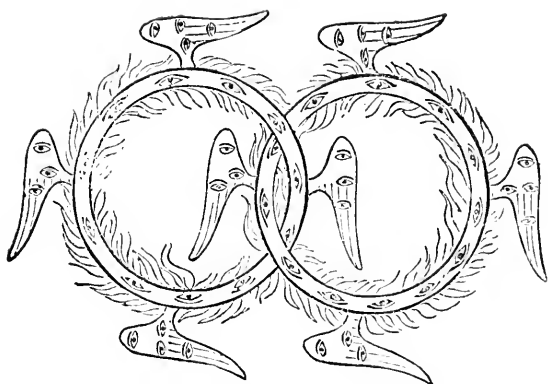
and editor, at once so accomplished and capable. In the latter capacity Miss Stokes has found herself called upon from time to time to explain some of the illustrations for the continuation of the work for which Didron had left no descriptive text; and, while undertaking this responsibility, she has very properly been careful to distinguish her own contributions from those of the master in whose footsteps she is so reliable and conscientious a follower. Miss Stokes is answerable for all the text in volume ii, from page 145 to the end of the book, and now, after a lapse of forty years, we again call attention to Didron's *Iconographie Chrétienne*, and not as formerly to speak of it hopefully as the first part of a great undertaking, to be further carried out, but as a complete work at last happily finished. The illustrations include all those which have already appeared in the French publications before mentioned, and seventy other woodcuts, illustrating the iconography of Angels and Devils, engraved from drawings by M. Durand, which now see the light for the first time.

In the iconography of Angels their creation is the first part of the matter which Didron discusses, and he is at once met by the difficulty of the subject being so rarely to be met with in art. We are, however, given three different methods of treatment, the first being from an Italian miniature of the end of the thirteenth century; the second is from an early thirteenth century sculpture in Chartres cathedral; and the third from a fourteenth century fresco in the Campo Santo, at Pisa, by Buonamico Buffamaleo. In the first example we have the creation of angels before the creation of the world; in the second their creation on the second day with the firmament; and in the third their creation after that of the world. Didron says, "it will be well to reflect on these three assumed epochs of the birth of angels. Nothing is unimportant in these Middle Age designs, which are often rigorous representations of theological doctrine."

The opinion of St. John of Damascus, in his treatise upon angels, and of St. Jerome, as to the period of their creation is given; and side by side with quotations from the splendid text of Ezekiel, and that of Dante, we have a striking illustration of the winged and fiery wheels spoken of by the Prophet, "full of eyes round about." This example comes from a church at Athens, and is of the thirteenth century. Further representations of angels in western art are given, showing how their treatment varied; and it appears that after the fifth century all representations of angels without exception bear a circular nimbus, while before that date this pictorial attribute is wanting.

Following the classification of Dionysius, the Areopagite, Didron gives illustrations of some of the hierarchy of angels at Chartres, and calls special attention to the representations of the nine orders of angels in the cupola of a church dedicated to the archangels, in the convent of Iviron, on Mount Athos. These are complete and grand examples of the heavenly host. On the vaulting of the porch of the great church of the same convent are the nine choirs of angels surrounding Christ, but it would appear that, notwithstanding the rules laid down by Dionysius, the Greek angels are, from various reasons, but imperfectly defined.

Of angels without wings, in Western art, Piero della Francesca gives us, in a picture in the National Gallery, five noble figures who have



Thrones. - Fiery two-winged wheels. From a church in Athens.



Angels, from a picture in the National Gallery. (Piero della Francesca)





Satan in Missal of Poitiers.





Devil in Campo Santo, Pisa (Orcagna.)





Imp. Amiens Cathedral, West front



Thanatos, from the column of the temple of the Ephesian Artemis in the British Museum.



walked across the hills to sing their simple hymn in the stable at Bethlehem.

The iconography of Lucifer and the rebellious angels is illustrated by a number of startling representations of monstrous devils and demons, chief among which we may notice the dreadful picture of Satan, from the missal of Poitiers; that by Orcagna, in the Campo Santo, at Pisa, and those of Oriental and Egyptian devils. Miss Stokes tells us: "In general the Oriental devil is a monstrous and gigantic animal; the Western devil is human, and of ordinary size; but it is necessary to fix the date of these two so different types, that we may say how and at what time they remained intact, independent one of another, and when and how they were commingled and modified the one by the other." We also have woodcuts of the devil in various capacities; yet it is obviously impossible, as Didron says, to indicate ranks in the hierarchy of demons, since any such order cannot exist where confusion constantly reigns.

Nevertheless, the learned author gives us a kind of leading scheme which he has drawn from the Apocalypse. This gives us certain heads and chiefs in the diabolic legion, and the subject is further entered upon in its various sculptured and painted forms of the thirteenth and fourteenth century.

In accordance with the extraordinary incongruity of mediæval art there is the humorous aspect of diabolism. In illustration of this we have a woodcut of a demon from Amiens cathedral, which strongly reminds us of our old acquaintance, the Imp at Lincoln; and Miss Stokes mentions a curious example from a Book of Hours, which belonged to Anne of France, daughter of Louis XI, of a devil blowing a pair of bellows in the face of a terrified angel. It will be remembered that in the mediæval religious plays the part assigned to the devil was frequently that of being outdone, cheated and castigated.

The iconography of Death opens with a woodcut of the winged Thanatos in the British Museum, a mystic and abstracted figure. In this interesting chapter Miss Stokes treats successively of the triumph of death, death as a woman, as a rider, &c., with references to the works of Orcagna, and other early Italian painters, "*les trois Vifs et les trois Morts*," and the *Danse Macabre*.

The chapter on the iconography of the Soul is in natural sequence to that of Death. It is a large subject, because images of the soul have come down to us from the very earliest times. With the Egyptians the departing spirit is shown as a hawk sitting on a mummy; the word for hawk also signifying soul and heart. According to the ancients the soul was liberated with the last breath through the mouth. From the fable of the immortality of Psyche was developed the beautiful allegory of the released soul passing away in the form of a butterfly.

Of other representations of the departing spirit the figure of a little child appears to have been in use before the Christian era. We frequently find this icon in our fourteenth century monuments, for instance, in that of Aymer de Valence, where two angels supporting a small figure are sculptured at the head of the effigy. In brasses similar representations are not uncommon—in the great brass of Bishops Burchard de Serken and John de Mul, at Lubeck, the two souls are further shown in the upper part of the canopy in the arms of the Almighty.

Miss Stokes gives a very interesting chapter on the iconography of the Christian scheme, showing how such mystic poems as the *Speculum Humane Salvationis*, and the *Biblia Pauperum* had their growth in the first images of Christian art. It is not easy to condense what is so well set before us, but it is summed up as follows:—I. That the scheme of the Byzantine painter was a chronological abstract of the Hebrew Scriptures and New Testament. II. That the Catacomb Christian painters' scheme was symbolical and sacramental. III. That the texts of the *Biblia Pauperum* and *Speculum Humane Salvationis* were a complete series of scenes from the life of Christ, selected for their symbolical signification, which was explained by types from antiquity. IV. That the artists of the French cathedrals enlarged their horizon, their scheme being to present a Mirror of the Universe, Nature, Science, and Human History. The final scheme was that attempted in the Vatican, and worked out on the walls and ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

Chapters on the Influence of the Drama on iconography and Mediæval Art, and the Antique, bring us to the end of Christian Iconography. We then have three Appendices:—I. "Additional Notes." II. "Byzantine Guide to Painting," a Greek MS., translated by M. Durand into French, and now into English by Miss Stokes; and III. The "Text of the *Biblia Pauperum*," translated from the Latin. The advantage of having these two latter for convenient reference in the book is obvious. But we should certainly have welcomed the first part of "Byzantine Guide to Painting," which treats of the *technique* of the painter's art, and we do not quite see why it has been omitted.

We cannot better conclude this imperfect notice than by quoting Miss Stokes's earnest remarks in the final sentence of Christian Iconography: "But when at the present day we approach such subjects we are met at every turn by the danger of falling into platitude and cant, and it would seem as if an entirely novel phraseology must be invented for the religious poetry and art of the future. Yet the sorrow is the same, and the hope the same, which mediæval art symbolised by the archetypal forms of Genesis as by those beloved of Christ, and we do but wait for some sincere religious movement for a noble iconography to be again evolved, believing that Christianity is a storehouse, inexhaustible, of gems which it does but take successive intellectual atmospheres to develop." It is, indeed, "a consummation devoutly to be wish'd," but whether it is likely ever to come about in our own dreadful time of flippant florid vulgarity, it is not for us to say.

THE HOUSE OF WILLIAM BURGESS, A.R.A., illustrated by forty photographs.
 Edited by R. P. PULLAN, F.S.A. A SELECTION FROM THE DESIGNS OF WILLIAM BURGESS. Edited by R. P. PULLAN.

Probably no architect ever had so complete an education as the late Mr. Burgess. How sincerely he profited by his travels and opportunities, the want of which has chilled so many aspiring souls, is well shown, not by the quantity of the work he produced, though he worked hard, but by its quality.

"There are only two styles," he once told us, "the Greek, and the Thirteenth Century," and, with a complete knowledge of the one, he

clung to the other with an enthusiasm which only Pugin approached, and with all the warmth and ardour of his own genial nature.

The capabilities of the human frame are so thoroughly well understood by eminent painters and sculptors that it may often appear to superficial observers that they sometimes overstep the limits which nature imposes. So it is with the works of Burges. With a complete knowledge of the capabilities of the thirteenth century Gothic style, he astonishes us by the manner in which he carried them to their very furthest point. In so doing he called to his aid all the scientific knowledge, and technical and artistic skill of the present age, and, with his rare familiarity with the mediæval arts, he bent them all to his purpose, as he, better than any man, knew the ancients would have done, had they possessed such allies.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Burges was able to produce a dwelling house which, with all its fittings and decorations, is probably more complete in its appropriateness than any house that has ever been built in any style. His work cannot be judged by the standard one is accustomed to apply to ordinary modern Gothic, and it is necessary thoroughly to recognize this before going inside the house, saddened as one must be by the knowledge that the gifted author of it was carried away in the prime of his life and the fullness of his genius, and almost before he could begin to enjoy the brilliant creation of his fruitful brain.

That such a unique building would invite much criticism was to be expected; the critics must say something, though, certainly, they may occasionally only "assent with civil leer;" but we are apt to think that no one so safely as Burges could throw open his door when his work was done, and say "*que messieurs les critiques commencent.*" For a man who was learned in all the arts of the ancients would enjoy the comments of the carpers, who, perhaps, only saw

"Such laboured nothings in so strange a style,"

and failed to perceive the striking unity of the whole, or to recognize the skill with which so many dead mediæval arts had been revived, extended, ordered, and set forth in the making and decoration of a house which no one can say does not fulfil the highest requirements of a dwelling, namely, that of being eminently comfortable to live in.

We could not possibly deal in detail with a house of this kind, nor would any bare description give an adequate idea of it. We must, therefore, content ourselves with speaking generally of the arrangement of the fabric, of the *motif* of the decorations, of the carving and decorations, and of the furniture and designs, with reference more particularly to special objects.

The area occupied by the house not being much more than fifty feet square, it will be at once understood that in order to make a moderately roomy abode within this space careful planning was required. Thus we have on the ground floor a covered porch, an entrance hall, 15ft. by 11ft.; a dining-room, 17ft. by 16ft.; a charming library, 25ft. by 17ft.; and a drawing-room, 24ft. by 18ft., communicating with it by sliding doors. A stone staircase in a semi-circular turret, a most happy arrangement within, and the particularly picturesque feature without, leads to the substructure, and to the first and second floors. From the landing of the staircase a gallery takes us to the armoury over the drawing-room, the master's bedroom, and the guest chamber. The

planning leaves nothing to be desired, and the lighting is excellent, subdued, as it should be, but not gloomy. Throughout the house the beams are shown resting upon corbels, in accordance, we suppose, with "true principles."

We well remember our first impression on coming into the house on a visit late one evening in June, when, after walking over the "cave caem," the *vera effigies* of poor "Pinkie" in the porch, our attention was suddenly arrested by the vigorous representation of the combat of Theseus, with the Minotaur in the mosaic floor of the hall; and our subsequent quiet talk with Burges in the library. How quaint and genial he was, and as he showed us MSS. and books, modestly assuring us that all he had done was not so much by force of talent as of sheer plodding, hard work, how much we felt was in him! Ushered later on into the guest's chamber one crept (somewhat abashed we must confess) into the gorgeous bed, to awake in the early morning with just enough light streaming through the Oriental-like shutters to enable us to study the "Earth and its Productions" in the brilliant decoration; and the thought arose, "was even the great Edward ever sheltered so well?" Later in the day we were able to realise the general scheme of the decorations, of which the *motif* is as follows:—

In the Entrance Hall—Time.

In the Dining-room—Chaucer's "House of Fame."

In the Library—Literature, and the Liberal Arts.

In the Drawing-room—Love: Its Fortunes and Misfortunes.

In the Guest's Chamber—The Earth and its Productions.

In Mr. Burges's bedroom—The Sea and its Inhabitants.

There is thus a leading theme in every room, and these are severally illustrated by representations of the heavenly bodies; by scenes from fairy tales; by delineations of the achievements of great artists; by pictures borrowed from classical myths; by portraits of celebrated men and women of all periods; and by comic alphabets, which last illustrations are not much to our taste, though we do not pretend to judge them.

The Entrance Hall, going up to the full height of the two first stories, contains the balustraded gallery supported by massive corbels. The doorways opening into the reception rooms are severally identified by symbols painted on the lintols; so, the entrance to the dining-room is indicated by a flask of wine and a dish; the drawing-room by musical instruments; and the library by open books. The Hall is well lighted by a large window filled with painted glass, symbolizing the divisions of the twenty-four hours by half figures of four females, representing Dawn, Noon, Twilight, and Night, and issuing from bells. This is a striking design, broadly and admirably treated. The decorative paintings on the walls and ceiling have reference to Time, Light, and the Solar System; the Sun, Moon, and Morning and Evening Stars are represented by figures. On the ceiling are the emblems of the constellations in the positions in which they were when the house was first occupied. The front door, and that leading to the garden, are covered with bronze plates; the four figures in the panels of the former represent the Ages of Man.

We have dwelt somewhat upon the Hall, not only because we believe that Burges had quite done all he intended to it, but also on account

of its being so characteristic an example of the author's work. We take it that the creation of only one such a room would have gone far to exhaust all the powers of many a "Gothic" architect of the usual type that satisfies the "cultured" public.

In the Dining room we may notice that the walls are lined with polished Devonshire marble to the height of 6ft. Above this is a deep frieze, containing a procession of characters from fairy tales and legends, while the ceiling exhibits the sun, planets, zodiacal signs, winds, elements, &c.

The Library is a delightful room. The ceiling, framed in pitch pine, in itself a sufficiently raw and harsh material, is decorated in red, gold, and black, painted on the natural wood, as it happens, with the best result. The books are very wisely protected by closed cases. A broad frieze in low relief, painted in white and gold on a red ground, goes round the room with striking effect, and the portions of the wall not taken up by fixed furniture are covered with canvas painted in patterns, a satisfactory feature we never saw elsewhere. The chimney-piece is a remarkable work of art, illustrating in a most original manner the Dispersion of the Parts of Speech at the time of the Tower of Babel.

The Drawing-room, as yet incomplete in all its decorations, contains a fire-place, which is certainly the most beautiful and poetic composition in the house. Here are sculptures representing the enemies and the friends of Love, drawn from Chaucer's "Roman de la Rose." Among the latter we may specially mention the sweet figure of "Beauté."

With a too-hospitable intent Burges decided that the guest should have the best accommodation in the house. So the guest's chamber exceeds all in its splendour. Need we say that space, no less than words, fail us to describe it!

In the colouring of his own bedroom Burges chose the rich dark red, of which he was so fond, and we can fancy how he must have revelled in the designs of the various denizens of the deep, which are here shown in such quaint and infinite variety.

We have now run rapidly through the house, and have barely left ourselves space to mention the elaborate furniture with which it is filled, or to allude to the beauty and interest of any of the painted glass besides that in the Hall. Both furniture and glass alike display the resources of Burges's mind, and the extraordinary care he took with every detail. It is cheering in these days of "Art Manufacturers" to see something of these kinds that is sound and solid. Of the furniture we may specially mention a book-case in the Library, made many years ago, and which is quite a combination of the talents of Burges and his artistic friends. The Storming of the Castle of Love, in painted glass in the staircase, no less than the Arts and Sciences in the windows of the Library, are models of what such things should be in this particular style.

It is well known that Burges applied himself to the designs of articles of domestic use. Among these we may mention the "Elephant inkstand," the "Cat cup," and sets of knives, forks, and spoons, all of which, among other choice objects, he had the enjoyment of, like a sensible man, in their constant use.

We have said nothing about the armoury, because by his wise bequest the principal part of that valuable collection formerly contained in it is now preserved in the British Museum, and may be there studied.

We are grateful to Mr. Pullan for placing these reliable illustrations within easy reach of students, and with the knowledge that whatever Burges attempted he did thoroughly well, it is satisfactory to feel that the house itself in which he poured out all the rich resources of his mind is so well built and finished, that it will long stand a worthy memorial of a highly accomplished man for the contemplation and study of future generations.

Archæological Intelligence.

SOME MUNICIPAL RECORDS OF THE CITY OF CARLISLE.—Under the Editorship of our valued members, Mr. R. S. Ferguson and Mr. W. Nanson, another work will shortly be added to the extra series of the publications of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society. We have pleasure in calling attention to this forthcoming book, as much because the name of Mr. Ferguson is alone a guarantee of good work, as because it gives another instance of how much sound and useful work may be done by local societies who set themselves sensibly to their task. No society has worked better in our day than the society in question, and its eight thick volumes of transactions are its tangible and abiding testimony. The new work will contain a brief history of the Corporation of Carlisle, or Guild Mercatry and its relation to the eight Trading Guilds—the Merchants, the Weavers, the Smiths, the Tailors, the Tanners, the Shoemakers, the Glovers, and the Butchers. The curious bye-laws of the Corporation and of the Guilds are printed from the originals in the possession of the Corporation and of the Guilds, and are copiously illustrated by extracts from the Court Leet Rolls belonging to the Corporation, and from the minute books of that body and of the Guilds. The work preserves for the student of municipal antiquities a mass of interesting matter, and throws much light upon the social life and manner of an ancient English border city. Subscriptions, 15s., may be sent to Messrs. Thurnam and Sons, Carlisle.

THE CASTELLATED AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF SCOTLAND FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—By David Macgibbon and Thomas Ross, architects, Edinburgh : David Douglas, 1887 (two volumes). We gather from the contents of volume i, and the mention of 500 illustrations in it, that this will be a considerable work. We are, however, somewhat surprised to see the statement in the second sentence of the heads of the introduction that there has been “hitherto no systematic treatise on the subject.” This would seem to imply that the fame of Mr. G. T. Clark had not yet penetrated so far as to the modern Athens. We were certainly under the impression that if any subject had been systematically treated it was that of military architecture by Mr. Clark, and we are thus placed in another difficulty as to how the Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland can possibly be properly dealt with without reference to, indeed constant use of, Mr. Clark’s goodly volumes of “Mediæval Military Architecture in England.” We look forward to the solution of this enigma when we see the actual volumes. In the meantime we must content ourselves

with simply calling attention to the book by means of the information we get from the prospectus which has reached us. The introduction appears to treat generally of the whole story of castles, with references to many fortresses which are well known to us from the accounts which have appeared in the *Archæological Journal*, by the late Mr. Hartshorne and by Mr. Clark. The work is then divided into first, second, and third periods (1200 to 1542), and a great number of castles are described. The fourth period forms the subject of vol. ii, and with regard to the illustrations, we can only say that if they are all as good as the specimens given in the prospectus, of Linlithgow Palace, the book will be well illustrated indeed.

PLAS MAWR, CONWAY.—This fine house, which has now become the house of the Royal Cambrian Academy of Arts, is one of the best examples of Elizabethan Architecture in the Principality, and being historically connected with many of the oldest families in North Wales, deserves to be more generally known and to be preserved in an enduring record. We are glad, therefore, to see that Messrs. A. and H. H. Baker are preparing a monograph, giving a full account of this building, illustrated by numerous measured plans and details. Subscriptions, £1, may be sent to Messrs. Baker, 14, Warwick Gardens, Kensington, W.

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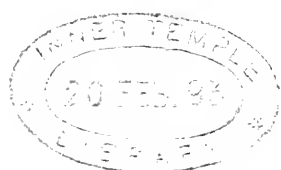
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